# HORACE

*E. C. WICKHAM*

# HORACE

*E. C. WICKHAM*

# HORACE

*E. C. WICKHAM*

London
HENRY FROWDE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
AMEN CORNER, E.C.

New York
MACMILLAN & CO., 66 FIFTH AVENUE

Horatius Flaccus, Quintus

# QUINTI HORATI FLACCI

## OPERA OMNIA

# THE WORKS OF HORACE

*WITH A COMMENTARY*

BY

E. C. WICKHAM, D.D.

DEAN OF LINCOLN, HONORARY FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOL. I

*THE ODES, CARMEN SAECULARE, AND EPODES*

THIRD EDITION

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1896

Oxford

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

*DEDICATION TO THE FIRST EDITION*

THIS EDITION IS DEDICATED

TO THE DEAR AND HONOURED MEMORY

OF

JOHN CONINGTON

LATE CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

TO WHOSE SUGGESTION IT OWES ITS ORIGIN

AND TO WHOSE TEACHING AND EXAMPLE IT WILL OWE

ANY MERIT THAT MAY BE FOUND IN IT

WELLINGTON COLLEGE,
1874.

# PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

My obligations to previous editors are, I hope, frankly stated in the course of my notes. Orelli's edition had always seemed to me so perfect in point of learning, judgement, and poetical taste, that when the task of preparing an English commentary on Horace was first suggested to me I was inclined to answer that nothing remained to be done, unless perhaps to translate his Latin notes for the benefit of the more indolent students. In effect, of course, this is not what has been done. If one's own judgement was to be responsible for the conclusions, there were even among recent editors others whose views could not be ignored. To name only two, there was much clearly to be learnt from the imaginative ingenuity of Ritter, and from Dillenburger's strong sense and keen grammatical analysis. A wider reading of Horatian literature, if it made originality appear even more impossible, seemed at the same time to encourage or even necessitate independent judgement. It lessened to some extent the feeling of personal obligation, by showing how large a portion of what was best in modern editors, both in respect of illustrative learning and

of interpretation, was traditional, a part of the inherited store of Horatian criticism, which dates from the scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, if not from scholiasts of a much earlier time, a store from which later editors have made very various selections, but to which none since the great Bentley seems to have made any very considerable independent addition.

Perhaps the department in which modern editors have added most, as it is the one which has had the most attractions to me, has been that of tracing in the several poems the sequence and proportion of the thoughts. This is a function of criticism to which every reader with any imagination thinks himself equal; and he is apt to resent what seem to him the superfluous, if not prosaic and inadequate, comments of another mind. A commentator on a poet so loved and familiar as Horace is, at any rate to the elder generation among us, must make his count for such resentment. He would only attempt in part to disarm it, by pleading that as he has ventured at times to set aside the interpretations of his predecessors, so he is quite prepared that his own interpretations should be set aside by others; that it is the purpose and the method, not the particular conclusions, to which he attaches value. The thoughts even of a lyrical poem do not follow one another at haphazard. If the links be forged by feeling rather than by logic, yet the feelings must be such as can be traced, and the mind cannot be really in sympathy with the poem unless consciously or unconsciously it follows them. Where the art is

so conscious and elaborate as in Horace's lyrics, it is not too much to expect that we should be able to detect the threads which bind them into their several unities. If my efforts teach a young reader that he has not read a poem properly unless he has attempted to do this for himself, if they make him less ready to admit in any poet, and especially in Horace, the existence of 'inert' epithets, and purposeless digressions or amplifications, I shall not complain that he should come to trust for the explanation of his difficulties to his own imagination rather than to mine.

Some account of the materials at our disposal for the settlement of the text of Horace, and of the principles on which I have endeavoured, where it was necessary to do so, to exercise my own judgement, will be found in the General Introduction.

I have to acknowledge much kind help and many useful hints from friends, especially from A. O. Prickard, Esq., Fellow and Tutor of New College, who has been always ready with suggestive criticism, and to whom I was indebted for special assistance in writing the notes on the Fourth Book of the Odes. I owe also to his labour, as well as to the kind courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, the collation of the valuable Queen's College MS. which appears in an Appendix to this volume.

WELLINGTON COLLEGE,
*Jan.* 1874.

# PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

In preparing after some interval a new issue of the larger edition of the Odes and Epodes, I have been able, I hope, to correct positive errors which I had discovered or which had been pointed out by kind critics; and I have had the opportunity of reconsidering a good many difficult questions with the assistance of valuable books on the text and interpretation of Horace which have appeared since my last edition. I should especially mention, although they are not the only ones, Keller's Epilegomena, Kiessling's edition, the Horaz Studien of Plüss, the second volume of the Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, by the lamented Prof. Sellar, and several papers on the historical reference of the Odes by Mommsen.

Lincoln,
*April*, 1896.

# CONTENTS

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE ODES.

## THE TEXT, MSS., SCHOLIASTS, EDITIONS.

An editor whose knowledge of MSS. is chiefly at second-hand owes some apology, at least to himself, for discussing questions of text; but he can hardly avoid such discussion. Even if he chooses an existing text as his guide throughout, he must by his choice virtually take a side in many intricate questions, and he does so in the way which is the least instructive to his reader, by appearing to settle without discussion questions which are really open. Happily the text of Horace is one in which, if some points must always remain in uncertainty, the uncertainty is of a very bearable kind. The worst result of a bad judgment will usually be only to prefer the least probable of two readings, either of which has much to say for itself, makes good sense, and has been supported by great scholars.

It will be seen that the MSS. of Horace, though very numerous, are not very ancient. There are none, like the uncial MSS. of Virgil, of palmary authority. There are a considerable number which are placed between the end of the ninth and tenth centuries; only one now extant which belongs undoubtedly to the ninth, and that defective in respect of nearly all the Satires and all the Epistles except the Ars Poetica. We have (but these also in comparatively late MSS.) Scholia which are generally believed to date, in their original form, from the third to the fifth century.

Occasionally, where doubt hangs over the form of some salient expression in Horace, we find light thrown upon it by more or less certain imitations of it in Ovid, or in the later Roman poets. Lastly, we have numerous quotations, chiefly in the grammatical authors of the first five centuries. These are rarely of any very high value;

partly because quotations seem often to be made from memory, partly because the quotation is most commonly made for some metrical or grammatical reason which is not affected by the special word or form in respect of which the doubt exists, and therefore the testimony to the reading is not in truth older than the MSS. (not usually very ancient) of the grammatical author himself.

So far, then, as external testimony goes, it is clear that when a disputed reading occurs, the evidence to which we can appeal to determine it contains in every department some elements of uncertainty, and is not likely to be rated at the same relative value by all critics. Can the MSS. be made, by any process of comparison, to testify, through common readings, to sources of evidence older than themselves, older even than the Scholia? Has the value of any special MS. been unduly estimated? Is a particular Scholium genuine, or is it an interpolation to suit the reading of MSS. themselves of no great antiquity? There will remain these and other previous questions upon which perfect agreement cannot always be obtained; and, in default of such agreement, an editor or a reader can hardly form his judgments too modestly. It must not be supposed, however, that the criticism of Horace's text, any more than the criticism of other classical texts, turns by any means entirely upon the testimony of MSS. or Scholia. However far these carry us back, they leave us, on the one hand, with the certainty that varieties of reading existed, and that emendation on grammatical or other grounds had been at work, still earlier; and, on the other hand, they leave, if not very many blots which modern criticism has unanimously recognized and corrected, yet enough of these[1] to make us feel that when the question lies between an *i* or an *e*, an *e* or an *a*, one or other expansion of an ambiguous abbreviation, and the like, MS. testimony cannot be held to settle it absolutely, without any appeal to grammar or sense. We must add that in the majority of really doubtful readings no theory with respect to the external testimony will elicit other than an ambiguous answer from it. In these, if to the end we must give full room to doubt, we can hardly help balancing in our minds the fitness on other grounds of the rival claimants.

[1] Such as 'ter' in Epod. 4. 8, 'hic ut Mucius illi' in Epp. 2. 2. 89, which no editor would retain. The mistakes in proper names are notorious; e.g. the Scholiasts, by their quotation from Homer, show that they had the right name in Od. 3. 20. 15, Epod. 15. 22, but all known MSS. but one have 'Nereus,' 'Nerea.' The certain form 'Alyattei,' in Od. 3. 16. 41, has had to be restored by modern scholars, the MSS. being utterly at sea, 'halyalyti,' 'aliat thii,' etc. The unmetrical 'tricenis' in Od. 2. 14. 5, has overwhelming MS. support.

## I. *MSS.*

1. *Blandinius Vetustissimus* ('V'). Cruquius, a professor at Bruges, in making preparations for his edition[1], had had access to four MSS. then extant in the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter 'in monte Blandinio' (Blankenberg) near Ghent. These MSS. all perished (as he tells us in a note on the inscription to Book I of the Satires) in the sack of the abbey by a mob of Iconoclasts in 1566. His own estimate put them all as early as the ninth century, and one whose loss he especially laments he distinguishes from the rest as 'vetustissimus.' The readings which he cites from this constitute the famous V, round which so much of the criticism on Horace's text has turned.

The general opinion of editors, from Bentley downwards, has attached very high value to these readings. Keller and Holder, on the other hand, consistently undervalue them, placing the MS. among the more interpolated, and even suggesting that some of the better readings attributed to it were from Cruquius' own conjecture. Their treatment of the question has led to its careful re-examination by several scholars. Perhaps the fullest and most judicial discussion of it is that by R. C. Kukula[2]. While maintaining the good faith of Cruquius and the general value of the MS., he draws attention to some important limitations to our use of his testimony. He points out (1) that as the MSS. perished before any part of the edition except Odes IV was published, what we have to imagine is in the main not an edition prepared with the 'vetustissimus' before him, to be referred to again and again, but references to notes taken some years before. (2) That to be of any value his quotation must be distinctly given as from the 'Bland. vetustissimus' or from 'omnes Blandinii.' He makes it clear that no argument can be drawn as to its readings from his silence, or from any less definite descriptions such as 'tres Bland.,' 'unus Bland.,' or even 'codd. Bland.' (3) That the use of his testimony must be strictly confined to the particular point for the sake of which his note shows that the reference is made, his practice being evidently in other respects to quote from memory or inexactly. A good instance occurs in Od. 4. 6. 28, where in the edition of 1565 he apparently gives 'Laetus Agyieu' as the reading

[1] His full edition of the poet was not published till 1578, but it had been preceded by partial editions of Odes B. IV in 1565, Epodes in 1567, Satires in 1573.

[2] De Cruquii Codice Vetustissimo, Vienna, 1885. I would add Höhn, De Cod. Bland. antiquissimo, Jena, 1883. W. Mewes, Ueber den Wert des Cod. Bland. Vetustissimus, Berlin, 1882. Prof. Nettleship, Essays in Latin Literature, pp. 188 f.

of V, whereas in the edition of 1578 he gives 'Laetus Agylleu.' The notes, however, show that in his earlier edition he was merely concerned with the variation of 'laetus' for 'levis.' There are indications that he was aware of the second variation of 'Agylleu,' but set it aside as having found no other authority for the word. In 1578 he had found, as he thought, support for it in Strabo, and gives it therefore as the reading which he had seen in V and was now prepared to justify. It is such an instance as this which in less equitable construction had led to the imputations of carelessness and even bad faith which have been made against him. The general conclusions with respect to the MS. seem to be:

(1) That Cruquius overrated its actual age. According to his own testimony it was in cursive writing, and therefore was probably not older than the ninth century.

(2) That it was of uneven merit, the best readings from it being chiefly in the Satires and Epistles, while in the Odes it had some readings which bear signs of interpolation, as Od. 4. 2. 6.

(3) That in spite of such limitations it is of unique value, not merely as a good MS. amongst other good ones, but as giving, in parts of Horace at least, some readings which have every appearance of genuineness, and yet of which there is no trace in any existing MS. except in *g*, a Gotha MS. of the fifteenth century, which presumably gained them from it. Such is the famous 'campum lusumque trigonem' in Sat. 1. 6. 126, where every other MS. but *g* reads the incredible 'rabiosi tempora signi.' In other words it gives us access to a tradition of the text independent of that of the other MSS.

2. *The oldest Bernese MS.* 'B' (363 in the Public Library) was first used by Orelli in forming his text, and has since been re-collated by Ritter for his edition, and by Usener for Keller and Holder. It is assigned by Ritter and by Usener to the ninth century[1]. It forms part of a quarto volume, which contains also Servius' Commentary on Virgil, two Treatises on Rhetoric, Bede's History, and Ovid's Meta-

[1] An interesting account of the history of this and of several other of the older MSS. of Horace is given by Ritter in the Prolegomena to his edition. This MS. was originally in the Abbey of St. Benoît-sur-Loire, at Fleury near Orleans. When the abbey was sacked by the Protestants in the Civil War in 1562, the MSS., in which it was rich, were saved, and found a home in the library of Pierre Daniel, an 'avocat' and literary man of Orleans, and 'bailli' of the abbey. At his death his books were divided between two friends and fellow-townsmen, Paul Petau and Jacques Bongars. The latter of the two died at Paris in 1612, and left his library, including his share of the Fleury MSS., to René de Graviset, a jeweller of Strasburg. De Graviset migrated subsequently to Switzerland, and his son became a leading citizen of Bern, founded a public library there, and placed in it his books, amongst them this MS.

morphoses. It is imperfect, omitting all the Epistles and the Satires, with the exception of the first two and part of the third of Book I, besides large portions of the Odes. The Odes are not arranged in their usual order, the copyist having apparently started with the intention of an arrangement according to metres, for he begins with nineteen Sapphic Odes. These follow the common order, though the distinction of Books is not marked. They are succeeded by some of the Epodes, then by the Carm. Saec., then by the remaining Odes and Epodes, also in their usual order. The Ars Poet. 1–440 follows the Epodes, then Sat. 1. 1, 2 and part of 3. The omissions in the Odes and Epodes are as follows:—of whole Odes in Book I, Odes 3–7, 9, 11, 33 and 34; in Book III, Ode 3; and of Book IV, Odes 3 and 15, besides parts of twenty-one more Odes and Epodes, viz. Odes 1. 10. 14, 1. 15. 20–32, 1. 16. 15–28, 1. 17. 15, 16. 1. 19. 11–13 and 15, 1. 29. 7–16, 2. 7. 19–28, 2. 17. 7–9, 3. 2. 2, 5–12, 17–32, 3. 4. 17–28, 39–52, 3. 6. 11–13, 15–48, 3. 16. 7–27, 29–44, 3. 22. 5–8, 3. 23. 12–20, 3. 24. 30–64, 4. 14. 5–52; Epodes 2. 37–70, 3. 9–22, 9. 13–38, 11. 13–28.

3. The MSS. assigned to the tenth century from which Keller and Holder[1] cite readings are known respectively as:—

A. Paris, 7900[a]; with it they associate more or less closely a MS.
(*a*) known as *a*, formerly belonging to Avignon, but now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

D. A fragmentary MS. which was at Strasburg and perished in the
(*τ*) siege of 1870. This is coupled similarly with *τ*, a MS. at Zürich.

R. In the Vatican.

φ. Paris, 7974.

ψ. Paris, 7971; like B, a relic of the Fleury Library.
The common readings of these two MSS. are marked by Keller 'F.'

*u*. Paris, 7973.

λ. Paris, 7972; which is coupled with *l*, the Leyden MS. which
(*l*) Bentley used.

δ. In the Harleian collection in the British Museum, 2725.

*d*. " " " " 2688.

[1] The editions, to which frequent reference will be made, of Keller and Holder are:

I. The larger edition in three parts:
1. The Odes and Epodes, 1864. For these Keller is responsible.
2. The Satires and Epistles, 1869. For these Holder is responsible.
3. The Epilegomena (Keller), 1879.

II. The smaller edition (Keller and Holder), 1878.

ε. At Einsiedeln.

σ. At St. Gall.

β. At Berne.

L. At Leipsic.

[Also of the tenth century is the MS. in Queen's College, Oxford, quoted as 'Regin.,' of which a collation is given at the end of this volume.]

They also assign high value to

γ. Paris, 7975.<br>M. At Mölk, near Vienna. } Both of the eleventh century.

C and E, two parts (which they distinguish, C as of the eleventh, E as of the twelfth century) of a MS. at Munich.

*g*. A Gotha MS. of the fifteenth century, which is of value as seeming to be copied in part from V.

It has been already suggested, that the only method by which conclusive evidence upon questions of disputed reading could be gathered from MSS. of such late date, would be by grouping them in families or 'recensions,' each family being made by its common readings to bear witness to some archetype of much greater antiquity than the copies which we now possess.

This has been attempted on an elaborate scale by Keller and Holder. A and *a*, λ and *l*, φ and ψ, D and τ, as we have seen, have been supposed to be severally related in this way, and the readings of their imagined archetypes are indicated by Holder by the signs A′, λ′, F, D′. We are supposed to have thus—to the extent that uniform readings can be obtained—a certain number of conjecturally restored MSS. of greater antiquity than any that are still extant. These and the other solitary representatives of older MSS. are again grouped into three classes.

The *first* of these is distinguished as containing, with many faults of carelessness, and with a certain number of grammatical corrections (e.g. 'videri,' against the metre in Epod. 16. 14), little or no proof of alteration on rhetorical or general grounds. In this class are placed for different parts of Horace's poems A, *a*, D, τ, M, γ, E, C, R.

The *second* class is supposed to show the corrections of an early and intelligent emender. That such διορθωταί existed in early times is stated by the Pseudo-Acron on Ars Poet. 345. And the name of one is found in the inscription which appears, in slightly different terms, at the end of the Epodes in A, λ, *l*, Regin., *g*. 'Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius V. C. et inl. (vir clarissimus et inlustris) Excom.

Dom. excons. ord. (Excomite Domestico, exconsule ordinario) legi et ut potui emendavi, conferente mihi magistro Felice oratore urbis Romae.' Felix is not known, but Mavortius was consul in the year A.D. 527. Asterius, consul 494, is similarly connected with the history of the text of Virgil. Bentley had treated this Mavortian recension as the ultimate point to which the oldest MSS. might be expected to take us back. Keller and Holder treat it rather as the first, though not the worst, source of systematic corruption. The most important fact with respect to this class is that Keller places in it B, V with *g*, and in respect of many of the readings A.

The *third* class is held to have been subjected to earlier and less intelligent corruption than the second. As a whole, therefore, it exhibits a worse text, more blunders and fatuities. On the other hand it is tenacious of the true text where the intelligent interpolators of class 2 have obscured it. In it are placed generally F (=$\phi$ $\psi$), $\lambda'$ (=$\lambda$ *l*), *u*, $\pi$, $\sigma$, and others.

The canon on which Keller and Holder rely in using this classification is that the common reading of two classes is to be preferred to that of the third. It is essential therefore to the value of the system that the existence of the three classes should be clearly made out: otherwise it is merely the testimony of some of the older MSS. against others. It is here that criticism has been most damaging to them[1]. It is pointed out that the natural basis for the theory of a triple recension is wanting, inasmuch as the existence of three distinctive variants in doubtful passages is not only not frequent, it is confessedly extremely rare[2]. The classes are recognized not by distinctive readings but by the general type of their aberrations from the supposed original text. But here again we lack a solid ground on which to rest the division. For few MSS. exhibit such a type consistently. They pass from one class to another in successive pages. The grouping in pairs, which again should be a step towards the grouping in classes, is so far from being so that the two modes of relating MSS. are at times at variance. A and *a*, for instance, which are supposed to be derived in large part from a single archetype, are ranked often for pages together in

[1] I would refer for a vigorous criticism of the principles of Keller and Holder's classification to an article by Mr. James Gow in the Classical Review, vol. iv. p. 337.

[2] See Mr. Gow's article, p. 339. He can find in Keller's 'apparatus criticus' only seven cases of three substantial variants, one ascribed to each class, viz.: Od. 1. 12. 3 retinet, recinet, recinit; 1. 12. 15 et, ac, aut; 2. 11. 24 comas, comae, comam; 2. 13. 23 descriptas, discriptas, discretas; 3. 24. 4 publicum, Ponticum, Apulicum; 3. 27. 55 defluet, defluit, defluat. Sat. 1. 2. 12 Fufidius, Futidius, Fusidius.

different classes. One fatal result of this process is that the evidence for the separate existence of class 1, on which Keller lays so much stress, tends to disappear. The only persistent members of it are M and γ, both of them MSS. of the eleventh century.

It is interesting, however, to observe that whatever weight we assign to Keller's classification of the MSS. it has no revolutionary effect upon his text. The great feature in it, after all, is *the lower value attached to such MSS. as* B *and* V. This, of course, goes far in some places to decide the reading. But if we compare his text with that of the most competent and the most conservative critics who immediately preceded him we shall find the difference comparatively small. We shall see that he admits conjectures at least as largely as others, more than many, and that his conclusions, however they were formed, are supported generally by evidence from the Scholia, or by quotations, or by considerations of style, metre, and the like[1].

Before we leave the MSS. it may be the place to say a few words upon two subjects which present themselves very early to the reader of any notes upon Horace.

1. The first has been glanced at already. I do not know that *conjectural emendation* has really been exceptionally busy upon Horace's text. That the two are specially associated in the minds of general readers is due doubtless, in a great measure, to their greater familiarity with the author, to the brilliancy of the conjectures themselves, the contributions of a long series of the greatest scholars from the Renaissance onwards, particularly perhaps to the unrivalled power, learning, and eloquence with which our greatest English scholar recommended the method and its results in his edition of the poet. There was something however in the nature of the critical evidence

[1] Deducting questions of orthography, punctuation, etc., there are thirty-seven places in the Odes and Epodes where Keller's text (vol. i. of the larger edition) differs from that of both Ritter and Munro. Of these nine are due to his introduction into the text of conjectures (Od. 1. 7. 8 'honore,' 1. 15. 36 'Pergameas,' 1. 16. 5 'adyti,' 1. 23. 5. 6 'vepris . . . ad ventum,' 3. 5. 15 'trahenti,' 4. 4. 17 'Raetis,' 4. 10. 5 'Ligurine,' Epod. 2. 27 'frondes,' 5. 88 'humana invicem'). Eleven are cases where readings resting on very slight MS. authority, or even upon none, have been received on other grounds, such as the authority of the Scholia, etc. (Keller, Od. 1. 3. 37 'arduum,' 1. 16. 8 'si,' 1. 20. 10 'tum,' 1. 22. 2 'Mauri,' 1. 22. 11 'expeditus,' 2. 3. 11 'quo et,' 2. 6. 19 'fertilis,' 3. 3. 55 'debacchantur'; Ritter and Munro, 1. 17. 14 'hic,' 2. 13. 23 'discretas,' 3. 4. 10 'altricis'). There are very few of the remainder where the effect of his view of the MSS. can be distinctly detected in the absence of other arguments from the Scholia, or from internal evidence; such are perhaps 1. 8. 2 'hoc,' 3. 21. 10 'neclcget,' 4. 9. 31 'sileri,' Epod. 16. 33 'flavos,' 17. 60 'proderit.' In the smaller edition (1878) several of these variations are retracted and the text is so much the more like that of previous editors.

on which Horace's text rests which made conjectural emendation, if not specially necessary, at least specially tempting. Necessary of course it was not, in the sense in which it is necessary in the text of Aeschylus or of Lucretius, to restore sense or metre in a chaos; but in a way the multiplicity of MSS. tempts us to do for one author what the poverty of MSS. almost compels us to do for another. A variety of readings, all consistent with metre and intelligible, and all resting on fairly equal MS. testimony, must imply the hand of one or more emenders of the text at an early period. It is a natural interpretation to assume in such a case that all alike are attempts, more or less skilful, to fill up a gap in the original authority; and this once believed, a scholar of the 16th or 17th centuries may not unreasonably think himself as competent to guess the riddle as a scholar of the fourth or fifth. It is manifest that no impassable barrier separates cases where the MSS. are divided from those where they are consentient. Division is only a sign of the disease. We have already seen that it is confessedly possible for the same blunder to infest every MS. A modern editor will probably set aside, as a rule, purely conjectural emendations; at any rate, he will hesitate to give them the reality which is implied by printing them in the text; not because he denies the possibility of corruptions, or does not feel the plausibility of many conjectures, but only because experience has taught us that there is no necessary limit even to the cleverest and most plausible guessing, and because it cannot be proved that in such a text as that of Horace guessing on a large scale is necessary. One more remark may be allowed. An editor with the feelings which I have described will yet feel bound to recall, and to some extent to discuss, the more famous conjectures which have become part of the literary history of his author, and in doing so he will run the risk, at times, of seeming to treat great names ungraciously. It must be remembered therefore that to have learnt to distrust a method is not to deny the genius of those who used it, and who, by showing us its results at its best, have taught us the limits of its capability. The solid value of Bentley's edition is diminished very little by the fact that very many of his conclusions are such as we cannot now accept with any confidence or even accept at all. There is hardly a question in Horatian exegesis that is not raised by him, and raised, if at times in a form rather more logical than befits the criticism of a poet, yet always with a precision and strength, as well as with a fulness of knowledge, which at least (and it is an editor's chief function) makes us understand and measure the difficulty.

2. To the constructive criticism of previous centuries was added in the present one the destructive criticism of which the chief examples are to be found in the edition of H. Peerlkamp (Harlem, 1854; Amsterdam, 1862) and in the work of Gruppe, Minos: über die Interpolationen in den römischen Dichtern, Leipzig, 1859. This, like the former, proposes to carry us back beyond the age of MSS. or Scholia: unlike the former, it cannot even appeal to indications of disturbance in the MSS. which would explain, if they did not require, its theories. The antecedent probability of defects in the archetype wrongly filled up cannot be denied in the face of evidence that such defects must actually have existed: it becomes a question of less or more. But the antecedent probability of the suppositions which are necessary to any theory of the interpolation of spurious Odes or parts of Odes cannot be so easily granted. Every known fact in the history of Horace's poems can be explained without such a theory, unless indeed it be assumed that no poem or stanza which falls below his highest poetical level can be genuine. On the other hand, as Munro pointed out[1], in his vigorous summary of the arguments against the interpolation theory, the *form* of Horace's poems is specially his own. We are asked to imagine that unknown poets, in the literary age of Rome, reproduced it with a skill and completeness of which the known poets who have tried to imitate it proved themselves incapable. But though Peerlkamp's method of criticism must be pronounced baseless, we may trace from it, as from its predecessor, indirect results of value in the attention which it calls to the sequence of thought, the lights and shades of style, and the varying merit of the poetry.

## II. *The Scholiasts.*

The collections of Scholia on Horace which pass under the names of Helenius Acron, and Pomponius Porphyrion, can neither of them be certainly dated, and some doubt therefore hangs over their relation to one another; neither of them is in a perfect state nor free from suspicion of interpolations. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, they must be considered of very high value. On questions of text the authority of the commentary is at the least several centuries older than any MS. of the poet, either extant or known to us by testimony. Of course the 'lemmata,' or quoted words, to which the comment is affixed, are of inferior importance, and they differ not unfrequently

[1] Preface to Messrs. Munro and King's edition.

from the text interpreted in the commentary, and can only by themselves carry us back to the date of the oldest MS. of the Scholia, viz. at the earliest to centuries 9–10. On questions of interpretation, and especially of allusions to customs, sites, and persons, the Scholia have value, independently of any doubt as to their writer's precise date or personal acquaintance with Roman life, from the fact that they bear evidence of having been composed by men who had in their hands early authorities which are otherwise lost to us. These are sometimes referred to by name, as Terentius Scaurus (a grammarian of Hadrian's time who wrote a commentary on the Ars Poetica) on Sat. 2. 5. 92; Claranus (Martial. 10. 21. 2, Seneca, Ep. 66) on Sat. 2. 3. 83; more often generally as 'nonnulli,' 'alii,' 'plerique,' 'commentator' (Acr. on A. P. 120), 'qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt' (Porph. on Sat. 1. 3. 21 and 91, 2. 5. 92).

O. Keller,[1] who has collected and used with much ingenuity all the available evidence on the subject, gives the palm of antiquity to the Scholia of Porphyrion. The only limit set to their date by external testimony is to be found in the mention of Porphyrion's name by Charisius, a grammatical writer, usually placed about A.D. 400; but Keller thinks they are as early as 200–250 A.D. The evidence on which he relies consists wholly of indications in the Scholia themselves, such as (*a*) the writer's personal knowledge of Rome coupled with the fact that he never alludes to the walls of Aurelian (A.D. 271), while he recognizes the older gates, as e.g. the Porta Esquilina on Epod. 5. 100, Sat. 1. 8. 1; (*b*) his use of Parthi, Parthicus, etc. as designations of the great eastern monarchy, in several places where the Pseudo-Acron uses Persae, Persicus, a natural variation if the fall of Parthia and the rise of the Persian dynasty of the Sassanidae (A.D. 226) had taken place between the two dates; (*c*) his way of speaking of the religious ceremonies of heathen Rome as though they were still observed in his own time. Contrast, e.g., his note on Od. 3. 11. 6 'fidicines hodieque Romae sacrificiis adhiberi videmus' with Acron's 'et in sacrificiis fidicines adhiberi consueverant,' or that on Od. 2. 16. 14 'salinum, patella in qua primitiae dis cum sale dantur' with Acron's 'patella in qua dis primitiae offerebantur,' or lastly, that on 3. 5. 11 'Aeternam Vestam, propter aeternos ignes qui in ara eius coluntur' with Acron's 'aeterni ignis qui in ara eius indefesse colebatur.'

The genuine Acron wrote earlier than Porphyrion, if the latter's quotation of him on Sat. 1. 8. 25 is not an interpolation, 'memini

[1] Symbola philologorum Bonnensium, Lips., Teubn. 1867.

me legere apud Helenium Acronem Saganam fuisse libertum Pomponii senatoris qui a triumviris est proscriptus.' It is to be remarked, however, that the statement thus quoted does not occur in the Scholia which go under Acron's name. On the other hand, we find in them the change of tense already noticed with respect to sacrifices, etc., which would point to their being later than the prohibition of heathen ceremonies by Theodosius in A.D. 391; we find (unless these be interpolations) the names of the Goths (on Od. 4. 15. 22), and according to one MS. of the Huns (on Od. 2. 11. 1), and a hint perhaps of the desolation of Italy by the barbarians (on Od. 3. 4. 16); and we find, subject to the same proviso, references to Priscian (fifth century) on Epp. 2. 1. 228, and to Priscian's teacher Theoctistus on Sat. 1. 5. 97. It is mainly on those grounds that Keller distinguishes the Acron who was one of the commentators used by Porphyrion from the composer or composers of the Scholia which now bear the name, and which were composed by some one who had Porphyrion's commentary in his hands and used it largely. These Pseudo-Acronian Scholia he relegates to the fifth century. Upon grounds on which it is less easy to feel secure in following him, he divides them into two parts; the first (up to the beginning of the Fourth Book of the Odes with part of those in the Fourth Book and most of the Epodes) belonging to the earlier half of the century; the remainder he places in the second half, and identifies as their author Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, a grammarian of that date, one of whose works, three books of mythology, is found with no mark of a new author on the same MS. with the Schol. Acron.

The so-called 'Commentator Cruquianus' is not an independent authority, the name being given to a medley of notes, in the main a transcript or paraphrase of Acron and Porphyrion, printed by Cruquius from marginal or interlinear annotations on his Blandinian MSS.

## III.

It may be convenient for purposes of reference to add a chronological list of the chief *editions* of Horace earlier than the present century (chiefly from Mitscherlich).

### *Fifteenth century.*

The 'editio princeps' is not certainly known: the title is usually given to an edition without name or date, which is supposed to have been published by Zarotus at Milan in 1470. The first edition,

which contains a commentary by a modern scholar of name, is that of *Landinus* (Cristoforo Landino, born at Florence 1424, died 1504), printed at Florence in 1482, and at Venice in the same year. An edition, published at Venice in 1492, contained, besides, notes by *Mancinellus* (Antonio Mancinelli, born at Velletri in 1452, a teacher of Orvieto).

*Sixteenth century.*

1501 (also 1503, 1509, 1519, 1527), the *Aldine* edition, from the press of Aldus at Venice.

1503 (also 1514, 1519), the *Juntine*, from that of Ph. Giunta at Florence.

1519, the *Ascensian* (Paris), from that of Badius (named Ascensius from his birthplace, the village of Assche, near Brussels).

1523 (Freiburg im Breisgau), ed. of *Glareanus* (Henri Loriti, so named from his birthplace, the canton Glaris, born 1488, Professor at Basle 1515–1529, retired to Freiburg, where he died in 1563).

1551 (Venice), an edition of the younger Aldus, which contained annotations by M. Ant. *Muretus* (born at Muret, a village near Limoges, in France, 1526, died at Rome 1585).

1555 (Basle), ed. of *Fabricius* (George, born at Chemnitz in 1526, died 1571).

1561 (Lyons), ed. of *Lambinus* (Denis Lambin, born at Montreuil, in Picardy, 1516, Professor of Greek in Paris, died, it is said, partly from the shock of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in September 1572).

*Canter* (born at Utrecht 1542, died 1575), published in 1564, and in subsequent years, some 'Novae Lectiones' on various authors, including Horace (which are to be found in Gruter's Thesaurus Criticus, vol. iii).

1578 (Antwerp), ed. of *Cruquius*, Professor at Bruges. This had been preceded (see p. 3) by partial editions in 1565, 1567, and 1573.

*Seventeenth century.*

1605, ed. of Dan. *Heinsius*, born at Ghent 1580, died at Leyden in 1665.

1608 (Antwerp), ed. of *Torrentius* (a Latinized form of the name Vanderbeken). He was Bishop of Antwerp, born 1525, died 1595; his edition being published posthumously.

1613 (Paris), R. Etienne (Stephanus) published an edition with the notes of *Rutgers* (a pupil of Heinsius, born at Dort 1589, entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, and served as ambassador in several foreign courts, died 1625). His Venusinae Lectiones were not published in their entirety until Burmann's edition in 1699.

1671 (Saumur), ed. of *Tanaquil Faber* (Tanneguy Lefevre, born at Caen 1615, Professor at Saumur, died 1672; the father of Madame Dacier).

1681 (Paris), a translation, with notes, by A. *Dacier*, son-in-law of the preceding.

1699 (Utrecht), ed. of *Burmannus* (P. Burmann, born at Utrecht 1668).

*Eighteenth century.*

1701 (London), ed. of W. *Baxter*, nephew of the nonconformist divine.

1711 (Camb.), ed. of R. *Bentley*.

1721 (London), ed. of *Cunningham*.

1728 (Paris), ed. of *Sanadon*, a Jesuit father.

1752 (Leipsic), ed. of *Gesner*.

1778 (Leipsic), ed. of *Jani*.

1794 (London), ed. of *Wakefield*.

1800 (Leipsic), ed. of *Mitscherlich*.

Of editions of this century those of which most frequent mention is made in my notes are those of

Orelli, Zürich, 1837, 1852, and the new edition now in progress by Hirschfelder and Mewes.
Dillenburger, Bonn, 1844, 1867.
Duentzer, Brunswick, 1849.
Macleane, Bibliotheca Classica, London, 1853.
Ritter, Leipsic, 1856.
Keller and Holder, Leipsic, 1864–1879.
Yonge, London, 1867.
Munro and King, London, 1869.
Nauck (7th edn.), Leipsic, 1871.
Schütz (2nd edn.), Berlin, 1880.
Kiessling, Berlin, 1884.

In Macmillan's series the Odes by Mr. T. E. Page, the Satires by Prof. A. Palmer, the Epistles by Prof. Wilkins.

The editions of the Scholia of which I have made use are those of

Hauthal (Berlin, 1864) and Pauly (Prague, 1858), and more recently the edition of Porphyrion's Scholia by Holder.

I have referred also frequently to Estré's Prosopographeia Horatiana (Amsterdam, 1846) and Franke's Fasti Horatiani (Berlin, 1839).

The English translators of Horace, especially Conington, have often suggested a happy rendering or a new view.

---

## HORACE'S EARLY LIFE IN HIS WRITINGS.

*Name*—Quintus, Sat. 2. 6. 37.
,, Horatius, Od. 4. 6. 44, Epp. 1. 14. 5.
,, Flaccus, Sat. 2. 1. 18, Epod. 15. 12.

[Of the origin of the 'cognomen' nothing can be guessed. The 'nomen' might imply that his father, on manumission, had taken a gentile name from some member of the Horatia gens. It is now more generally believed, on a suggestion of G. F. Grotefend, that it was derived from the Horatia tribus, the one of the country tribes in which the colony of Venusia was enrolled, and to which Horace's father, as a libertus of Venusia, would belong.]

B.C. 65. *Date of Birth.*—The year is given in Od. 3. 21. 1, Epod. 13. 6, Epp. 1. 20. 26–28. The last reference adds the month. Suetonius completes it by fixing the day, 'Sexto idus Decembris,' December the 8th.

*Birthplace.*—Sat. 2. 1. 35. Cp. Od. 3. 30. 10, 4. 6. 27, 4. 9. 2. We may compare the familiarity of his mention of scenes in Apulia, Od. 3. 4. 9–16, Sat. 1. 5. 77; the river Aufidus, Od. 4. 14. 25, cp. Sat. 1. 1. 58; the Fons Bandusiae (?), Od. 3. 13; Mons Vultur, Od. 3. 4. 9; Garganum Pr., Od. 2. 9. 7, Epp. 2. 1. 202; Litus Matinum, Od. 1. 28. 3, cp. 4. 2. 27, Epod. 16. 28; Luceria, Od. 3. 15. 7; the wolves on the Apulian hills, 1. 22. 13, 33. 7. See also on the fondness with which he attributes to the Apulian all Roman virtues, Od. 1. 22. 13, 2. 1. 34, 3. 5. 9, 16. 26, Epod. 2. 42[1].

*Parentage.*—'Libertino patre natus,' Sat. 1. 6. 6 and 45; cp. Od. 2. 20. 6 and Epp. 1. 20. 21. Horace himself was 'ingenuus,' i.e. born after his father had attained his freedom, Sat. 1. 6. 8.

[1] An interesting account of a visit to Horace's country Venusia, Vultur, etc. will be found in an article by the Rev. H. F. Tozer in the Classical Review, vol. ii. p. 13 f.

*His father's profession.*—'Coactor,' Sat. 1. 6. 86. [Suetonius, coactor exactionum,' 'a collector of taxes.' He says, further, that he was a 'salsamentarius,' or dealer in salt-fish, and that Horace was once taunted with this by one who said to him, 'Quotiens ego vidi patrem tuum bracchio se emungentem.'] He had purchased a small estate, Sat. 1. 6. 71. For Horace's feeling towards his father see Sat. 1. 6, especially vv. 89–96.

*Anecdotes of his childhood.*—Od. 3. 4. 9 foll., Sat. 1. 9. 29 foll., 2. 2. 112 foll.

*Removal to Rome for his education.*—Sat. 1. 6. 71 foll., Epp. 2. 2. 42. His father's care, Sat. 1. 4. 105 foll., 1. 6. 71 foll. Study under Orbilius, 'plagosus,' Epp. 2. 1. 69. [There is a short life of Orbilius Pupillus of Beneventum in Sueton. de Illustr. Gramm. Horace's epithet is quoted and illustrated by a line of Domitius Marsus, 'Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit.'] For the subjects of his reading see l.c. and Epp. 2. 2. 41.

B.C. 44 (?). *Studies at Athens.*—Epp. 2. 2. 43 foll. [Brutus was at Athens at the time, immediately after Caesar's murder, attending the lectures of Theomnestus the Academic, and Cratippus the Peripatetic, and wishing to be thought entirely intent on philosophy, Plutarch. Brut. 24.]

B.C. 43, 42. *Campaign with Brutus.*—Epp. 2. 2. 46 foll., Sat. 1. 6. 48, Od. 2. 7. 5–14, 3. 4. 26, Epp. 1. 20. 23. [Sueton. 'bello Philippensi excitus a Marco Bruto imperatore tribunus militum meruit.'] For indications that he was with Brutus while he was still in Asia see Sat. 1. 7 Introd., Epp. 1. 11. 7 foll., and on Od. 2. 7. 6.

B.C. 41. *Return to Rome.*—'Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni Et Laris et fundi,' Epp. 2. 2. 49. [Sueton. 'Victis partibus, venia impetrata, scriptum quaestorium comparavit.' This means the place of a 'scriba,' or clerk, in the quaestor's office, and Horace's appointment to it is connected by some with his father's old employment as 'coactor exactionum.']

B.C. 38 (?). *Introduction to Maecenas.*—Sat. 1. 6. 54 foll. The date of this is fixed by a comparison of Sat. 2. 6. 40 'Septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus, Ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum In numero,' with the references in vv. 38, 53, 55, which seem to fix the composition of that Satire to the end of B.C. 31. See in vol. ii. Introduction of the Satires, § 3.

# EXTRACTS FROM THE SUETONIAN LIFE OF HORACE.

*Maecenas' regard for him.*

MAECENAS quantopere eum dilexerit satis monstratur illo epigrammate:

> 'Ni te visceribus meis Horati
> Plus iam diligo, tu tuum sodalem
> Ninnio videas strigosiorem;'

sed multo magis extremis iudiciis tali ad Augustum elogio: 'Horati Flacci, ut mei, esto memor.'

*Augustus' offer to him of the post of Private Secretary.*

Augustus epistolarum quoque ei officium obtulit, ut hoc ad Maecenatem scripto significat: 'Ante ipse sufficiebam scribendis epistolis amicorum: nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere. Veniet igitur ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam, et nos in epistolis scribendis adiuvabit.' Ac ne recusanti quidem aut succensuit quicquam aut amicitiam suam ingerere desiit.

*Extracts from letters of Augustus to him.*

'Sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me tanquam si convictor mihi fueris: recte enim et non temere feceris, quoniam id usus mihi tecum esse volui si per valetudinem tuam fieri possit.'

'Tui qualem habeam memoriam poteris ex Septimio quoque nostro audire: nam incidit ut illo coram fieret a me tui mentio: neque si tu superbus amicitiam nostram sprevisti ideo nos quoque ἀνθυπερφρονοῦμεν.'

'Pertulit ad me Dionysius libellum tuum, quem ego, ut ne accusem brevitatem, quantuluscunque est, boni consulo. Vereri autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint quam ipse es. Sed si statura deest, corpusculum non deest. Itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas, ut circuitus voluminis tui sit ὀγκωδέστατος sicut est ventriculi tui.' Cp. Hor. Epp. 1. 4. 14, 1. 20. 24.

*The Composition of the Carm. Saec., Book IV of the Odes, and Book II of the Epp.*

Scripta eius usque adeo probavit [Augustus] mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est ut non modo saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit,

sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere; post sermones vero lectos quosdam nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus: 'Irasci me tibi scito quod non in plerisque eiusmodi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?' Expressitque eclogam illam cuius initium est 'Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,' etc.

### *Of Horace's country houses.*

Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini; domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum.

[The first clause might be interpreted as merely giving two alternative designations of the Sabine Farm, but the second distinctly recognizes the belief that he had besides a villa at Tibur itself, as the 'Tiburni luculus' can hardly be other than the 'Tiburni lucus' of Od. 1. 7. 13; cp. Stat. Silv. 1. 3. 74. The form, however, of the statement, 'the house is still shown,' is quite compatible with the idea that it is an addition to the original text interpolated after the tradition of a second Tiburtine villa had grown up. The passages in which he speaks of Tibur (e.g. Od. 2. 6. 5, 4. 2. 31, Epp. 1. 8. 12) are quite enough to account for such a tradition, and are inadequate to substantiate it.]

### *Of spurious Writings attributed to him.*

Venerunt in manus meas et elegi sub eius titulo, et epistola prosa oratione, quasi commendantis se Maecenati: sed utraque falsa puto: nam elegi vulgares, epistola etiam obscura, quo vitio minime tenebatur.

### *His Death.*

Decessit quinto Kal. Decembres C. Marcio Censorino et C. Asinio Gallo coss. post nonum et quinquagesimum annum (this is a mistake, as Suetonius himself puts his birth in the consulship of L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, i. e. in B.C. 65, which would make him just short of fifty-seven on Nov. 27 B.C. 8) herede Augusto palam nuncupato, cum urgente vi valetudinis non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas. Humatus et conditus est extremis Esquiliis iuxta Maecenatis tumulum.

# INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I–III OF THE ODES.

## I.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ODES.

§ 1. The *general period* during which the greater number of the Odes of Books i–iii must have been composed can be fixed with some certainty. The *earlier limit* is fixed by the Battle of Actium. Epod. 9 was written immediately after the victory, while even the direction of Antony's flight was still unknown. Od. 1. 37 is written on Cleopatra's death in the following autumn, B.C. 30.

It is of course possible that some of the Odes may have been composed before the Epodes were finished, but there is none that bears any clear mark of it. In the absence of such proof the presumption is against it: for Horace's usual practice seems to be to finish one collection of poems before he begins another. There is development of style within one collection in the direction of the next, but no appearance of overlapping. That the Epodes themselves were softening into something hardly distinguishable from the Odes, and that some of the Odes retain metres, or even the tone, of the Epodes, makes it more difficult to understand why, if particular Odes were written before 31, they were not included in the volume of Epodes.

§ 2. The *second limit*, the latest date at which the Three Books as a whole can have been published, is fixed mainly by the reference in Od. 1. 12. 45–48. Marcellus died in the autumn of B.C. 23. It is inconceivable that these lines should be (as Ritter suggests) a complimentary allusion to one already dead; an assurance to Augustus that at least the fame of his son-in-law survived: all that the author of the dirge on Quintilius could offer to match Virgil's 'Tu Marcellus eris.' And it is almost equally impossible that, written before his early death, they should have been published (as from other considerations

it would be necessary to conclude) within a year or two of that great disappointment of the hopes of Rome and of the Emperor.

An argument, second only in weight to this, is founded upon the Odes (2. 10 and 3. 19) which have reference to Licinius Murena, the brother of Terentia, Maecenas' wife (see also on Od. 2. 2. 5). Murena was executed for participation with Fannius Caepio in a conspiracy against Augustus in B.C. 22. The presumption seems very strong that even if Horace's feelings would have allowed him to publish these poems, and especially Od. 2. 10, after his friend's catastrophe, he would have been deterred by the knowledge that the reminiscences must be displeasing to Maecenas as well as to Augustus. Franke recalls the story of Virgil's striking out the praises of Gallus from the end of Georg. iv on somewhat similar grounds.

The arguments for postponing the publication of the Odes to a later date are not such as can really be set against these considerations. They turn mainly on Od. 1. 3, which is taken to refer to the voyage of Virgil to Athens in the last year of his life, B.C. 19: and on the supposed allusions (the strongest case is Od. 2. 9) to the expedition of Tiberius into Armenia, and the restoration of the standards by the Parthians in B.C. 20. Some remarks on these points will be found in the Introductions to Od. 1. 3 and 2. 9. There remains the possibility that these (and if these, then other) Odes may have been inserted after the first publication. It will be seen that this is not likely to have been the case with 1. 3; and the theory of any such insertions is perhaps hardly compatible with that pause in lyric composition between the publication of Books i–iii and the commencement of Book iv, which is implied in Suetonius' statement, and in Horace's own words, Od. 4. 1. 1, Epp. 1. 1. 1–10.

§ 3. When we pass from the general epoch to the *date of special Odes* we are on less safe ground. A very few can be fixed with exactness. Such are 1. 31, which is written for the dedication of the temple of Apollo Palatinus in B.C. 28; 2. 4, which Horace dates himself in B.C. 25, by reference to his own age; 1. 24 and 3. 14, both of which are fixed to B.C. 24, the one by the known date of the death of Quintilius, the other by the return of Augustus from Spain. We may perhaps add a few, though in their case of course more latitude must be given, which speak in terms of near anticipation of political events which can themselves be dated. Such are 1. 35, which represents Augustus as on the point of starting for Britain, a purpose for which we know that he set out from Rome in B.C. 27 (see Introd. to that

Ode, Dion 53. 22, 25); and I. 29, which seems to refer to preparations more or less immediately preceding Aelius Gallus' expedition into Arabia Felix in B.C. 24.

§ 4. Those who would go much beyond this in fixing with accuracy the date of single Odes have to lean a good deal on Horace's references to events on the frontier and beyond it, movements of the Cantabrian, the Scythian, the Parthian. In estimating the value of these it is of course necessary to be sure of the nature of the allusion. We are in danger of confusing poetry with history when we look too closely into every mention of Dacian or Indian and search the pages of Dion or Strabo for some detail that will exactly suit it. Horace's verses are full of the feeling of the greatness of the Roman empire, the remoteness of its frontiers, the immense charge which Caesar has taken on himself. And the names of distant and unknown places and tribes had a spell in ancient times which they have lost in days of maps and geography. Even when we come to more definite references, as those to the quarrels of Phraates and Tiridates, or to the frequent risings of the Cantabri, though we have here ample ground for dating generally the period during the course of which the poems must have been composed, and exactly, if we know the date of a special event referred to, the year before which the particular poem could not have been composed, we yet soon get to the point where the event has become a standing illustration of the vicissitudes of fortune or a statesman's anxieties, a poetical commonplace which may recur till it is supplanted by some fresh circumstance which strikes the poet's imagination.

To this it must be added that the foreign history of the time is imperfectly known to us, and that some uncertainty hangs over the dates of several of those events which are known.

§ 5. It may be convenient and may save some repetitions to give shortly in this place the few facts which are known with respect to the Cantabrians, the Dacians and Scythians, and the Parthians, to which, if to any known historical events, allusions in these Books must have reference.

§ 6. The *Cantabri*, a tribe living in the mountains of the northern coast of Spain, are named by Dion (51. 20), with their neighbours the Astures, as in arms against Rome at the time of the general pacification in B.C. 29, and as being conquered in that year by Statilius Taurus. The next mention of them is in B.C. 26 (Dion 53. 25), in

which year the news of their rising reached Augustus in Gaul, and diverted him (see above, § 3) from his intended expedition to Britain. He was commanding in person against them in B.C. 25, but fell ill and was detained at Tarraco for some months. In the meantime the war was concluded by C. Antistius and T. Carisius, his 'legati.' Augustus himself returned home in B.C. 24. In the same year they rose again (Dion 53. 28) and seized by stratagem and killed some Roman soldiers, but were again put down by L. Aemilius.

The expressions of Od. 2. 6. 2 'Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra,' and 2. 11. 1 'Quid bellicosus Cantaber . . . cogitet,' would be intelligible at any time during this period, and as each conquest would be thought final till the next rising, there is nothing even in the words of 3. 8. 21 ('Servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae Cantaber sera domitus catena') to fix them necessarily to a single date. Other considerations perhaps place the Ode, as we shall see, either in B.C. 29 or in 25.

The final subjugation of the Cantabri by Agrippa in B.C. 19 (Dion 54. 11) does not come within the period of Odes i–iii, but is recorded in Epp. 1. 12. 26, and alluded to in Od. 4. 14. 41.

§ 7. *Daci, Getae, Scythae, Geloni.*—There is much vagueness in the use of these names by Horace, as indeed there is confessedly in their use by prose writers of much later date. The name 'Scythae' is the most comprehensive, being used apparently for all the tribes north of the Danube and Euxine. At times it is brought into close relation with that of the Getae (as in Od. 3. 24. 11), who again are closely connected by all writers with the Daci. At other times it is associated with the Geloni and the Tanais ('Scythicus amnis,' Od. 3. 4. 36), and denotes tribes far enough to the East to interfere in Parthian politics. The names are often used merely as poetical expressions of distance, the extreme North (as in Od. 2. 20), or generally for the northern tribes, as the supposed representatives of the manlier virtues (as in Od. 3. 24) or as the objects of the vague fears of Roman statesmen (Od. 2. 11. 1).

The Daci are mentioned by Dion 51. 22 as offering their services to Octavianus, and when their terms were declined by him joining Antony, to whom, however, they rendered little assistance, as they were quarrelling amongst themselves (see Od. 3. 6. 13).

In B.C. 30, M. Crassus, at the bidding of Octavianus, marched northward from Macedonia, and won some victories over the Daci and Bastarnae as well as the Moesi, for which in B.C. 27 he was allowed a triumph, Dion 51. 23.

From the Epitome of Livy (B. 135) it appears that Crassus was again fighting in Thrace in B.C. 25.

Florus (4. 12, § 18) speaks of Lentulus driving the Daci beyond the Danube, but no date is given. His words may be worth quoting for his mention of Cotiso (Od. 3. 8. 18) and for the illustration of Horace's expression 'intra praescriptum equitare,' Od. 2. 9. 23: 'Daci montibus inhaerent; Cotisonis[1] regis imperio quotiens concretus gelu Danuvius iunxerat ripas decurrere solebant et vicina populari. Visum est Caesari Augusto gentem aditu difficillimam submovere. Misso igitur Lentulo ultra ulteriorem repulit ripam: citra praesidia constituit, sic tunc Dacia non victa sed submota atque dilata est. Sarmatae patentibus campis inequitant; et hos per eundem Lentulum prohibere Danuvio satis fuit.

It is obvious that there is nothing here to fix the date of the debated Ode 3. 8. The victory of Crassus will satisfy the expressions of v. 18, and so would the victory of Lentulus, but this last is itself undated.

The Eastern Scythians are named by Justinus as interfering in the quarrel between Phraates and Tiridates in Parthia (see the next section). An embassy of Scythians is said by Orosius (see Introd. to Od. 2. 11) to have come to Augustus while he was at Tarraco in Spain B.C. 25.

§ 8. *Parthia.*—The defeats of Roman armies under Crassus, Decidius Saxa (the legatus of M. Antony), and M. Antony himself, in B.C. 53, 40, and 36, though the objects of frequent reference in Horace's poems, and grounds of the keen interest taken in Parthian affairs, and of the stress laid on the mission of Augustus to restore Roman prestige in the East, yet all fall without the period assigned for the composition of the Odes. The only contemporaneous event of Parthian history is that which is related by Dion 51. 18, and by Justinus 42. 5. 5. Phraates IV, to whom Orodes I had resigned his throne in B.C. 38, after some years of tyranny, provoked his subjects to the point of rebellion. He was expelled, and Tiridates, another member of the Arsacid house, though his exact relationship to Phraates is unknown, was put on the throne in his place. After a short time Phraates was restored (Justinus adds, by the intervention of the Scythians), and Tiridates fled to seek the protection of Augustus, carrying with him

[1] Suetonius, Oct. 63, calls him 'Getarum rex,' and gives a story, on Antony's authority, of Augustus having at one time promised Julia in marriage to him, and asked a daughter of his in return.

the infant son of Phraates. These events are undoubtedly the objects of reference in Od. 1. 26. 5, 2. 2. 17, 3. 8. 19, and very probably also in 1. 34. 14–16 and 3. 29. 28. If we could date them therefore with certainty we should know the earliest time at which the first-named Odes at least could have been written. And it so happens that this would incidentally throw light on one or two more points of Horatian chronology, for 3. 8 is written on an anniversary (it seems almost necessarily the first anniversary) of Horace's escape from the falling tree. To fix, therefore, the earliest date of this Ode would determine as much for the other Odes which refer to the accident, i.e. 2. 13 and 3. 4. Horace's escape again is connected (2. 17. 21–30) with Maecenas' reception in the theatre on his recovery from illness, and this in its turn gives a date of some kind to 1. 20. The date, however, on which so much depends is not itself quite free from doubt. Justinus says that Tiridates fled to Augustus, 'who was at that time fighting in Spain,' which would fix the date between B.C. 27 and 24. Dion, on the contrary, narrates the event under the year 30, and makes Tiridates find Augustus in Syria, on his progress through Asia after the battle of Actium. Mommsen (Res gestae divi Augusti, vi. 1–3) thinks the two acounts should be both accepted, as giving two stages in the negotiations of Tiridates with Augustus, but in that case the reference of Horace would probably be to the earlier one. Another point of some interest has been supposed to be involved in the date of Tiridates' flight. Two of the Odes which refer to this event (3. 8 and 29) speak also of Maecenas as burdened with cares of State in a way in which no other Ode speaks of him. 'Mitte civiles super urbe curas,' 'Tu civitatem quis deceat status Curas, et urbi sollicitus times.' These expressions have been usually interpreted of the powers which Augustus is known to have delegated to Maecenas during his own absence from Rome in the last year of the civil war. Dion 51. 3, Tac. Ann. 6. 11 'Augustus bellis civilibus Cilnium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit.' If the later date of these Odes were adopted it would seem necessary to assume, what is probable enough in itself, but not otherwise ascertained, that the same powers were entrusted to Maecenas during Augustus' absence in Gaul and Spain in the years B.C. 27–24.

## II.—THE ORDER OF THE ODES, AND THEIR DIVISION INTO THREE BOOKS.

§ 9. In the preceding pages I have assumed the correctness of the traditional view that Books i–iii form a unity. How far particular Odes or groups of Odes may have been shown to friends or given wider publicity before the whole collection was complete, it is of course beyond our power to guess: but we mean that the three Books were arranged as we have them by Horace himself, at one time, and intended to be read as a whole.

§ 10. This can hardly be said to rest on external evidence, for although the words of Suetonius, 'tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere,' lend themselves to the idea of such a substantial unity of the earlier Books, they do not necessitate it; but the internal evidence in its favour is very strong. In other cases where Horace's poems are divided into 'Books,' there is a corresponding difference of personal and historical background which explains the division: these three 'Books' reflect the same time; all their references to persons and events point, as we have seen, to a single period of about seven years. Whatever be their principle of arrangement, whether within the separate Books or as between them, it is not chronological[1]. The only Ode than can be with confidence dated as early as B.C. 30 is 1. 37. Of two Odes which can be definitely placed in B.C. 24 one is in the third Book, the other in the first (3. 14, 1. 24). Od. 1. 12 belongs almost certainly to the later years of that period. The Odes which turn on the two synchronous personal events, the poet's escape from the falling tree and the recovery of Maecenas from dangerous illness, are distributed between the three Books, and the one which must be latest in composition (1. 20) is in the first Book. The view based on such considerations is seen to harmonize with indications of unity within the poems themselves. It seems to be implied in the analogy which we notice between the

[1] It will be noticed that if this is the case, and if also the existing arrangement of the Odes is the original one, it follows necessarily that the three Books must have been published simultaneously. The division of the Books and the order of the Odes as they are have the right of undisputed tradition. One MS. only departs from them (viz. B), and that, as will be seen from the account given of it on pp. 4, 5, bears, though in another way, witness to the usual arrangement. Diomedes, the writer on metre (quoted by Priscian and therefore not later than the fifth century), refers to the Odes by their present numbering.

dedication of Epp. 1. 1 and 19, and of Od. 1. 1 and 3. 29 to Maecenas, while in each case the last poem in the collection, Epp. 1. 20, Od. 3. 30, is reserved for the poet's literary self-consciousness. The references in Book iv. treat the three preceding Books as a whole—as e. g. in the relation of 4. 1 to 1. 19 and 3. 26, as one of the earliest and the latest of the love Odes of his earlier poetry. Above all, it is only when this unity is recognized that we perceive that full significance in the arrangement of the Odes which the example of the Fourth Book prepares us to expect[1].

§ 11. Some kind of conscious arrangement subsequent to composition, and not chronological, is obvious on the face of the Epodes, Satires, and Epistles. There is at least the choice of the opening poem, not usually[2], if ever, earliest in date of composition, an apology for the style of writing as in Sat. ii. or a quasi-dedicatory address as in the Epodes, Sat. i, and both Books of the Epistles. And there are reasons frequently to be detected for the juxtaposition or separation of particular poems. In the Epodes, for instance, we notice especially the metrical arrangement of 1–10, 11–16, 17, and the distribution at intervals of poems upon the same subject, such as those upon Canidia (5 and 17) and those in which he touches politics (1, 7, 9, 16)[3].

§ 12. It is natural that the art expended on the arrangement of the Odes[4] should be greater. The moods which they reflect are more various, and the poems are of a kind which has more to gain by contrast or preparation. But there is a greater reason in the delicacy of the ground upon which they enter, in respect to the politics of the time. Horace has in them to justify his change of sides, neither to ignore nor to make too much of it—he has to praise with tact one, 'cui male si palpere, recalcitrat'—he has with dignity and without offence to do justice to old friendships and old ideals. In this task he takes refuge in the irony, partly a method of his art, partly a natural

[1] It may be added that if, as is generally believed, Epp. 1. 13 refers to the presentation of the Odes to Augustus, it is in accordance with the current view that Horace speaks of the poems sent as 'libelli,' 'fasciculus librorum,' in contrast with his use of the singular 'libellus' of the First Book of the Satires in Sat. 1. 10 92.

[2] Epod. 1, if it refers, as seems probable, to Actium, is one of the two latest in the Book. In Epp. ii the first of the two Epistles is to be dated six or seven years later than the second. In Sat. ii the first Satire seems to carry in it a reference to B.C. 30, the year of the publication of the Book.

[3] For instances in the Satires and Epistles, see vol. ii, pp. 14 and 210.

[4] The case of Odes iv is dealt with fully in the introduction to that Book. The art of the arrangement is more generally recognized in it than in the three earlier Books, only because the material to be disposed is smaller in quantity, and because the purpose of the Book is more fully avowed.

instinct, 'parcentis viribus atque extenuantis eas consulto,' which marks so deeply all his writings[1]. It enables him in Satires and Epistles to preach without seeming to preach. In his Odes he would have his readers take him as the poet of mirth and love (' non praeter solitum levis,') never to be taken too seriously, surprised sometimes into lofty themes and genuine enthusiasm, but recovering himself before he has done injury to subjects for which he is unfit.

This irony expresses itself within the Odes in many ways—in the negative form of such Odes as 1. 6, 2. 12, 4. 2, in the apologetic stanza which concludes 2. 1 or 3. 3, in the half humorous way in which he recalls his share in the campaign of Philippi in 2. 7. But we miss a great deal of its effect if we do not notice it also in their arrangement. It is this rather than the mere desire for variety which dictates the distribution of the political Odes at long intervals. They must not seem to claim too large a share in the writer's thoughts. It rules also to some extent the particular sequence in which they are placed. The most evident instance is the elaborate prelude to B. iv; but there is something of the same spirit in the arrangement which makes 1. 2, the political recantation and profession which he sets in the forefront of the poems, follow 1. 1, in which he has apologized for the poet's art as one of the thousand unaccountable tastes of mankind; or again in the position of 1. 12, between the astrologers of Leuconoë and the coquetries of Lydia[2]. The same effect is sought again in the light touch of 'Persicos odi' and 'Quid fles Asterie,' which follow and relieve the earnestness of 1. 37 and 3. 1–6.

§ 13. That a certain veil of irony is thrown over them increases rather than diminishes our sense of the important place which the political Odes held in the disposition of the three Books. It may even be suggested that the triple division is due to them. Not only do they occupy prominent places in each book; they are so disposed as to give the sense, as between the three Books, of a progress and development in the poet's political ideas. In B. i. (2, 12, 14, 35, 37) the rule of Octavianus is accepted as the welcome end of the civil wars, and as

[1] On its artistic side this irony is nearly connected with another feature of his style which will be noticed on 2. 19 (Introd. and on v. 31), 3. 5. 56, and 4. 2. 57, namely his affectation, in poems where we have been wrought higher than usual, of a dull, even conventional, ending, as though the passion ought to die away in a diminuendo before the strain ceases. This again passes into the mere sense of the relief afforded by contrast, or unwillingness to dwell too long on one note. When we are discussing the motives which led to the placing of a particular poem, whether political in its purpose or not, it is not possible to draw the line nearly between these closely related feelings.

[2] Cp. the sequence of Epodes 7, 8, 9.

the deliverance (and this is emphasized by the place given to 37) from the alternative rule of Antony and Cleopatra with its degrading accompaniments. The tone and arguments are still to a great extent those of the Epodes. In Book ii we have less of politics; but Ode 1 repeats in the form of comments on Pollio's forthcoming history the poet's disgust at the aimless bloodshed of the epoch which is closed, while 15, 16, 18, by their arraignment of social evils, prepare the way for the positive aspect of the imperial rule which is to be shown in B. iii. We notice that it is in this Book, as in neutral ground, that Horace finds place (Od. 7) for reminiscences of the part which he had himself taken and for his tribute to the lost cause. It is in B. iii, after an exordium which calls special attention as to something of higher import than anything that has gone before, that he sets himself (Odes 1–6, 24) to describe at length the work which the new government is to do, and the solid grounds on which good citizens should accept it, as promising a régime of moderation and culture, the restoration of religion, of the military spirit, of simple living and morality.

§ 14. As with the political Odes, so with the others, although the chronological order of composition is in no sense the primary principle of arrangement, and is at times demonstrably departed from, Horace seems to have designedly given to each of the three Books a colour and characteristics of its own. The *First* contains probably on the whole his earlier compositions. In it are found most of his experiments in metre (4. 7, 8, 28), most of the Odes which seem studies from the Greek (as 10, 15, 30), or which take their starting-point (as 9, 14, 18) from some known passage of Greek poetry. The *Second* is the Book given most largely to personal friendship and autobiographical touches. In the *Third* we find what on literary grounds we feel to be Horace's maturest work—the Odes in which he attains, if not his most perfect finish, his greatest freedom, in which the influence of Pindar seems to be supplanting that of the Lesbian poets. It is the Book in which his metrical ear seems most exacting. We may notice that the three Books are made to mark stages in the poet's literary self-confidence. We pass from the deprecatory and ironical tone of 1. 1, through 2. 20 in which, although he applies to himself the epitaph of Ennius, he is still thinking (as in Sat. 1. 6) of the taunts levelled at his humble origin, and finding his consolation in the favour of Maecenas, to the triumphal tone of 3. 30, in which he claims the bay as his right, and associates himself with the eternity of Rome.

§ 15. If we knew more of Horace's relations to private friends or public characters [1] to whom he addresses Odes, we should possibly see in more cases than we do an appropriateness in the places assigned to them. In a few cases it is evident. The position of *Maecenas* as the patron 'prima dictus summa dicendus Camena' is marked, as I have already noticed, by the dedication to him of 1. 1 and 3. 29. It is marked also by scattering the other Odes addressed to him at measured intervals as carefully as the political Odes. We are never to be long without hearing his name [2]. For the contrasted position which he occupies in B. iv, see introduction to that Book.

It is interesting to notice in the first three Odes of B. i, that the name which stands next to Maecenas and Caesar is that of the poet Virgil, the friend to whose introduction to Maecenas Horace owed his fortunes. It has been pointed out as probably significant that the next three Odes addressed to real persons (4, 6, 7) bear the names of men with special claims to the emperor's favour: Sestius cos. suffect. in B.C. 23, Agrippa the victor of Actium, and (though the identification is less certain) L. Munatius Plancus, on whose proposal the title of Augustus had been bestowed by the Senate in B.C. 27. Similarly Kiessling has pointed out that in Sen. de Clem. 1. 10, Pollio, Sallustius, and Dellius, whose names stand at the head of Odes 2. 1, 2, 3, are ranked together as amongst the first of the leading citizens to reconcile themselves to Octavianus.

§ 16. The arrangement of the Epodes prepares us to expect that *metre* would have some influence in the placing of the Odes. A negative influence it evidently has, from the care with which he avoids the juxtaposition of two Odes of the same metre. In the great instance to the contrary (3. 1–6) the obvious purpose gives the greater significance to his usual practice. As a positive motive for placing particular Odes the principle has less scope, but we cannot but notice that in B. i the first nine Odes furnish specimens of nine out of the eleven metres found in the three Books, one of the two exceptions being made up in Ode 11. The alternation of Sapphics and Alcaics through more than half of B. ii seems another instance.

§ 17. As with metre so with subject and tone, the great aim in the arrangement seems to be variety. The key is to be changed as often

[1] The case of unknown names, male and female, Pyrrha, Lydia, Sybaris, and the like, stands on different grounds, and is dealt with in Appendix I.

[2] The Odes addressed to Maecenas are 1. 1, 20; 2. 12, 17, 20; 3. 8, 16, 29.

as possible. If two or more Odes are unusually like one another they are relieved by a stronger contrast. We pass from personal topics to public, from friendship to love, from real persons to shadows, from banter to earnestness, from the philosophy of life to its pleasures, from the tone of the Stoic to that of the Epicurean. While this is the general principle, we can sometimes see, probably we oftener fail from ignorance to see, some link of association, either through similarity or contrast, which would guide the arranger's hand, consciously or unconsciously, in placing one Ode next to another. I have suggested such links sometimes in the notes, but the ground is not substantial enough for further generalization.

# Q. HORATI FLACCI

## CARMINUM

LIB. I–III

'Numerosus Horatius.'—Ovidius.

'Horatii curiosa felicitas.'—Petronius.

'Lyricorum Horatius fere solus legi dignus: nam et insurgit aliquando et plenus est iucunditatis et gratiae et variis figuris et verbis felicissime audax.'—Quintilianus.

# LIBER PRIMUS.

## ODE I.

'Men have different ideas of glory and happiness—success in the Olympic games, civic honours, wealth. The farmer will not turn trader for any prospect of riches, nor the trader give up the sea for any danger. One likes a life of ease; another the excitements of war or sport. My taste is lyric poetry, and my glory that you should rank me with the lyric poets of Greece.'

The Ode is clearly written as an introduction, and there is in it some irony. (Cp. the tone of Od. 3. 30, when the work is done.) It is dedicated to Maecenas, as is the first of the Epodes, the first of the Satires, the first of B. i. of the Epistles.

Compare also Od. 4. 3, which recalls the main thoughts of this Ode, though its confident tone and the absence of a patron's name point the change which had by that time come upon the poet's circumstances. There is no need in either Ode to trace the 'incongruous' mention of the Olympic games as among the natural objects of ambition to the remembrance of any special Greek original, such as Pind. Fr. 201 :—

*ἀελλοπόδων μέν τιν' εὐφραίνοισιν ἵππων*
*τίμια καὶ στέφανοι τοὺς δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοις θαλάμοις βιοτά, κ. τ. λ.*

The purpose is to give the feeling of a wide survey of human life, and Horace does not draw a strong line between the Greek life which survived in literature and the actual Roman life of his own day. The apology for poetry, as one among the various tastes of mankind, is as old at least as Solon (2. 43–52), and Horace would remember the end of Virg. G. 2, esp. vv. 503 foll. For the same thoughts in a less poetical form, cp. Sat. 2. 1. 24 foll. 'Quot capitum vivunt totidem studiorum Milia: me pedibus delectat claudere verba, &c.'

It should be noticed that, though Horace seems to be only apologizing for his own pursuit of writing poetry, as not more unaccountable than the many others which divide mankind, yet, when he comes to speak of it, the terms he uses are such as imply that it is better than any of them, its pleasure purer, its rewards higher.

Metre—*First Asclepiad.*

MAECENAS atavis edite regibus,
O et praesidium et dulce decus meum,
Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos;

1. See on 3. 29. 1 'Tyrrhena regum progenies.' In neither case is there the special purpose in the address which there is in Sat. 1. 6. 1. Compare also Od. 1. 20. 5 with 3 16. 20. It is, however, a little more than a pleasing compliment; in connection with the next line it has the force of 'so far above us, yet whose power is my protection, and whose glory is my pride.' The Cilnii, Maecenas' ancestors on his father's side, are named (Liv. 10. 3) as a powerful family at Arretium in the fourth century B.C.

**atavis**, 'ancestors,' cp. Virg. Aen. 7. 56 'Turnus avis atavisque potens.' When contrasted with other compounds of 'avus,' 'atavus' = ἐπίπαππος, the fifth ancestor: 'pater, avus, proavus, abavus, atavus,' Plaut. Pers. 1. 2. 6.

**edite**, Virg. Aen. 8. 137 'Electram maximus Atlas Edidit.'

2. Cp. Od. 2. 17. 4 'mearum Grande decus columenque rerum;' Ep. 1. 1. 103 'rerum tutela mearum;' Virg. G. 2. 40 'O decus, O famae merito pars maxima nostrae.' Notice that here, as with the corresponding word in the other passages, 'meum' is in the emphatic place, 'to me.'

3. **sunt quos . . . iuvat.** 'Sunt qui' may take either a *Subjunctive*, in which case 'qui' has its consecutive force: 'sunt qui dicant,' 'there are people to say:' or an *Indicative*, in which case 'sunt-qui,' like 'nescio quis,' becomes a new pronoun, the subject of a definite categorical statement. The former is the more Latin construction, more consonant with the usages of the Relative, and is preferred in prose, although the Indicative is also found, as in Sall. Cat. 19. 4, where see Kritz's note. Horace, swayed perhaps by his love of Greek constructions, prefers the Indicative, after the model of εἰσὶν οἵ. Cp. Od. 1. 7. 5, Sat. 1. 4. 24. But he uses the Subjunctive also, Sat. 1. 2. 28, 1. 4. 74, Epp. 1. 1. 77. In some cases the text is doubtful, as in Sat. 2. 1. 1. In Epp. 2. 2. 183 'Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere,' he seems to use the two constructions as a means of contrasting the vagueness of a general statement with the definiteness of a known particular instance. 'There are who have not, I know one who cares not to have.'

**curriculo** may mean either the 'course,' as in Cic. Mur. 27 'quadrigarum curriculum,' or the 'chariot,' as in Ov. Trist. 4. 8 'curriculo gravis est facta ruina meo.'

4. **collegisse.** On comparison with Sat. 1. 4. 31 'pulvis collectus turbine,' perhaps rather 'to have raised a cloud of dust' than 'to have become dusty.' For the perf. see on 3. 4. 52.

**fervidis**, Virg. G. 3. 167 'volat vi fervidus axis;' the object was to round the 'metae' as closely as possible, and with the chariot going at full speed.

5. **palma nobilis**, 'the palm of glory,' Paus. 8. 48 ἐς δὲ τὴν δεξιάν ἐστι καὶ πανταχοῦ τῷ νικῶντι ἐστιθέμενος φοῖνιξ.

6. **terrarum dominos.** Ovid seems to have taken these words *as in apposition to 'deos'*; for in Pont. 1. 35 'Nam tua non alio coluit penetralia ritu Terrarum dominos quam colis ipse deos,' the play lies in applying to the gods a familiar designation but in a new sense, 'the gods' being a metaphorical term for Caesar and his family. Lucan (8. 208) uses the expression again in the sense merely of 'kings,' the original passage probably being hardly in his mind. Dillenburger would take 'terrarum dominos' here as = 'quasi sint facti terrarum domini,' 'raises them to heaven, very lords of the world,' i.e. in their own feeling and estimation (cp. Od. 4. 2. 17 'quos Elea domum reducit Palma caelestes'); and he is followed by many editors. Ovid's imitation perhaps shows that this is wrong, but the same sense is to be elicited from the

Hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium
Certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;
Illum, si proprio condidit horreo,
Quicquid de Libycis verritur areis.
Gaudentem patrios findere sarculo

simpler way of taking the words; 'raises them to the gods in so far as the gods are "terrarum domini,"' 'makes them like gods, lords of the world.' Those who have constructed the verse (see next note) with the sentence which follows, have sometimes taken the words as a designation of the Romans who are contrasted with the Greeks, the objects of the preceding verses. Cp. the contrast of the two peoples in the parallel Od. 4. 3. 3-9. The expression would then be the same as Virgil's 'Romanos rerum dominos,' Aen. 1. 282; but Mr. Yonge rightly points out that in Virgil it is used of the Romans *collectively*, and that we still lack proof that it could have been tolerated if used, as it would be here, of *individuals*.

7-9. **hunc .. illum.** We must supply 'iuvat' from v. 4. The interposition of the fresh verb 'evehit' has been felt to be a difficulty. Bentley avoided it by altering 'evehit' to 'evehere,' which he took with 'nobilis,' as 'superare pugnis nobilem,' Od. 1. 12. 24. Rutgers had previously suggested the course which has been followed lately by Macleane and Munro, supported by 'the emphatic advocacy of Dr. Kennedy.' They put a full stop at 'nobilis,' making 'evehit' the verb of the new sentence. The serious objection to this view lies in the break of rhythm, resulting in an anti-climax, caused by stopping at 'nobilis.' The parallels which Munro alleges, such as 3. 30. 5, do not touch the poverty of 'palmaque nobilis' if it is the subject of the preceding verb, the last in a series which descends both in fulness of sense and in weight of sound.

7. **mobilium.** The epithet, if it reflects the poet's own feeling (cp. Epp. 1. 19. 34 'ventosae plebis,' Od. 3. 2. 20 'popularis aurae'), suits also the feeling of the poem. It is the parallel of the 'dust' of v. 3, the dangers of v. 24, the discomforts of v. 25, etc. 'Each pursuit has its drawbacks, yet men follow it in spite of them.'

**turba** has a similar force, something of Juvenal's 'turba Remi,' 10. 73. Cp. Cicero on the uncertainty of the comitia, pro Mur. 17. 35 'quod enim fretum, quem Euripum, tot motus, tantas, tam varias habere putatis agitationes commutationesque fluctum, quantas perturbationes et quantos aestus habet ratio comitiorum?' pro Planc. 4. 9 'Non est consilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen.'

8. **certat tollere.** See App. 2. § 1.

**tergeminis.** 'Tergemini' properly meant 'three born at a birth,' as 'gemini' (Plaut. Amph. 1. 2. 28 'duos geminos') by usage meant two so born. Afterwards it was used generally for 'triple,' cp. 'centumgeminus' (Virg. Aen. 6. 287), etc.

**honoribus**, the abl. as 'Cl. Marcellum pontificatu .. extulit.' Tac. Ann. 1. 3. Some difficulty seems to have been early felt in identifying the 'three offices,' for the Schol. explains 'finitus numerus pro infinito, vel etiam aut quaestura, aut praetura aut consulatu.' The ref. is to the 'certus ordo magistratuum,' which were ordinarily the offices of quaestor, curule aedile, praetor, consul. The 'three' may be the three last, as the three 'curule' magistracies; or the first and the two last, the office of aedile being not unfrequently omitted. In the comparison in Cic. Mur. of the careers of Murena and Sulpicius the only three offices through which they are traced are those of quaestor, praetor, consul.

9. **proprio horreo.** Cp. 3. 16. 26 'si quicquid arat impiger Apulus Occultare meis dicerer horreis.' 'To hide in his own granary all that is swept up from the threshing-floors of Libya,' is one of the metaphorical descriptions of the passion for enormous properties of which there are so many in Horace. See the later stanzas of that Ode, and 2. 2. 10 foll.

11. **gaudentem**, 'one whose pleasure it is.' The point of the following lines is the *tenacity* with which men cling to their own pursuit—so the in-

Agros Attalicis condicionibus
Numquam dimoveas, ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.
Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
Mercator metuens otium et oppidi
Laudat rura sui; mox reficit rates
Quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.
Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
Nec partem solido demere de die
Spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
Stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.

stance taken is no longer the lordly owner of a 'latifundium' in the provinces, but the humble cultivator of an 'avitus fundus,' 1. 12. 44.

**findere sarculo.** The verb and the implement seem to imply difficult and personal work; a harsher soil as well as a smaller farm. Contrast 'scindere' and 'proscindere,' used of ploughing, and compare Virg. G. 1. 94 'rastris glebas qui frangit inertes.' Kiessling quotes Plin. N. H. 18. 19 'montanae gentes sarculis arant.'

12. **Attalicis condicionibus**, 'by offers such as Attalus could make.' An allusion to the proverbial wealth of the kings of Pergamus, see on Od. 2. 18. 5. For the use of 'condicio,' cp. Cic. ad Q. Fr. 1. 1. 2. 8 'ut nulla condicio pecuniae te . . ab summa integritate deduxerit.'

13. **Cypria**, Od. 3. 29. 60 'Cypriae merces.'

14. **Myrtoum.** 'Speciem pro genere ponit more suo,' Porph. on Od. 1. 16. 4. So with 'Cypria,' 'Icariis,' etc. When Horace puts a special for a general designation in this manner he usually selects a Greek one. Four names are commonly assigned to different parts of the Aegean: *Thracium*, the northern part: *Myrtoum*, the western part, south of Euboea, so named from the small island Myrto, off the south coast of Euboea: *Icarium*, to the east of Myrtoum, named from the island Icaria, just west of Samos: *Creticum* (Od. 1. 26. 2), south of both the last, washing the island of Crete.

16. **metuens**, 'at the moment when he fears.' His repentance is as short-lived as that of the 'fenerator Alfius' in Epod. 2. Cp. Od. 2. 26. 1-4, where the point is the same, 'Otium Divos rogat in patenti Prensus Aegaeo.'

18. **quassas**, though their state bears witness to the risks of the trade.

**pauperiem.** The 'pauperies,' which the trader is represented here and in Epp. 1. 1. 45 as flying 'per mare, per saxa, per ignes,' is not 'want' ('egestas'), but a modest competence, such as Horace tells us was the school of the ancient Roman heroism, Od. 1. 12. 44 'Saeva paupertas et avitus apto Cum lare fundus,' such as he attributes to his own father, Sat. 1. 6. 71 'macro pauper agello.'

**pati**, for the inf. see App. 2. § 2.

19. **Massici**, a wine grown near Sinuessa in Campania.

20. **solido de die.** He is speaking probably not of letting the festivities of the evening encroach on the day's work ('tempestivum convivium,' Cic. pro Mur. 6, etc.), but of breaking the continuity of business hours. Compare for the metaphor, Varr. R. R. 1. 2 'diffindere insititio somno meridiem,' and Horace himself, Od. 2. 7. 6, 7 'morantem saepe diem mero Fregi.' Seneca was probably thinking of this place when he wrote, Ep. 83, 'hodiernus dies solidus est, nemo ex illo mihi quicquam eripuit.'

22. **lene**, not so loud as to disturb slumber.

**caput**, Virg. G. 4. 368 'caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus.'

**sacrae.** All springs were sacred. Cp. Od. 3. 13. The epithet recalls the qualities which gave them that character—the beauty, freshness, abundance.

Multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae
Permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
Detestata. Manet sub Iove frigido
Venator tenerae coniugis immemor,
Seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
Seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.
Me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
Dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
Secernunt populo, si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.

23. **lituo tubae**, 'stridor lituum clangorque tubarum,' Luc. 1. 237. The 'lituus' was a curved horn emitting a shrill note, used by the cavalry—the 'tuba' was straight, and belonged to infantry.

24. **matribus detestata**, cp. Epod. 16. 8 'parentibusque abominatus Hannibal.' Cicero uses 'detestatus' as a passive, De Legg. 2. 11.

25. **manet**, 'stays all night;' cp. Sat. 2. 3. 234 'Tu nive Lucana dormis ocreatus ut aprum Cenem ego.'

**Iove**, of the air, Od. 1. 22. 20, 3. 10. 8, Epod. 13 2; cp. Virg. G. 1. 418 'Iuppiter uvidus,' and G. 3. 435 'sub divo.'

27, 28 must mean 'if the moment be sufficiently exciting.' If no deer had been sighted, if the boar was still safe in the netted enclosure, the huntsman might go home for the night. **teretes**, sc. 'de tereti fune factus' Schol. So Plin. N. H. 11. 28 of the spider's web 'filum teres.' It seems to mean smooth, even, and so of a rope closely twisted. In spite of this the boar has broken away.

**Marsus**, for the form, see on Od. 1. 15. 10.

29. **doctarum**, i.e. a poet's. The epithet is derived from the σοφὸς ἀοιδός of heroic times, ὃν Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε (Hom. Od. 8. 481), the Muse, the daughter of Memory. The poet learnt and remembered rather than created. It is appropriated here and elsewhere by a Roman poet with a feeling that it describes his art also. It is on a knowledge and imitation of Greek models that Horace rests his own title to fame. The lute which his muse strings is the 'lute of Lesbos.'

**hederae**. The ivy crown belongs to the poet (Virg. E. 7. 25, 8. 13) as inspired by Bacchus; cp. Juv. 7. 64 'dominis Cirrhae Nisaeque,' Hor. Epp. 1. 19. 4.

30. **Dis miscent superis**, not merely like 'evehit ad deos' above—'glorify me, make me as happy as the gods,'—but 'admit me to a happy dreamland,' to the Μουσῶν νάπαι, the 'pii luci' of Od. 3. 4. 5 foll.; cp. 3. 25. 1 foll.

32–34. **tibias . . barbiton**. The two instruments are intended to include all varieties of lyric poetry; see on Od. 3. 4. 1–4, and cp. 1. 12. 1, 2. They are divided here between Euterpe and Polyhymnia. In one of the two passages referred to they are both attributed to Calliope, in the other to Clio. For the plural 'tibias,' cp. Od. 4. 15. 30, Epod. 9. 5, and see Dict. Ant. s.v. The reference is to the double pipe—two pipes used at the same time—one of a higher the other of a lower pitch. Cp. Herod. 1. 17, where the αὐλοὶ ἀνδρήϊοι καὶ γυναικήϊοι are generally interpreted in this way.

34. **Lesboum barbiton**. The Greek form of adj. and subst. seems to point to the imitative character of the poetry which he aspires to write: see on Od. 1. 32. 3, and on 4. 6. 29. It is to be noticed that Horace prefers in the Odes the Greek form Helenen, Cypron, etc., in the Satires and Epistles the Latin Helenam, etc.

Quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,
Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

35. **vatibus.** The Greek lyric poets—for on Horace's showing they had as yet no Roman rival Cp. Od. 4. 3. 13, and note the change of tone. He there claims as his own, by gift of the public voice, the place which here he looks for at the hands of a patron.

36. **feriam sidera.** I shall be raised to the skies with glory. A common Greek trope. Sapph. Fr. 9 *ψαύειν δὲ πόλον δοκεῖ μοι οὐρανῷ δυσπάχεα.* Soph. O. C. 381 *πρὸς οὐρανὸν βιβῶν.*

---

# ODE II.

'We have seen and felt enough of the wrath of the gods. Our population is thinned by civil war, while the Parthians defy us in safety. What god can save our falling empire, or atone for our guilt? Apollo? Venus? our father Mars? nay rather Mercury, who is amongst us in human shape, and submitting to be called Caesar's avenger—you must be our prince. Long may you live—stay the civil war, and chastise the Parthians!'

There is nothing to fix with exactness the date of the composition of the Ode. The portents spoken of are without doubt those which followed the death of Caesar, B.C. 44 (Dion 45. 17, cp. Virg. G. 1. 466 foll., Tib. 2. 5. 71 foll., Ov. Met. 15. 782 foll.), and therefore, however early we put the Ode, years must have elapsed since their occurrence. They are recalled dramatically, not happening at the moment. The Ode is fitly placed in the forefront of the three Books, as containing once for all Horace's palinode and 'apologia.' He is professing and explaining his conversion to Caesarism. He has thought over the signs of divine wrath which followed Caesar's death, and learnt that the act of Brutus was a crime. The space of time during which he was learning the lesson is lost to view. The political point of view is an advance on Epodes 7 and 16. The 'scelus' of Epod. 7 is summed up in one act of profitless and sacrilegious bloodshed. A remedy for the evils of the state has been seen more practical than that proposed in Epod. 16. But the grounds alleged are still substantially the same, weariness of the civil war with its horrors at home and impotence abroad. There is no forecast as in B. iii. of the special results social and moral to be looked for from the new régime; but in the choice of 'the gentle Maia's son,' the god of peaceful arts, of persuasion and of commerce, as the deity whom he sees incarnate in the 'avenger,' he indicates the nature of the rule he looks to.

Virg. Georg. 1. 466 to the end, should be compared with the Ode as affording a parallel both in sentiment and in many points in expression.

IAM satis terris nivis atque dirae
Grandinis misit Pater et rubente
Dextera sacras iaculatus arces
        Terruit Urbem,
Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
Saeculum Pyrrhae nova monstra questae,
Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
        Visere montes,
Piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo,
Nota quae sedes fuerat columbis,
Et superiecto pavidae natarunt
        Aequore dammae.
Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
Litore Etrusco violenter undis

1. **terris misit.** A common poetical dative, Od. 1. 12. 59 'mittes fulmina lucis;' Virg. Aen. 2. 398 'demittimus Orco.'

**dirae.** A word properly of augural signification, 'of bad omen,' 'diri cometae,' Virg. G. 1. 488; 'dirae aves,' Tac. Ann. 12. 43. Dillenburger points out that though put only with the last of the two subst. after Horace's manner, it qualifies both. He gives the following list of instances, Od. 1. 31. 16, 1. 34. 8, 2. 8. 3, 2. 19. 24, 3. 2. 16, 3. 11. 39, 4. 14. 4; see on Od. 1. 5. 6.

2. **Pater.** Od. 3. 29. 44 'Nube polum Pater occupato.'

**rubente**, red from the flames of the bolt which he is launching.

3. **sacras arces**, 'temple and tower;' the Capitoline hill with its two summits, one occupied with the arx, the other by the temple of Jupiter.

6. **Pyrrhae**, the wife of Deucalion. The downfall of rain was so great that the world looked for a return of Deucalion's deluge; cp. Virg. G. 1. 468 'Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.'

**monstra**, anything strange and portentous; used in Virg. Aen. 3. 582 of the noises of Aetna; Aen. 7. 21, of the transformations wrought by Circe.

**questae**, as a Greek might have used ἀγανακτεῖν. The word serves to identify Pyrrha's feelings as well as her circumstances with those of the poet. She too said 'iam satis,' etc.

7. **pecus**, 'immania . . armenta . . phocas,' Virg. G. 4. 395.

**egit visere**, App. 2. § 1.

9–12. Dillenburger points out how the words are chosen to emphasise the general inversion of the natural order of things. The fish 'cling' as if they were birds—the deer 'swim' as if they were fish.

13. **vidimus**, not necessarily of personal sight, 'our generation has seen;' Virg. G. 1. 471 'quotiens Cyclopum effervere in agros Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam.'

**flavum**, Od. 1. 8. 8, 2. 3. 18—an habitual epithet, otherwise we might take it as meaning 'yellower than usual from the flood.'

**retortis litore Etrusco.** Some doubt hangs over the meaning of these words. It is tempting to take them of what must have been the usual process of the Tiber's frequent flooding, the full stream striking against the higher '(Etruscan) bank,' where the river makes a great bend round the Janiculan hill, and being 'flung back' on the opposite or 'left bank,' where the valley between the Capitoline and Palatine hills opens upon it. This explanation is possibly right: its very simplicity however is perhaps against it. Horace is not aiming at a naturalistic description of causes, but adding strange and supernatural circumstances. It should be noted that 'litus Etruscum' is a phrase used by him in C. S. 38 and Epod. 16. 40, and in the sense of 'the

Ire deiectum monumenta regis
Templaque Vestae;
Iliae dum se nimium querenti
Iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
Labitur ripa Iove non probante u-
xorius amnis.
Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Persae melius perirent,

shore of the Tuscan sea.' Dion in describing the portents which followed the death of Caesar, mentions a tidal wave which caused a flood at the mouth of the Po, and also one which left numbers of dead fish ashore at the mouth of the Tiber. Horace would then be combining a reference to this with his description of the flooding of the river in Rome. It is pertinent also to notice that such an arrest of the waters at the mouth, was a current explanation of the flooding of rivers, see Herod. 2. 20. It would mean in this case 'its waters flung back at the Tuscan shore.' If the simpler sense is given, notice that Virgil uses 'litus' of a river-bank, Aen. 3. 390, 8. 83.

15. **monumenta regis** would properly include both the 'Atrium Regium' (Liv. 26. 27), or 'Regia,' the residence of the Pontifex Maximus (and therefore of Julius Caesar), and the temple of Vesta, which was attached to it: for both were attributed to King Numa. The 'que,' however, does not couple so much the names of two separate buildings as the two interests, historic and religious, that attach to the same block of building. Note that the identification of the cause of the flood with the murder of Caesar begins in these words, see on v. 27.

16. **templa.** Virgil uses the plural in the same way, Aen. 3. 84. The temple of Vesta, to which antiquaries had assigned several sites, has been satisfactorily identified in the circular building, of which the foundations remain, between the Palatine hill and the 'Sacra via' (see Sat. 1. 9. 35) near the south-west corner of the Forum Magnum.

17. **nimium,** with 'querenti,' 'complaining more than he could bear:' she complains of the murder of her great descendant. Horace connects the name of Ilia (Rea Sylvia) with the Julian line as Virgil does those of Ilus and Iulus, Aen. 1. 268–288. The Schol. refer to Ennius for the story of her being thrown into the Tiber. Claudian calls her 'Tiberini uxor.' Ovid represents her as finding a refuge and a husband in the Anio.

19. **Iove non probante.** Jupiter, as the Schol. says, 'terreri voluit populum, non perire;' he disapproves the excessive vengeance of Ilia. For the division of a word between the third and fourth lines of a Sapphic stanza, cp. 1. 25. 11 'sub inter-lunia vento;' 2. 16. 7 'neque purpura ve-nale neque auro.'

21. **cives.** The purpose for which the sword is sharpened, is indicated partly by the contrasted 'better' purpose, partly by the emphasis on 'cives'; not as soldiers, nor as Romans against foreigners, but as citizens, in pursuance of an intestine, civil quarrel; see on Od. 1. 32. 5, and 1. 35. 34. Compare the use of 'soror' in Virg. Aen. 12. 871.

22. Cp. the opening of Lucan's Pharsalia, esp. v. 10 foll. 'Cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda tropaeis Ausoniis, umbraque erraret Crassus inulta, Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos;' see also Epod. 7. 5–10.

**graves,** Od. 3. 5. 4 = 'molesti.'

**Persae.** From the decline of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, B.C 250 foll. to the restoration of a Persian dynasty in the person of Artaxerxes, the founder of the Sassanidae, A. D. 226, the ruling race of western Asia was the Parthi, a tribe originally settled to the east of Media, and immediately south of the Caspian. Their kings, the Arsacidae, fixed their capital at Seleucia on the Tigris, where they adopted the pomp and title of the old Persian monarchs, *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, βασιλεὺς μέγας.* Horace is the only Augustan writer who calls them 'Persae' (and therefore, following the Greek usage, also 'Medi'; see below, v. 51), an instance probably of the predominant influence of Greek

Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
        Rara iuventus.
Quem vocet divum populus ruentis
Imperi rebus? prece qua fatigent
Virgines sanctae minus audientem
        Carmina Vestam?
Cui dabit partes scelus expiandi
Iuppiter? Tandem venias precamur
Nube candentes umeros amictus
        Augur Apollo;
Sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
Quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido;
Sive neglectum genus et nepotes
        Respicis auctor,
Heu nimis longo satiate ludo,
Quem iuvat clamor galeaeque leves,

associations upon his style. Cp. the still more definite identification of the two dynasties, Od. 2. 2. 17 'Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten.'

24. **rara**, 'our youth thinned by their parents' crimes.' There will be few to hear the story, for civil war has killed those who should have bred up sons for the state; cp. C. S. 17–20.

25. **ruentis imperi rebus.** The dative = 'ut rebus succurrat.' 'rebus,' 'the fortunes.' It is a variety of the more usual 'ruentibus rebus,' as Virg. uses 'res fractae,' Tac. 'res labantes.'

26. **imperi**, 'the empire' = the whole system of Roman rule—the State in its aspect of power and majesty, 1. 37. 8. Sometimes it contains more definitely the idea of the dominion of Rome over foreign peoples, 3. 5. 4, 'adiectis Britannis Imperio'; cp. the verb in 3. 6. 5 'Dis te minorem quod geris imperas [Romane].' 4. 15. 14 'fama . . et imperi Porrecta maiestas ad ortus solis et Hesperium cubile' seems to combine both shades of meaning.

27. **minus audientem**, 'turning a deaf ear to their litanies.' Vesta is represented as offended at the murder of the Pontifex Maximus, whose office was specially connected with her service and temple, see above, v. 16. Ordinarily she would be the protectress of Rome.

29. **scelus**, *ἄγος*, guilt which involves ceremonial pollution. Cp. Virg. E. 4. 13 'sceleris vestigia nostri'; Hor. Epod. 7. 1 'Quo, quo, scelesti ruitis?' The 'scelus,' which in those places is the guilt of civil bloodshed generally, is here summed up in the murder of Caesar.

31. Hom. Il. 5. 186 *νεφέλῃ εἰλυμένος ὤμους*, veiling his brightness that mortals might look upon him.

32. **augur.** Apollo (*μάντις Διὸς προφήτης*) — Romanized as the god of augury, Virg. Aen. 4. 376—may tell them how the pollution is to be removed.

33. **Erycina**, 'Venus,' from her temple on Mount Eryx in Sicily, Virg. Aen. 5. 759. The people of Segesta applied to Tiberius to restore this temple on the ground of its mythical connection with the founder of the Julian gens, and he 'suscepit curam libens ut consanguineus,' Tac. Ann. 4. 43.

**ridens**, *φιλομμειδής*.

35. **genus et nepotes**, = 'genus nepotum,' Od. 3. 17. 3. The purpose of the hendiadys is to give full emphasis to 'neglectum' and to 'auctor' by allowing each a clause to itself.

36. **auctor.** Mars, the father of Romulus and Remus; Virg. Aen. 4. 365 'generis nec Dardanus auctor.'

37. **ludo**, war is the sport of Mars (see on Od. 1. 28. 17) as the turns of luck are the sport of Fortune, Od. 3. 29. 50; the miseries and errors of lovers, of Venus and Cupid, 1. 33. 10, 3. 27. 67.

Acer et Mauri peditis cruentum
Vultus in hostem;
Sive mutata iuvenem figura
Ales in terris imitaris almae
Filius Maiae, patiens vocari
Caesaris ultor:
Serus in caelum redeas diuque
Laetus intersis populo Quirini,
Neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
Ocior aura
Tollat; hic magnos potius triumphos,
Hic ames dici pater atque princeps,

39. **Mauri.** This is the reading of all the MSS. and of Acr. and Porph. Tan. Faber conjectured 'Marsi,' and Bentley argues at length for it on the ground that the 'Mauri' were 'nec fortes, nec pedites, nec cominus pugnantes.' To the first point Ritter well answers that it is ferocity, not courage, which is in question. For the others he shows from Sall. Jug. 59, that the Numidae at least had learnt at this time to mingle foot soldiers amongst their cavalry. For the Roman practice in this respect see Liv. 26. 4, Caes. B. G. 1. 48, 7. 65. This is simpler than Orelli's explanation of 'peditis,' 'dismounted.'

**cruentum**, 'bleeding.'

41–43. 'Or if thou be sweet Maia's winged child wearing on earth the disguise of human youth.'

41. **iuvenem**, Virg. E. 1. 43 'Hic illum vidi iuvenem'; G. 1. 500 'Hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo Ne prohibete.'

44. **Caesaris ultor.** Dion 53. 4 makes Augustus assert that his mission had been τῷ πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι, and the temple of Mars Ultor, of which the façade still stands in the Forum Augusti, was built in fulfilment of a vow made by him, 'bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto.' Suet. Oct. 29; cp. Ov. Fast. 5. 569.

45–50. Cp. Virg. G. 1. 503 'Iampridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar, Invidet, atque hominum queritur curare triumphos; Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas,' etc.

47. **nostris vitiis iniquum**, 'intolerant of,' 'non diutius aequa mente vitia ferentem.'

48. **aura tollat**, keeps up the character of the winged Mercury, ever 'on tiptoe' for flight.

49. **triumphos.** 'Caesar triplici invectus Romana triumpho Moenia,' Virg. Aen. 8. 714; 'Curules triumphos tres egit, Dalmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum: continuo triduo omnes,' Suet. Oct. 22. This was in B.C. 29. The Senate offered him a triumph on other occasions, as in B.C. 25 after his campaign in Spain, but it was refused.

50. **pater.** The title of 'Pater patriae' was not solemnly given to Augustus by the Senate till B.C. 2, but, as Ovid says, Fast. 2. 127, it was only the ratification of a title which had been long given him by popular usage: 'Sancte Pater patriae, tibi Plebs, tibi Curia nomen Hoc dedit; hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen Eques; Res tamen ante dedit.' It was a title familiar to Roman ears, having been given by the Senate to Cicero (Juv. 8. 243), and in earlier times to Camillus by the army (Liv. 5. 49); and 'Parenti patriae' had been the inscription placed by the people on the column erected in the Forum to Julius Caesar's memory, Suet. Jul. 85. Horace promises (Od. 3. 24. 27) a similar title to any one who will venture to restrain the licence of the time, pointing, of course, to Augustus, 'Si quaeret Pater urbium Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat Refrenare licentiam.'

**princeps.** Od. 1. 21. 14, 4. 14. 6. According to Mommsen and Professor Pelham (Journal of Philology, vol. viii. p. 322 f.) this title which Octavianus took was not a shortened form of 'princeps senatus,' although he held that

Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos,
Te duce, Caesar.

dignity, but of 'princeps in republica,' 'princeps civitatis,' 'first citizen,' a phrase which had been used informally of Pompey by Cicero (ad Fam. 1. 9) and by Jul. Caesar of himself (Suet. Jul. 29). It was therefore a title probably that grew, and was not conferred at any definite date.

51. He is to restore the disturbed order of things, vv. 21, 22, to stay the civil war, and to retrieve the military glory of Rome, which had been tarnished by the defeat of Crassus in B.C. 53, and Antony in B.C. 36.

**equitare**, Od. 2. 9. 24.

52. **Caesar.** The true name of the incarnate Mercury is reserved to be the last word left on our ears, the word that stills all the fears and satisfies all the doubts of the preceding stanzas.

---

# ODE III.

'O SHIP, in which Virgil is sailing to Greece, carry thy precious burden safely. It is a dreadful risk, the sea. He was a hard, bold man who first ventured upon it. The gods meant it to be a barrier impassable, but man delights in disobedience. Prometheus brought fire on earth and sickness with it. Daedalus tried to fly. Acheron was no barrier to Hercules. Where shall we stop? and when will Jove be able to lay aside his bolts of wrath?'

This Ode has been often referred to the voyage of Virgil to Athens, from which he returned only to die in B.C. 19. This, however, would fix its composition four years later than the date which on other grounds we assign to the publication of Books i–iii; nor is it an Ode which is likely to have been inserted after publication. Given to the world in Virgil's lifetime, it is playful and affectionate, but it would seem cold and irrelevant to be published after his early death, and in a volume in which it was the sole record of their friendship. Franke felt the difficulty so much that he proposed to read 'Quintilium' for 'Vergilium,' thinking that he could trace a correspondence between this Ode and i. 24, especially in v. 11 'heu non ita creditum.' It has even been suggested that it may have been another Vergilius, as is the case no doubt with Od. 4. 12. The simplest solution is that the reference is to another voyage. All we know even of the voyage in B.C. 19 is due to the fragmentary biography which goes by the name of Donatus, and which is not supposed to be earlier than the fifth century.

It is one of the many instances of Horace's careful placing of his Odes that the Ode placed next to those which express his devotion to Maecenas and to Caesar should be one that bears the name of the friend to whose introduction (Sat. 1. 6. 54) he owed his acquaintance with the former, and therefore with the latter—the author of his fortunes and his literary ideal.

The form of the Ode may have been suggested by a poem of Callimachus, the beginning of which is preserved:—

ἃ ναῦς ἃ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὸν τὸ γλυκὺ τᾶς ζόας
ἅρπαξας, ποτί τυ Ζᾶνος ἱκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπω.

Statius' Propempticon Metio Celeri, Sylv. 3. 2, is in great part an expansion of Horace's poem. We may contrast Horace's wishes for the voyage of an enemy, Epod. 10.

The tirade against sea-travelling as one form of man's restless audacity is in part playful; and as Prof. Sellar (Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, p. 120) suggests, adapted to Virgil's own temperament and expressed feelings: but Horace recurs to the idea that commerce and the mingling of nations are against nature and a source of evil, and that if the golden age could return they would cease; Od. 3. 24. 36–41, Epod. 16. 57–62. Cp. Virg. E. 4. 32–39; and Hesiod ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι 236.

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

SIC te diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater
Obstrictis aliis praeter Iäpyga,
Navis, quae tibi creditum
Debes Vergilium, finibus Atticis

1–7. **sic..regat..reddas.** This may be taken, 'Pay back (may Venus so guide thee),' etc., a wish, with a parenthetical wish for that which is necessary to its accomplishment. But 'sic' in wishes, as in protestations, seems always to involve a condition; see Conington's note on Virg. E. 9. 30 'Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos, .. Incipe;' cp. Od. 1. 28. 25. 'May you suffer shipwreck if you do not pay back,' etc. The prayer is illogical, for if the ship did suffer shipwreck on the voyage it could not land Virgil safely. But the ship is personified, and charged by its hopes of happiness to perform a certain task; and what happiness can a ship look for but calm seas and favouring winds?

1. **potens Cypri,** for the gen. cp. Od. 1. 5. 15 'potenti maris deo'; 1. 6. 10 'musa lyrae potens.' He is addressing Venus ('marina,'Od. 3. 26. 5, 4. 11. 15); she was worshipped at Cnidus under the name of εὔπλοια, Paus. 1. 1. 4. Cp. Ov. Her. 19. 160 'Auso Venus ipsa favebit, Sternet et aequoreas aequore nata vias.'

2. **fratres Helenae,** 'Castor and Pollux,' Od. 4. 8. 31 'Clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis Quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates.' Cp. 1. 12. 25 foll., 3. 29. 64. They were especial protectors of sailors, who saw their presence in the electric lights which are said to play about the spars of a vessel at times after stormy weather in the Mediterranean, and which are now called St. Elmo's fire. It is these, and not the constellation Gemini, that are the 'lucida sidera.' Cp. Statius Pro. Met. Cel. 8 'Proferte benigna Sidera, et antennae gemino considite cornu.'

3. **regat,** for the number, see on v. 10.

**pater,** 'Aeolus,' from Hom. Od. 10. 21; cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 52.

4. **aliis,** 'all others' cp. Sat. 1. 10. 77, an uncommon use, but found even in good prose; 'vulgus aliud trucidatum,' Liv. 7. 19. It is perhaps rather in its sense of ἀλλοῖος than of ἄλλος, 'those of other kinds.'

**Iäpyga,** 'albus Iäpyx,' Od. 3. 27. 20. The N.W. wind, which got its name in the mouths of those who crossed from Brundisium to Dyrrhachium, on whom it blew from the 'Iäpygium Promontorium' in Apulia, and to whom it was the most favourable wind.

6. **finibus Atticis,** 'ambiguum utrum "debes finibus Atticis" an "finibus Atticis reddas,"' Porph. It is really governed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, as grammarians

Reddas incolumem, precor,
Et serves animae dimidium meae.
Illi robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus nec timuit praecipitem Africum
Decertantem Aquilonibus
Nec tristes Hyadas nec rabiem Noti,
Quo non arbiter Hadriae
Maior, tollere seu ponere vult freta.

say, by *both*. This is a construction which Horace often adopts for the sake of brevity, and to avoid clumsy and unmanageable pronouns and particles. Compare the position of 'consiliis' in Od. 2. 11. 11; of 'sibi' in 3. 8. 19; of 'cantare' in Sat. 1. 3. 2. The metaphor of a 'depositum' (Stat. l. c. 5 'Grande tuo rarumque damus, Neptune, profundo Depositum') is sustained through the words 'creditum,' 'debes,' 'reddas'; with 'incolumem' the 'safety' of Virgil becomes again more prominent than the 'entireness' of the repayment.

8. **et**, 'and so.' It couples two descriptions of the same action, first in its relation to Virgil, then in its relation to Horace, cp. 2. 2. 10, 4. 13. 10.

**animae dimidium**, 'secundum illam amicitiae definitionem *φιλία ἐστὶ μία ψυχὴ ἐν δυοῖν σώμασιν*,' Porph.; Call. Ep. 43 *ἥμισύ μευ ψυχῆς ἔτι τὸ πνέον, ἥμισυ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' | εἴτ' Ἔρος εἴτ' Ἀΐδης ἥρπασε, πλὴν ἀφανές*. Cp. Od. 2. 17. 5 'te meae partem animae.'

9. **robur et aes triplex**. The original of this and other expressions of the kind is the Homeric *σιδήρεος θυμός*, Il. 21. 357; *σιδήρειον ἦτορ*, 24. 205. Jani took the words as = 'robur aeris triplicis,' quoting Virg. Aen. 7. 609 'aeternaque robora ferri.' But the accumulation 'oak and triple brass' is like Aesch. P. V. 242 *σιδηρόφρων τε κἀκ πέτρας εἰργασμένος*: cp. Od. 3. 16. 2 'turris aenea Robustaeque fores.' It is common both in Greek and Latin to put the two things conjunctively, rather than as alternatives; cp. Hector's wish for Paris, Il. 3. 40 *αἴθ' ὄφελες ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι*. See on Od. 3. 11. 49.

10. **erat**. It is common in Horace to find a singular verb with two or three subjects where all, or the one nearest to the verb, are singular. Bentley gives a list on Od. 1. 24. 8 'Cui Pudor et Iustitiae soror Incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas Quando ullum inveniet parem?' Od. 1. 2. 38, 1. 3. 3, 1. 4. 16, 1. 6. 10, 1. 34. 12, 1. 35. 21, 26, 2. 13. 38, 2. 18. 26, 3. 3. 10, 3. 6. 10, 12, 14, 3. 11. 20, 50, 3. 16. 32, 4. 5. 18, 22, 4. 8. 27.

**fragilem truci**. For the collocation of the contrasted epithets, cp. Od. 1. 6. 9 'tenues grandia'; 1. 15. 2 'perfidus hospitam'; 1. 29. 10, 2. 4. 2, 3, 2. 10. 6, 8, 2. 12. 1, 3. 7. 13, 3. 11. 46.

12. **nec timuit**. We may compare the curious remark about the possible excess of fearlessness in Arist. Eth. N. 3. 7. 7 *εἴη δ' ἄν τις μαινόμενος ἢ ἀνάλγητος, εἰ μηδὲν φοβοῖτο, μήτε σεισμὸν μήτε τὰ κύματα, καθάπερ φασὶ τοὺς Κελτούς*.

**praecipitem**, Virg. G. 4. 29 'praeceps Eurus,' of sudden gusts that seem to fall from the sky; 2. 310 'si tempestas a vertice silvis Incubuit.'

13. **decertantem**, Od. 1. 9. 11 'ventos deproeliantes'; 1. 18. 8 'rixa super mero debellata'; 3. 3. 55 'debacchentur ignes': 'fighting to the death.' The preposition expresses the pertinacity and unrestrained fierceness of the struggle, not its conclusion.

14. **Hyadas**, 'Navita quas Hyadas Graecus ab imbre vocat,' Ov. Fast. 5. 165: 'rain-stars.' Cic. de N. D. 2. 43, 111, says that the Romans, mistaking the derivation, called them '"Suculae" a suibus.'

15. **arbiter Hadriae**, Od. 3. 3. 5 'Auster .. Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae.'

16. **tollere seu ponere**. For the omission of the first 'seu' cp. Od. 1. 6. 19 'vacui sive quid urimur.' So *εἴτε* is omitted in Greek, Aesch. Ag. 1403, Soph. O. T. 517.

**ponere**, the wind 'lays' the waves

Quem Mortis timuit gradum,
Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,
Qui vidit mare turbidum et
Infames scopulos Acroceraunia?
Nequiquam deus abscidit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
Terras, si tamen impiae
Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.
Audax omnia perpeti
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.

when it ceases to blow; Virg. Aen. 5. 763 'placidi straverunt aequora venti'; Soph. Aj. 674 *δεινῶν ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε στένοντα πόντον.*

17. **gradum**—has been taken as (1) 'grade'—after the analogy of 'dignitatis,' 'officiorum,' 'malorum gradus.' So the Schol. 'what death so terrible?' (2) 'step' or 'stride' of death, in the sense of mode or pace of approach. Cp. Luc. 2. 100 'quantoque gradu mors saeva cucurrit.' (3) step to death—comparing 'via leti,' 'janua leti,' perh. with the special idea of a descent. Of these (2) harmonizes the metaphor with v. 33 'necessitas leti corripuit gradum,' but this is an argument against rather than for it. To have repeated 'gradum' in this connection within 16 lines is a blemish; but Horace is more likely to have made the slip of memory if the train of thought which led to the word was different in the two cases than if it was the same. We must choose, it would seem, between (1) and (3).

18. **siccis**, *ξηροῖς ἀκλαύστοις ὄμμασιν*, Aesch. S. c. T. 696. Bentley, after Heinsius, would alter 'siccis' to 'rectis' (Cunningham proposed 'fixis') with no MS. authority, on the ground that tears are not with us the natural indication of terror. But Orelli quotes, amongst other passages, Ov. Met. 11. 539, of a shipwreck, 'Non tenet hic lacrimas, stupet hic.' When the panic falls on the Suitors in Hom. Od. 20. 349, their eyes *δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο.*

**monstra natantia**, Od. 3. 27. 27 'scatentem beluis pontum,' 4. 14. 47 'beluosus oceanus'; one of the stock dangers of the sea, perhaps helped to become conventional in poetry by the popular misunderstanding of Homer's *μεγακήτεα πόντον.*

19. **turbidum.** So Bentl. with the best MSS. (incl. 'omn. Bland.'), though there is authority also for 'turgidum.'

20. **infames**, *δυσωνύμους*, with reference perhaps to their terrible name, 'the headlands of thunder.' They were proverbial for storms and shipwrecks, Virg. G. 1. 332.

**Acroceraunia.** After Horace's manner he names a special dangerous headland, as he has a special wind in v. 12, a special sea in v. 15. They are all, however, actual dangers which Virgil himself must encounter in passing from Brundisium to Dyrrhachium.

22. **prudens**, 'in his providence,' Od. 3. 29. 29.

**dissociabili**, 'estranging'; cp. the active use of 'illacrymabilis' in Od. 2. 14. 6, though Horace himself uses it passively in Od. 4. 9. 26; so 'penetrabilis,' Virg. G. 1. 93; 'genitabilis,' Lucret. 1. 11. Ritter and others deny this active use, and render it by *ἄξενος*; but it is formed upon the verb 'dissociare' and must mean either 'able to sever,' as here, or 'able to be severed,' as in Claud. Ruf. 2. 238 'non dissociabile corpus.'

23. **impiae**, pred. 'in their impiety.'

24. **transiliunt**, 'leap lightly over.' The word is expressive, as Ritter says, 'et levitatis et impudentiae.' Cp. its use in Od. 1. 18. 7, and Sil. Pun. 4. 71, of Hannibal, 'qui sacros montes rupesque profundas Transiluit.'

25. **perpeti** = *τλῆναι*, uniting the ideas of 'to bear' and 'to dare.' Compare the tone of Soph. Ant. 333 foll.

26. **per vetitum nefas**, 'through sin, despite of prohibition.'

Audax Iāpeti genus
Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit.
Post ignem aetheria domo
Subductum macies et nova febrium
Terris incubuit cohors,
Semotique prius tarda necessitas
Leti corripuit gradum.
Expertus vacuum Daedalus aëra
Pennis non homini datis;
Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.
Nil mortalibus ardui est;
Caelum ipsum petimus stultitia neque
Per nostrum patimur scelus
Iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina.

27. **Iāpeti genus**, Prometheus; 'genus' as the Greek γένος. Σισύφου γένος, for Ulysses, Eur. Cycl. 104; cp. Sat. 1. 6. 12 'Laevinum Valeri genus.'

28. **fraude mala**, 'an unhappy theft.' There seems to be no instance of 'fraus' in a neutral sense, otherwise we might take it as a parallel of Cicero's 'malus dolus,' Off. 3. 15.

30. **macies**, 'wasting sickness,' not to be distinguished from the 'febres.' The things coupled are the effect of the fevers and their number.

31. **incubuit**, ἐπέσκηψεν, Lucret. 6. 1141 'morbifer aestus Incubuit populo Pandionis,' 'fell upon,' like a storm, or a bird of prey.

32. **necessitas**, with 'leti,' 'the doom of death.' Horace elsewhere personifies 'Necessitas' (Od. 1. 35. 17, 3. 1. 14, 3. 24. 6), but it is doubtful whether one person could be said 'corripere gradum' of another.

36. **perrupit Acheronta**. For the lengthening of the short syllable, cp. Od. 1. 13. 6 'manet, umor'; 2. 6. 14 'Angulus ridet, ubi'; 2. 13. 16 'Caeca timet aliunde'; 3. 16. 26 'quicquid arat impiger.' In all these cases the metrical accent falls on the lengthened syllable. It is noticed that this licence does not occur in the Fourth Book of Odes nor in the Epistles.

**Herculeus labor**, not without reference to the Greek βίη Ἡρακλείη, but as in all Horace's imitations of the idiom, with a more definite purpose and emphasis on the substantive. 'Labor' does not represent an inert or habitual epithet. 'It was a labour of Hercules to burst the barrier of Acheron.' Cp. Od. 3. 21. 11 'Narratur et prisci Catonis Saepe mero caluisse virtus'; Sat. 2. 1. 72 'Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli.'

37. **ardui**, so V and the majority of older MSS., though a fair proportion have 'arduum.' The gen. is supported by Horace's custom, Epp. 2. 1. 31 'Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.'

38. A proverbial impossibility, Pind. P. 10. 41 ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὔποτ' ἀμβατὸς αὐτῷ.

40. **iracunda fulmina**, 'the bolts of his wrath.' The epithet properly belongs to Jove himself, cp. Od. 1. 12. 59 'inimica fulmina'; 1. 37. 7 'dementes ruinas.'

# ODE IV.

**THE lesson of the Ode is the same, though not so explicitly put, as that of Od. 4. 7 'Immortalia ne speres monet annus.' 'We have spring once more, all nature is enjoying itself. Take thy fill of pleasure, Sestius, for death, which comes to rich and poor alike, will soon be here, and then no more pleasures.'**

The Sestius to whom it is addressed is probably identified with L. Sestius, son of the P. Sestius whom Cicero defended. He had served in M. Brutus' army with Horace. Dion 53. 32 mentions it to the credit of Augustus, that he appointed Sestius 'Consul suffectus' in his own room in B.C. 23, although he was notorious for preserving images of Brutus, and honouring his memory.

Kiessling suggests, with probability, that the position of Sestius as consul in the year when the Odes were published explains the place given to the Ode as fourth in the Book.

The metre (Archilochium IVtum) is from Archilochus, Fr. 91:—

*οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς θάλλεις ἁπαλὸν χρόα· κάρφεται γὰρ ἤδη,*
*ὕγμος κακοῦ δὲ γήραος καθαιρεῖ.*

SOLVITUR acris hiemps grata vice veris et Favoni,
Trahuntque siccas machinae carinas;
Ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni,
Nec prata canis albicant pruinis.
Iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente Luna,
Iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
Alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum graves Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.

1. **solvitur**, winter is a chain in which the world is bound. 'Rura gelu.. claudit hiemps,' Virg. G. 2. 317; cp. Od. 1. 9. 5 'dissolve frigus.'

**grata vice**, 'the pleasant succession.' Epod. 13. 7 'benigna vice.'

2. **machinae**, 'rollers,' such as those described by Caesar, B. G. 2. 10 'hoc opus omne . . machinatione navali phalangis subiectis ad turrim admovent.' The meaning of 'trahunt' is defined by 'siccas'; 'draw down to the sea the keels long high and dry,' navigation having been suspended during the winter.

5. **Cytherea Venus.** The conjunction of the two names is not found in any other classical writer, cp. Od. 1. 17. 22 'Semeleius Thyoneus.' In the procession of the seasons, Lucret. 5. 736, Venus is the companion of Spring, as Ceres of Summer, and 'Evius Evan' of Autumn.

**imminente Luna**, 'when the moon is high overhead,' merely = 'by moonlight.'

6. Od. 4. 7. 5 'Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet Ducere nuda choros.'

**decentes**, Od. 1. 18. 6 'decens Venus'; 3. 27. 53 'decentes malas'; 4. 1. 3 'decens . . Paulus.'

7. **alterno pede**, 'rhythmic,' falling one after the other each in its due turn and time.

**graves**, 'with their ponderous forges.'

8. **Vulcanus.** The employments of Venus and Vulcan (the latter probably

Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto
Aut flore, terrae quem ferunt solutae.
Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
Seu poscat agna sive malit haedo.
Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turres. O beate Sesti,
Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam.
Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes
Et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
Nec regna vini sortiere talis

suggested by the former) are a mythological way of saying that pleasures and labours begin again with spring.

**ardens**, 'glowing red in the blaze,' cp. 'rubente dextera,' Od. 1. 2. 2.

**urit**, 'makes them fiery hot.' The metaphor offended Scaliger, Bentley, and others. Scaliger conj. 'urget.' Munro makes a strong case for 'visit,' the reading of the Paris MS. A, which Bentley preferred, and which Keller edits. Among the variants are 'ussit,' 'vissit,' 'iussit,' all of which he refers to the old spelling of 'visit' with the double s, as caussa, cassus, divissiones (Quintil. 1. 7. 20). For this as a disturbing cause in the text of Virgil he refers to Ribbeck's Proleg. p. 445, quoting esp. G. 1. 167, where 'provissa' is read in the Pal. MS. and Aen. 5. 637, where 'iussa,' a corruption of 'vissa,' represents 'visa'.

9. Now is the time for pleasure, for drinking bouts in town, and rural holidays.

**viridi**, of the fresh green of the young leaves that are now opening.

**nitidum**, Od. 2. 7. 7 'coronatus nitentes Malobathro Syrio capillos.'

11. **Fauno.** Ovid, Fast. 2. 193, mentions a sacrifice to Faunus on the island in the Tiber on the Ides of February. The Faunalia of Od. 3. 18. 10 are in December.

12. **agna**, sc. 'immolare,' as Virg. E. 3. 77 'cum faciam vitula.' So in prose, Cic. Legg. 2. 12 'quibus hostiis immolandum sit.' 'Immolare' has lost its special meaning 'to sprinkle the salted meal on the victim's head.'

13. **pulsat pede**, of knocking at the door, not merely treading the threshold. Plaut. Most. 2. 2. 23 'pulsando pedibus paene confregi hasce ambas [fores]'; Call. Hym. Apoll. 3 *καὶ δήπου τὰ θύρετρα καλῷ ποδὶ Φοῖβος ἀράσσει.*

14. **regum**, of the great and wealthy. Od. 2. 14. 11 'sive reges Sive inopes erimus coloni.'

15. **incohare**, 'to enter upon what will not be finished,' cp. Od. 1. 11. 6 'spatio brevi spem longam reseces.'

16. **premet**, 'night will be upon thee,' used by a zeugma with 'Manes' and 'domus.' For the sing. see on Od. 1. 3. 10.

**fabulae**, the nominative; best explained by Persius' imitation (5. 152), 'Cinis et manes et fabula fies,' 'something to talk of, a name and nothing more.' Transl. 'the world of names and shadows.' There is nothing in it of Juvenal's 'Esse aliquid Manes .. Nec pueri credunt.'

17. **exilis.** Bentley takes it as = 'egena,' opposed to the luxury of Sestius' present life, quoting Epp. 1. 6. 45 'Exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt'; or, it may be 'hollow,' 'unsubstantial,' like 'levis turba,' Od. 1. 10. 18; Virgil's 'domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna,' Aen. 6. 269. Rutgers explained it of the 'narrow home' of the grave.

**simul** = 'simul ac.'

18. **regna vini**, the post of *συμποσίαρχος*, 'arbiter bibendi,' 'rex mensae,' Macr. Sat. 2. 1; see Dict. Ant. s. v. 'symposium.'

**talis**, dice made of the knuckle-bones of some animal, *ἀστράγαλοι*; Sat. 2. 7. 17 'mitteret in phimum talos.' See on Od. 2. 7. 25 'quem Venus arbitrum dicet bibendi.' It has also been understood as = *τοίου*, 'of such wine as this,' as if the poet pointed to his delicate wines; but we could hardly say 'regna vini talis' any more than we could say 'regna vini tui.' So far as 'vini' qualifies 'regna' and forms part of one notion with it, it is general.

Nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet iuventus
Nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

---

## ODE V.

'WHO is the delicate stripling now, Pyrrha, that is wooing thee? Poor boy! disappointment is in store for him. Thy love is as the sea, as bright and tempting, and as treacherous. I was shipwrecked on it once, but *I* escaped alive.'

Metre—*Fifth Asclepiad.*

QUIS multa gracilis te puer in rosa
Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus,
Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
Cui flavam religas comam,
Simplex munditiis? Heu quotiens fidem
Mutatosque deos flebit et aspera
Nigris aequora ventis
Emirabitur insolens,
Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea;
Qui semper vacuam, semper amabilem

1. **multa in rosa.** It is doubted whether 'in rosa' means 'crowned with roses' (cp. Od. 2. 11. 15 'rosa canos odorati capillos.' Kiessling compares, for the use of 'in,' A. P. 228 'regali conspectus in auro'), or 'on a couch of rose-leaves' (cp. Sen. Epp. 36. 9 'in rosa iacere'). There is the same doubt as to the meaning of 'potantem in rosa,' Cic de Fin. 2. 20. 65.

4. **cui** = 'cuius in gratiam,' 'for whose eye,' cp. Od. 3. 3. 25.

**flavam**, Od. 2. 4. 14, 3. 9. 19, 4. 4. 4. The correspondence of the name 'Pyrrha,' *πυρρά*, 'Golden-hair,' is enough to show, if it were needful to show, that it is a fictitious name.

5. **simplex munditiis**, 'plain in thy neatness,' Milton. 'Munditiae' meant a scrupulously exact toilet, not necessarily excluding, but not requiring, any adventitious adornment. The simplicity of Pyrrha seems intended to contrast with the lover's elaborate preparations of himself and the grot; the 'liquidi odores,' 'multa rosa,' 'gratum antrum.'

**fidem**, sc. 'mutatam.' Comp. Od. 3. 5. 7 'Pro curia, inversique mores.' It is an extension of the usage noticed on Od. 1. 2. 1.

6. **mutatos deos**, the gods as the givers of happiness or pain; but from the close connection with 'fidem' there is probably also the feeling that they are the gods who listened to her vows and seemed to guarantee her truth; *ὅρκων δὲ φρούδη πίστις, οὐδ' ἔχω μαθεῖν εἰ θεοὺς νομίζεις τοὺς τότ' οὐκ ἄρχειν ἔτι*, Eur. Med. 492.

7. **nigris**, Epod. 10. 5 'niger Eurus'; Virg. G. 2. 278 'nigerrimus Auster'; so the opposite 'albus Notus,' 'albus Iäpyx.'

8. **emirabitur**, *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in class. Latin.

**insolens**, 'new to the sight.'

10. **vacuam**, 'free,' not preoccupied by any other passion, Od. 1. 6. 19.

Sperat nescius aurae
Fallacis. Miseri, quibus
Intemptata nites! Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris deo.

11. **aurae**, 'ignorant how soon the wind may shift.' It is a common metaphor for anything that is fickle and changeable, 'popularis aurae,' Od. 3. 2. 20.

13. **intemptata nites**, continues the metaphor. She (or her love) is a shining untried sea, 'placidi pellacia ponti.'

13-16. Cp. Virg. Aen. 12. 766 'Servati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant .. et votas suspendere vestes.'

15. **potenti maris**, on Od. 1. 3. 1 'Diva potens Cypri.'

16. **deo**, Neptune.

---

# ODE VI.

'HEROIC exploits require a Homer to sing of them,' says Horace, and so gives Agrippa the lyric glory that (it would seem) he has asked for, while professing to leave the task of celebrating such exploits to the epic genius of Varius. For panegyric cast in the same form compare Od. 2. 12 and 4. 2.

The Ode is addressed to M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the friend and counsellor of Augustus, and the greatest commander of his reign. He finally defeated Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus in B.C. 36, and commanded at Actium in B.C. 31. After the death of Marcellus (and consequently, it would seem, after the publication of this Ode) he was married by Augustus to his daughter Julia (B.C. 21); was associated with him (B.C. 18) in the Tribunitian power, and was looked upon as his intended successor. He died four years before Horace, in B.C. 12. Horace speaks of his popularity in Sat. 2. 3. 185; of his subjugation of the Cantabri in Epp. 1. 12. 26; of his engineering exploit of turning the Lucrine lake into a harbour, though without mentioning his name, in A. P. 63.

For the place of the Ode see p. 29.

Metre—*Fourth Asclepiad.*

SCRIBERIS Vario fortis et hostium
Victor Maeonii carminis alite,

1. **scriberis**. Not necessarily a definite promise or prophecy,—although Varius is said really to have written a Panegyricus in Caesarem Octavianum (see Epp. 1. 16. 27, where Horace is said by the Schol. to have borrowed 2½ lines from that poem) which would have contained the exploits of Agrippa,—but ='scribaris licet,' 'I shall leave Varius to write of you.' Cp. Od. 1. 7. 1 'laudabunt alii'; 1. 20. 10 'bibes'; 3. 28. 13 'tinget.' 'Scribere' is used of poetical description, cp. v. 14. Sat. 2. 1. 16.

**Vario**, L. Varius Rufus, the friend of Horace and Virgil, and one of the literary executors of the latter. Cp. Sat. 1. 5. 40, 1. 6. 55, 1. 9. 23, 1. 10. 44, 81, 2. 8. 21, 63, Epp. 2. 1. 247, A. P. 55.

2. **Maeonii carminis**, Od. 4. 9. 5, 'Homeric'; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 44 'Forte epos acer Ut nemo Varius ducit.'

**alite** is the unanimous reading of the

Quam rem cumque ferox navibus aut equis
Miles te duce gesserit:
Nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere, nec gravem
Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii,
Nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulixei,
Nec saevam Pelopis domum
Conamur, tenues grandia, dum pudor
Imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
Laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
Culpa deterere ingeni.

MSS., and the Schol. found it, for the difficulty of the abl. made them separate it from 'Vario' and explain it by 'Homericis auspiciis.' Must it be altered to 'aliti'? The change is easy, too much so to be probable. It seems impossible to explain it as a rare instance of an abl., without the preposition, of the agent. It goes beyond all the cases quoted to parallel it. There is in them always either a predicate present as in 'Iudice laudatus Caesare,' Sat. 2. 1. 84, 'curatus inaequali tonsore,' Epp. 1. 1. 94, which brings them within the scope of the abl. absol., or the relation of the abl. to the verb is instrumental or modal rather than personal (see Dräger, Hist. Synt. 1. § 229) as in 'uxore constrictus,' Cic. Mil. 20; 'Plato delectatus Dione,' Nep. 10. 2. 3; 'matrum celebrabere turba,' Ov. Met. 7. 50. The only alternative seems to be to take 'Vario . . alite' with Orelli as an abl. absol., a construction the use of which Horace is inclined to extend (see Od. 2. 1. 12, 16, 2. 7. 15, 3. 5. 5). The position of the words though unusual has a certain force; the promise or permission standing first, and accompanied only by Varius' name as a sufficient guarantee to stay in initio any impatience; then, measured off against each other, the characteristics of the theme and of the poet who is fit to sing of it. 'It shall be told, but by Varius, thy bravery and thy victories, for he is a bird of Maeonian song.' For 'ales' as the title of a poet, cp. Od. 4. 2. 25 'Dircaeum cycnum,' and the whole idea of Od. 2. 20.

3. **quam rem cumque**, 'every exploit which thy brave soldiery achieved by sea or land, led on by thee'; the construction is as if the previous clause had run 'scribentur fortitudo et victoriae tuae.' The *tmesis* is common in Horace, cp. Od. 1. 7. 25, and even in prose, Cic. pro Sest. 31. 68 'quod iudicium cumque subierat.'

5. **nos**, so v. 17. It is an emphatic form of the 'plural of modesty' (Dräger, Hist. Syntax, 1. § 9) which avoids, in speaking of one's own performance, the definitely personal 'I'; this also suggests a class, 'I and such as I,' 'people of my level'; cp. Od. 2. 17. 32.

**neque . . nec**, 'we essay no more to tell this tale than to tell,' &c., cp. Od. 3. 5. 27.

6. **stomachum**. This rendering of the Homeric μῆνιν οὐλομένην is quoted by Charisius as an instance of intentional ταπείνωσις, which he defines 'rei magnae humilis expositio,' as if it were an undignified word chosen to show Horace's distaste for such a character. In any case, in respect of this as well as of 'duplicis' and 'saevam,' though the traits themselves are traditional, their selection is probably intended to point a contrast with the milder themes which Horace prefers. 'I cannot write of the fierceness and the craft and the cruelty of heroic wars.'

7. **duplicis**, πολύτροπος, Hom.; διπλοῦς ἀνήρ, Eur. Rhes. 193.

**Ulixei**, for the form cp. Achillei, 1. 15. 34, and see Madv. § 38, obs. 3.

8. **Pelopis domum**, the theme rather of the Greek drama than of Epos; but Horace is probably alluding to Varius' tragedy Thyestes, which was brought out in the year after the battle of Actium. It was greatly admired. 'Varii Thyestes cuilibet Graecorum comparari potest, Quint. 10. 1. 98.

10. **lyrae potens**, Od. 1. 3. 1.

**vetat**, see on Od. 1. 3. 10.

11. **egregii**, Od. 3. 25. 4, 'peerless.'

12. **deterere**, lit. 'to wear the fine

Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
Digne scripserit? aut pulvere Troico
Nigrum Merionen, aut ope Palladis
Tydiden superis parem?
Nos convivia, nos proelia virginum
Sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium
Cantamus vacui, sive quid urimur,
Non praeter solitum leves.

edge off'; cp. 'obterere,' Cic. Verr. 2. 5. 1 'obteri laudem imperatoriam criminibus avaritiae,' and 'tenuare,' Hor. Od. 3. 3. 72.

13. **quis.** 'Who can?' = 'how few can!' We are not all Homers, like Varius.

**tunica tectum adamantina**, *χαλκοχίτωνα*: 'adamas,' is hard steel.

14. **pulvere nigrum.** Cp. 2. 1. 22. The 'dust' of the Trojan plain occupies a prominent place in Homer.

16. **superis parem**, referring to his wounding Aphrodite and Ares, in Hom. Il. 5; see esp. vv. 881–884 Ἢ (sc. Pallas) *νῦν Τυδέος υἱὸν ὑπερφίαλον Διομήδεα | μαργαίνειν ἀνέηκεν ἐπ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι. | Κύπριδα μὲν πρῶτον σχεδὸν οὔτασε χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ, | αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτῷ μοι ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἶσος.*

18. **sectis unguibus**, 'with'—not, as 'proelia' leads us to expect, drawn swords, but—'pared nails,' a woman's weapon. It is doubted what is the exact force of 'sectis.' Some (as Ritter) think 'cut to a point, so as to scratch better'; others (as Orelli) 'trimmed so as not to hurt,' the opposite of 'irresectum unguem' in Epod. 5. 47 of claw-like nails. It is then meant to contrast with 'acrium,' pointing out that it is a parody. Bentley proposed 'strictis' as helping the point of 'proelia' and the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* substitution of 'unguibus' for 'ensibus,' and it derives some colour from Ovid's 'Non timeo strictas in mea fata manus,' Am. 1. 6. 14.

19. **vacui**, see on Od. 1. 5. 10. For the omission of the first 'sive' see on Od. 1. 3. 16.

**urimur**, of the sting of love or jealousy. Cp. Od. 1. 13. 8, Virg. Aen. 4. 68 'Uritur infelix Dido.'

20. **leves**, 'light-hearted much after my wont,' i.e. whether in love or not, habitually given to light and fanciful themes; 'iocosae Musae dediti': cp. Od. 3. 3. 69 'iocosae lyrae.'

# ODE VII.

'The world is full of fair spots, but your own Tibur is the fairest. Forget your troubles, Plancus; in camp, or here in Tibur, drown care in wine. Remember how Teucer put a bold face on his calamity, and found a new Salamis to make up for the old.'

What Plancus' trouble was we do not know, nor whether it bore any resemblance to Teucer's by involving a compulsory absence from his well-loved Tibur.

The Scholiasts identify Plancus with the L. Munatius Plancus who was consul in B.C. 42 (Od. 3. 14. 28 'consule Planco'). He was a politician who had changed sides several times in the civil war. Many stories to his discredit are told by Velleius Paterculus, who calls him 'morbo proditor.' He had reconciled himself to Octavianus, and it was on his proposal that the title of Augustus was conferred upon him in B.C. 27. If this is so, the place of the Ode has the same significance as that of 4 and 6.

With the story of Teucer at the end of the Ode compare the conclusion of Epod. 13. 11 ad fin.

Several of the best MSS. begin a new Ode at v. 15. The division was as old as Porph., for he notices and condemns it; on v. 15 'Hanc Oden quidam putant aliam esse, sed eadem est; nam et hic ad Plancum loquitur cuius in honorem et in superiore parte Tibur laudavit, Plancus enim inde fuit oriundus.' There seems too little substance in the first fourteen lines for a separate Ode, and the recurrence to Tibur in v. 20 is clearly the link, though a slight one. Mistakes in the matter are common in the MSS. See Epod. 2, 23 and 9. 27. Porph. mentions and condemns a division of Od. 3. 24 at v. 25, though it is not so found in any extant MS. The opposite mistake occurs in Od. 2. 14, 15, which are written continuously in several of the oldest MSS., although there is no conceivable connexion between them.

Metre—*Alcmanium*.

LAUDABUNT alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen
  Aut Epheson bimarisve Corinthi
Moenia vel Baccho Thebas vel Apolline Delphos
  Insignes aut Thessala Tempe.
Sunt quibus unum opus est, intactae Palladis urbem
  Carmine perpetuo celebrare et

1. **laudabunt alii**, 'I shall leave it to others to praise,' see on v. 1 of the last Ode.

**claram**, 'sunny,' 'quia soli sit opposita,' Porph.; and so Lucan took it, 8. 248 'claramque reliquit Sole Rhodon,' or 'glorious'; Catull. 4. 8 'nobilem Rhodum.'

5. **sunt quibus**, see on Od. 1. 1. 3.

6. **perpetuo**, a continuous poem not merely touching incidentally on Athens, Ov. Met. 1. 4 'prima ab origine mundi In mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.'

Undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam.
Plurimus in Iunonis honorem
Aptum dicet equis Argos ditesque Mycenas.
Me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon
Nec tam Larissae percussit campus opimae,
Quam domus Albuneae resonantis
Et praeceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.

7. 'To wreathe their brow with the olive plucked on every hand,' i. e. to seek fame by writing on a well-worn theme. This is Bentley's interpretation. The expression contains a reminiscence of Lucret. 1. 926 'iuvat.. novos decerpere flores, Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam Unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musae,' a passage which Horace imitates again in Od. 1. 26. 6, 7. The 'olive' leaf is specially named as the appropriate crown for one who wrote of Athens: Bentley quotes Sen. Herc. F. 913 'Populea nostras arbor exornet comas, Te ramus oleae fronde gentili tegat, Theseu.'

**undique**, 'by every one,' parallel to the use of 'unde' = 'a quo,' of the agent, Sat. 1. 6. 12, &c. All other interpretations are more forced. Orelli takes it 'to pluck the olive for a crown from every quarter of Attic soil,' i. e. to sing of every myth, event, glory of art, that adorn Athens.

8. **plurimus**. There seems to be no other instance of 'plurimus' without a subst. for 'plurimi.' Ritter will not allow the use, and takes 'plurimus in Iunonis honorem' as = 'effusus in,' as 'multus esse in re nota,' Cic. de Or. 2. 87. But if Virgil says 'plurimus oleaster,' G. 2. 182, and Lucan, 3. 707, 'multus sua vulnera puppi Affixit moriens,' 'plurimus' may well be used for the plural here.

**in honorem**, for the accus. cp. Epod. 1. 24 'militabitur in tuae spem gratiae.'

9. **aptum equis**, ἱππόβοτον, ἱπποτρόφον, Hom.; 'rarum pecorique et vitibus almis Aptibus uber erit,' Virg. G. 2. 234.

**dites Mycenas**, πολυχρύσους, Il. 8. 180.

10. **patiens**, of the Spartan discipline.

11. **percussit**, as we say, 'has so smitten me,' has made such an impression on me.

**opimae**, Homer's ἐριβῶλαξ Λάρισα, Il. 2. 841; 'opimae Sardiniae segetes,' Od. 1. 31. 3, Virg. Aen. 2. 782.

12. **domus Albuneae**. See Mr. Burn's account of Tivoli in Rome and the Campagna, p. 394 foll. He identifies it not with the 'temple of the Sibyl,' as it is commonly called, but with the second ancient temple, now the church of S. Giorgio, which stands close to it on the brink of the precipitous ravine through which the 'old fall' of the Anio descends. The topography of Tibur is especially difficult on account of the changes which great inundations have caused in the course of the Anio. One such is described in Plin. Epp. 8. 17. Another, in A.D. 1826, led to the excavation of the tunnels through the Monte Catillo, by which the larger part of the river is now conducted to the 'new falls' beyond the reach of the rocks on which the town is built.

**resonantis**, echoing from the cataract close by. Albunea was the last of the Sibyls. Mr. Burn thinks that Virg. Aen. 7. 82 'lucosque sub alta Consulit Albunea,' &c., refers not to Tibur but to some sulphureous springs near Laurentum.

13. **Tiburni**, acc. to Virg. Aen. 7. 672, Tiburnus (Virg. calls him 'Tiburtus'), Catillus ('Catilus,' Hor. Od. 1. 18. 2), and Coras were three Argive brothers, founders of Tibur.

14. **mobilibus rivis**. Burn, l. c. 'A third portion of the Anio is diverted just above the bridge into canals apparently of very ancient date, which, passing completely through the centre of the town, are used as the motive power of watermills of every kind and then fall again (the falls known as the "Cascatelle") into the main stream at various points of the romantic cliffs on the western hill side.'

Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
    Saepe Notus neque parturit imbres
Perpetuo, sic tu sapiens finire memento
    Tristitiam vitaeque labores
Molli, Plance, mero, seu te fulgentia signis
    Castra tenent seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui. Teucer Salamina patremque
    Cum fugeret, tamen uda Lyaeo
Tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona,
    Sic tristes affatus amicos:
Quo nos cumque feret melior fortuna parente,
    Ibimus, o socii comitesque.
Nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro;
    Certus enim promisit Apollo,

15. **albus**, predicative. The south wind is sometimes λευκόνοτος, not always 'niger Auster.' The lesson is that the very same wind which brings the clouds will presently clear them. 'Albus' as 'albus Iäpyx,' Od. 3. 27. 19; 'candidi Favonii,' 3. 7. 1.

16. **parturit**, see on Od. 4. 5. 26.

17. **sapiens**, 'be wise and remember,' &c., Od. 1. 11. 6 'sapias, vina liques.'

19. **molli**, 'mellow,' as 'lene,' Od. 3. 29. 2. It breaks the flow of the sentence needlessly to take 'molli,' with Ritter, as an imperative.

20. **tenent . . tenebit**, 'as now,' 'as by and bye,' stress is clearly laid on the tenses, so that apparently Plancus was now, or might be supposed to be, campaigning.

21 foll. The story of Teucer's ill-reception by his father Telamon when he returned without Ajax, and of his founding a new Salamis in Cyprus, was the subject, no doubt, of the 'Teucer' of Sophocles, of which one or two fragments remain. It is also the subject of allusions in other writers, as in Pind. Nem. 4. 73. The 'Teucer' of Pacuvius was specially admired by Cicero (de Or. 1. 57. 246) and the words attributed to Teucer in Tusc. 5. 37. 108 ('ad omnem rationem Teucri vox accommodari potest: Patria est ubicumque est bene') no doubt came from just such a speech to his companions as Horace is here imagining.

22. **cum fugeret**, when he was starting on his banishment, not 'during his flight,' as though he had put in to shore for the night, as some commentators suppose, see on v. 32.

23. **populea**, sacred to Hercules, to whom as a wanderer Teucer would offer sacrifice; 'vagus Hercules,' Od. 3. 3. 9. Orelli quotes Xenophon, Anab. 6. 2. 9, who speaks of sacrificing τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ.

27. **duce et auspice**, 'under Teucer's conduct and Teucer's star,' a curious technicality of Roman military life to put into Teucer's mouth. 'Ductu et auspicio,' Liv. 6. 12; 'domuit partim ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam,' &c., Suet. Oct. 21. The two did not necessarily belong to the same person. The auspices were taken in the name of the imperator, and the 'felicitas' was his, see Od. 4. 14. 33 foll. Horace has not exactly reproduced the technical phrase, for we find 'auspiciis Camilli, Augusti,' &c., not 'auspice Camillo.' 'Auspex' is used elsewhere either of the person who attends the imperator and actually takes the auspices, or if in the sense of 'patron,' then only of some god who by omens or otherwise sanctions an enterprise; see Epp. 1. 3. 13 'auspice Musa'; but Keller has pointed to Lucan's 'contentique auspice Bruto,' 2. 371. Meanwhile a certain amount of doubt hangs over the reading. Paris A, with a few other MSS., has 'auspice Teucri,' and Acron's note looks as if he had found that reading, '*auspice*. Fautore vel suasore, Apollinem dicit cuius responsa vel promissa sequebatur.' Vic-

Ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.
O fortes peioraque passi
Mecum saepe viri, nunc vino pellite curas;
Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

torinus (fourth century), who is quoted in defence of the vulg., gives no support to it. He only quotes the line for its metre, and two of the best MSS. of his work read 'Teucri.' If we accept 'Teucri' it may mean either 'under the guidance of Teucer and of Teucer's patron,' sc. Apollo; or 'while Teucer is Teucer's guide and patron.' Neither is quite satisfactory. Bentley reads ex conj. 'Phoebo,' which would satisfy Acron's note, though not so probably as 'Teucri.' The slight variation of a technical phrase, which is the main ground on which Bentley opposed the vulg., is really quite in Horace's manner, see on Od. 3. 5. 42. Keller, who in the edition of 1864 read 'Teucri,' returned in the Epilegomena (1879) to 'Teucro,' but punctuates before it, constructing it with 'promisit.' The rhythm is against this.

28. **certus**, *σαφής*, *ἀψευδής*.

29. **ambiguam**, 'that in a new land there should be a Salamis to dispute the name,' cp. the use of *ἀμφίλεκτος*, Aesch. Ag. 1585. Lucan, 3. 183, in memory of this place, 'veram Salamina.' Cp. Virgil's 'falsi Simoentis,' simulata Pergama,' Aen. 3. 302, 349.

30. **peioraque passi**, Virg. Aen. 1. 199 'O socii, neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum, O passi graviora.' As Virgil is evidently imitating a whole passage of Homer, Od. 12. 208 foll. *ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμονές εἰμεν· οὐ μὲν δὴ τόδε μεῖζον ἔπι κακόν, ἢ ὅτε κ.τ.λ.* and as neither 'passi peiora' nor 'passi graviora' are a literal rendering of anything in Homer, it seems to follow that Horace had seen this part of the Aeneid, when he so wrote.

32. **iterabimus**, 'take again to the boundless sea,' which he had just crossed from Troy. It gives much more force to the dreariness of 'ingens' than to suppose that they had landed for the night in their flight, see on v. 23.

## ODE VIII.

'LYDIA, thy love is ruining young Sybaris. He is no more to be seen on horseback, in the Tiber, at wrestling matches, quoits, javelin-throwing. He is lost to manly life like Achilles in his woman's dress.'

The name of 'Sybaris,' at least, is chosen to suit the ideal character.

Metre—*The Greater Sapphic.*

LYDIA, dic, per omnes
Te deos oro, Sybarin cur properes amando
Perdere; cur apricum
Oderit campum, patiens pulveris atque solis.
Cur neque militaris
Inter aequales equitat, Gallica nec lupatis
Temperat ora frenis?
Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? Cur olivum
Sanguine viperino
Cautius vitat neque iam livida gestat armis
Bracchia, saepe disco,
Saepe trans finem iaculo nobilis expedito?

2. **Te—oro.** Many of the best MSS. have 'Hoc deos vere' and some 'Hoc deos oro.'

**properes,** so the majority of MSS. as against 'properas'; and the subj. seems necessary to suit 'oderit,' which can hardly be a future, standing alone among so many presents. 'Equitat,' 'temperat,' are more lively than the continued subj., and the mood of 'properes' and 'oderit' will account for copyists giving 'equitet,' 'temperet.' Bentley remarks that they would have completed their work, and written 'timeat,' 'vitet,' 'gestet,' if they had not been stopped by the metre at 'timet.'

4. **patiens,** in age and strength capable of bearing, as Juv. 7. 33 'aetas Et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis.'

5. **militaris,** as a soldier, in soldierly exercises. For these, cp. Od. 3. 7. 25–28, 3. 12. 7–9, S. 2. 2. 9 foll., Epp. 1. 18. 52, A. P. 379.

6. **Gallica ora** = 'ora equorum Gallicorum': the best Roman horses came from Gaul, Tac. Ann. 2. 5 'fessas Gallias ministrandis equis.'

**lupatis,** sc. 'frenis,' bits roughened with jagged points like wolves' teeth, used for taming the fiercer horses. 'Asper equus duris contunditur ora lupatis,' Ov. Am. 1. 3. 15; Virg. G. 3. 208 'duris parere lupatis.'

8. **olivum,** i. e. the oil with which wrestlers anointed themselves, so that it stands for the 'palaestra.'

9. **sanguine viperino,** held to be a deadly poison, Epod. 3. 6.

10. **armis,** the 'arma campestria' of A. P. 379, the 'discus' and the javelin. The bruises would be due to the 'discus,' which was not a hollow ring, as our quoit, but a solid disc, of a foot in diameter, held between the fingers and the inside of the forearm: see the description of its use in Stat. Theb. 6. 616 foll., esp. v. 670 'verset Quod latus in digitos, mediae quod certius ulnae Conveniat.' It well might leave marks on the arm.

12. **trans finem expedito** qualifies

Quid latet, ut marinae
Filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrimosa Troiae
Funera, ne virilis
Cultus in caedem et Lycias proriperet catervas?

'disco' as well as 'iaculo' for the object in throwing the 'discus' was only to throw it the greatest distance. For a description of the game, see Hom. Od. 8. 186 foll. That which Ulysses threw *ὑπέρπτατο σήματα πάντα | ῥίμφα θέων ἀπὸ χειρός*. 'Expedire,' 'to send it clear beyond.'

14. **filium Thetidis.** How Achilles was concealed by his mother in woman's disguise, and how he was discovered by the way in which he handled some weapons which Ulysses introduced in a pack of female wares, is told by Ovid, Met. 13. 162 foll. The story is post-Homeric.

---

# ODE IX.

'It is midwinter. Well, pile on more logs, and bring out larger supplies of wine. When the gods will, spring will come back. Do not look forward. Each day that you get is so much gained. Enjoy it. Love and dance and play while you can, for old age is coming.'

The lessons of Epicureanism drawn for winter, as Ode 4 drew them for spring.

The opening is copied from Alcaeus, Fr. 34:—

*ὕει μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἐκ δ' ὀρανῶ μέγας*
*χείμων, πεπάγασιν δ' ὐδάτων ῥόαι.*
. . . . .
. . . . .
*κάββαλλε τὸν χείμων', ἐπὶ μὲν τίθεις*
*πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κίρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως*
*μελιχρόν, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρσᾳ*
*μαλθακὸν ἀμφιτίθη γνόφαλλον.*

Horace has given a Roman dress to it, and the conclusion is probably his own.

'Thaliarchus' is neither a real proper name, nor the title of an office, as though it were the same as *συμποσίαρχος*, but an imaginary name, chosen or coined with a view to its etymological meaning 'prince of good cheer,' and meant to describe the person addressed as the representative of youth and merriment.

Compare Epod. 13 with its sudden change to the singular number in v. 6, as though he were addressing the master or the 'ruler of the feast,' 'Tu vina Torquato move Consule pressa meo. The whole poem presents a strong resemblance in thought and expression.

VIDES, ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus
Silvae laborantes geluque
Flumina constiterint acuto.
Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco
Large reponens, atque benignius
Deprome quadrimum Sabina,
O Thaliarche, merum diota.
Permitte divis cetera, qui simul
Stravere ventos aequore fervido
Deproeliantes, nec cupressi
Nec veteres agitantur orni.
Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere et,
Quem Fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
Appone, nec dulces amores
Sperne puer neque tu choreas,

1. **stet**, a natural word to use of a solitary hill which 'stands up' or 'rises' out of a plain; but possibly from its position it is here meant to describe rather the depth and firmness of the snow, as Virgil's 'pulvere caelum stare,' Aen. 12. 407, of a thick and palpable cloud of dust; as we should say, 'stands deep in snow.'

2. **Soracte**, Virg. Aen. 11. 785, hod. 'Monte S. Oreste'; a mountain of Etruria, 2,420 feet high, about twenty-six miles north of Rome. Its striking outline, separated from the main range of the Sabine hills by the broad Tiber valley, makes it a conspicuous feature in all northern views across the Campagna.

4. **acuto**, 'piercing.' Virgil's 'penetrabile frigus,' G. 1. 93.

5. **dissolve**. The frost is a chain that binds man as well as the earth and streams. Od. 1. 4. 1 'solvitur acris hyems.'

6. **reponens**, piling, laying again and again. The participle is gerundial.

7. **deprome**. The verb is used both of 'bringing out' wine from the 'apotheca,' or other place of storing, Od. 1. 37. 5 'depromere Caecubum Cellis avitis'; and of 'drawing it off' from the 'amphora,' or some larger vessel, as in Epod. 2. 47 'promens dolio.' The latter sense seems to be given to it here by the addition of 'benignius.'

**quadrimum**; four years was a fair time to keep wine of the kind.

**Sabina**. Wine from a Sabine jar = Sabine wine; cp. Od. 3. 16. 34 'Laestrygonia amphora.' Sabine wine was not among the better kinds, but it was such as Horace would drink himself, Od. 1. 20. 1, and he supposes the person whom he addresses to have means such as his own. 'A fire and some wholesome country wine are enough to keep out the cold.'

8. **diota**, probably the same as the 'amphora.' Both names refer to the two handles or ears.

9. Epod. 13 'Cetera mitte loqui: Deus haec fortasse benigna Reducet in sedem vice.' 'Make the best of winter, its storms will cease when the gods will, and spring will come back.' There is certainly there, and probably here also, a suggestion of a winter and spring of fortune; cp. Od. 3. 29. 43 'Vixi: cras vel atra Nube polum pater occupato, Vel sole puro.'

**simul** = 'simulac.'

11. **deproeliantes**, see on Od. 1. 3. 13.

13. **fuge quaerere**, Od. 2. 4. 22 'fuge suspicari'; Epp. 2. 2. 150 'fugeres curarier.'

14. **lucro appone**, set it down as clear gain.

16. **neque tu**, 'nor, pray,' calls especial attention to the prayer which follows, so Od. 1. 11. 1 'tu ne quaesieris.'

Donec virenti canities abest
Morosa. Nunc et campus et areae
Lenesque sub noctem susurri
Composita repetantur hora,
Nunc et latentis proditor intimo
Gratus puellae risus ab angulo
Pignusque dereptum lacertis
Aut digito male pertinaci.

Here Horace's prayer is represented as becoming more urgent as it goes on, the 'tu' appears with the second clause. So Epp. 1. 2. 63 'hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catenis'; so in Greek σύ γε.

17. **virenti**, Od. 4. 13. 6 'virentis Chiae'; Epod. 13. 4 'dumque virent genua'; so a hale old age is called 'viridis senectus.'

18. **areae**, the open spaces in Rome, especially round temples, so that we hear of the 'Area Concordiae,' &c.

20. **composita**, 'the hour of tryst'; Juv. 3. 16 'ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae.'

21 foll. 'Now too the sweet tell-tale laugh from the secret corner that betrays the hiding girl'; 'repetatur' is understood from the last sentence. Compare the lover's play in Virg. E. 3. 63 'Et fugit ad salices et se cupit ante videri.' Dillenburger calls attention to the symmetrical arrangement of the adjectives and their substantives: 'latentis puellae,' 'proditor risus,' 'intimo angulo'; 'puellae' seems to depend ἀπὸ κοινοῦ on 'proditor' and 'risus.'

24. **male pertinaci.** Probably = 'faintly resisting.' She is not sorry her lover should get the ring or ribbon.

---

# ODE X.

'HYMNUS est in Mercurium ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta,' Porph. Pausanias, 7. 20, mentions a hymn to Hermes by Alcaeus, and that it contained the story of his theft of the oxen. Among the fragments of his poetry (Fr. 3 Bergk) there is what seems to be the first line of a Sapphic Ode to Hermes:—

χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι.

The Ode is a study, and doubtless an imitation, not a translation, from Greek.

Mercurius, identified with the Greek Hermes, is celebrated as the teacher of language; of the palaestra; of the lyre; of craft, theft included; as the herald, πομπαῖος, on earth and below it.

Compare Ovid, Fast. 5. 663-692 'Clare nepos Atlantis,' &c.

MERCURI, facunde nepos Atlantis,
Qui feros cultus hominum recentum

1. **facunde**, λόγιος is a frequent epithet of Hermes; so he is the mouthpiece of the gods, 'interpres Divum.'

**nepos**, as the son of Maia 'quam Atlas generat,' Virg. Aen. 8. 141.

Voce formasti catus et decorae
    More palaestrae,
Te canam, magni Iovis et deorum
Nuntium curvaeque lyrae parentem,
Callidum, quicquid placuit, iocoso
    Condere furto.
Te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
Per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
    Risit Apollo.
Quin et Atridas duce te superbos
Ilio dives Priamus relicto
Thessalosque ignes et iniqua Troiae
    Castra fefellit.
Tu pias laetis animas reponis
Sedibus virgaque levem coërces
Aurea turbam, superis deorum
    Gratus et imis.

3. **voce formasti**, comp. Horace's account of man before the invention of language, Sat. 1. 3. 100 'mutum et turpe pecus.'

**catus**, 'by thy wit'; Varro, L. L. 7. 46, says that it is a Sabine word meaning properly 'sharp.'

**decorae**, 'grace-giving.'

4. **more**, 'rule,' 'institution.' Pind. Ol. 6. 126 *τεθμὸν ἀέθλων*.

7. **callidum condere**, for inf. see App. 2. § 2.

9. **olim**, so 'puerum' in the next line, 'long ago,' 'when still a mere boy.' It was on the very day of his birth according to the Homeric Hymn *εἰς Ἑρμῆν*, 20. The construction is 'dum terret nisi reddidisses,' 'while trying to frighten you with threats of what he would do if you did not return the kine.' The tense 'reddidisses' (instead of 'reddideris') is due to the historic present, 'terret,' which follows 'dum.' Dräger, Hist. Syntax, § 507, 1. A. *β*.

11. **viduus risit**, like 'sensit delapsus,' laughed to find himself robbed.

14. **dives**, with his rich presents, *ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα*, see Hom. Il. 24. 228 foll. Mercury, the best of thieves, is the best of guardians against theft, like Plato's *δεινὸς φύλαξ φὼρ δεινός*, Republ. p. 334.

15. **ignes . . . iniqua**, it was neither because they were not watching, nor because they were friends, that he was able to pass safely. 'Thessalos ignes,' the watchfires of Achilles. Cp. Od. 2. 4. 10 'Thessalo victore.'

17 foll. His functions as *ψυχοπομπός*. The 'levis turba,' the 'shadowy throng,' *εἴδωλα καμόντων*, are distinguished from the fewer 'piae animae.'

17. **reponis**. The 're' gives the idea, of 'aside,' 'out of the way' 'in safety,' 'in repose' So Virg. Aen. 6. 655 'tellure repostos.'

18. **coërces**, of keeping a flock together, preventing them straying by the way, Od. 1. 24. 18. Hermes carries *ῥάβδον χρυσείην* when he drives the suitors' souls to Hades in Hom. Od. 24. 1 foll.

# ODE XI.

'Do not go to the Astrologers, Leuconoë. Better bear life as it comes; enjoy the present, and think as little as possible about the future.'

On the 'mathematici' see Dict. Ant. s. v. Astrologia; 'genus hominum potentibus infidum sperantibus fallax quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur,' Tac. Hist. 1. 22. Horace himself was not above an interest in the superstition of the day, see Od. 2. 17, and Sat. 1. 6. 113.

The name of Leuconoë is chosen doubtless in part at least as a pretty sounding name which suits the Choriambic metre, as Neobule and Liparaeus suit the Ionic a minore of Od. 3. 12. It is possible also that Horace may have looked to its etymology, but it is hard for us to say whether it would have conveyed a complimentary sense or the reverse; 'candida' or 'clara mente' say some of his editors, 'empty-minded' say others. Pindar's λευκαὶ φρένες, Pyth. 4. 194, which is quoted in support of the latter view, seems rather to imply 'malignity' than 'folly.'

Metre—*Second Asclepiad.*

TU ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
Finem di dederint, Leuconoë, nec Babylonios
Temptaris numeros. Ut melius, quicquid erit, pati!
Seu plures hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
Quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum, sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
Aetas: carpe diem quam minimum credula postero.

1. **tu**, see on Od. 1. 9. 16. The use of the pronoun emphasizes the prayer, 'Pray do not.'

**quaesieris**, Madv. § 386. The usual tense in prohibitions addressed to the second person. 'Hoc facito; hoc ne feceris,' Cic. Div. 2. 61, so Od. 1. 18. 1 'nullam . . . severis arborem.'

3. **numeros**, 'tables,' 'calculations,' Juv. 6. 576. Cic. Div. 2. 47 'rationes Chaldaeas.'

**ut melius**, ὅσῳ βέλτιον, 'How much better is it!' so in prose, Cic. Mil. 24 'Ut contempsit ac pro nihilo putavit,' &c.

4. **seu . . . seu**. It is a question whether the apodosis is to be looked for in 'ut melius, &c., or in 'sapias.' Orelli prefers the latter, as avoiding an awkward break in the run of v. 6.

5. **debilitat**, breaks the force of, beats the waves on the rocks till they are tired.

**pumicibus**, of any rocks 'vesco sale peresa' (Lucr. 1. 320); so Virg. Aen. 5. 214.

6. **sapias**, Od. 1. 7. 17.

**liques**, 'clear.' This was done either with a linen strainer, or by other means, such as those described in Sat. 2. 4. 55.

**spatio brevi**, 'by the thought of the little span of life.'

7. **dum loquimur**, imitated by Pers. 5. 153 'Vive memor leti: fugit hora; hoc quod loquor inde est.'

8. **carpe diem**. What is the metaphor? Is it of plucking a flower; 'Velox Flosculus angustae miseraeque brevissima vitae Portio,' Juv. 9. 126? or perhaps rather (as Orelli) 'snatch,' ἅρπαζε, 'fugitiva gaudia carpe,' Mart. 7. 47. 11, 'catch them by the sleeve as they run'?

## ODE XII.

'WHAT man wilt thou sing of, Clio? what demigod? what god?—sing of, till the hill of Helicon rings his name again, or the woods of Haemus follow to listen, as they did when Orpheus sang? What god, but Jove first, and Pallas next, Liber Diana, Phoebus. For demigods, Hercules and the Twin Brethren who calm the stormy sea. And of men: Romulus and all the Roman worthies; Marcellus, the lustre of whose name grows with each generation; the Julian house, which outshines all others as the moon outshines the stars; Caesar, the hope of the human race, the vicegerent of Jove himself.'

The framework of the Ode is suggested by the opening of Pind. Ol. 2:—

*ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι*
*τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;*

If we compare this Ode with the Second it carries Horace's acceptance of the Caesarean regime a step further. That Ode welcomes it as the end of civil war, this as the crown of Roman history. The place given to Marcellus in the climax suggests a special occasion and gives a limit of date to the Ode, see Introd. to Odes i–iii. § 2. It cannot have been written and can hardly have been published after his untimely death in the autumn of B.C. 23. It links his name too closely to the Julian house to have been written before Augustus had given unmistakeable proof of his intentions towards him. It is natural to think of his betrothal and marriage to Julia in B.C. 25. See on v. 47.

QUEM virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
Tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
Quem deum? Cuius recinet iocosa
  Nomen imago
Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
Aut super Pindo gelidove in Haemo?
Unde vocalem temere insecutae
  Orphea silvae,
Arte materna rapidos morantem
Fluminum lapsus celeresque ventos,

1. **lyra vel acri tibia**, see on Od. 1. 1. 32, and on 3. 4. 1.

2. **sumis celebrare**, App. 2. § 1.

**Clio**, see on Od. 1. 1. 32.

3–6. Clio is to sing, not Horace, and so the song will be sung in the Muses' haunts on Helicon (in Boeotia), on Pindus (in Thessaly, Virg. E. 10. 11), or on Haemus, the old home of Orpheus (in Thrace, Virg. G. 2. 488).

3. **iocosa imago**, Od. 1. 20. 7; in neither case is any specially freakish echo intended.

5. **oris**, not confined to the sea-shore, Od. 1. 26. 4.

7–13. A reminiscence of the power of song. He implies, 'let your song be such as that.'

7. **temere**, 'pell-mell,' 'nullo ordine,' in their hurry to hear.

9. **arte materna**, Calliope's, Virg. E. 4. 57.

Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
Ducere quercus.
Quid prius dicam solitis parentis
Laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum,
Qui mare ac terras variisque mundum
Temperat horis?
Unde nil maius generatur ipso,
Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum:
Proximos illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.
Proeliis audax neque te silebo,
Liber, et saevis inimica Virgo
Beluis, nec te metuende certa
Phoebe sagitta.
Dicam et Alciden puerosque Ledae,
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
Nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis
Stella refulsit,

11. **blandum ducere**, App. 2. § 2.

13. **dicam**, a usual word with Horace for 'canere,' 'praedicare,' cp. Od. 1. 17. 19, 1. 19. 12, 1. 21. 1, 3. 4. 1, &c.

**parentis**, 'the sire' of gods and men. The v. l. 'parentum,' which is found in a few MSS. and was a variant in the margin of V, and which was commented on by the Comm. Cruq., was due to a misunderstanding of the purpose of the Ode, as though it was simply to 'praise famous men and the fathers who begat us.' With the 'Quid prius dicam?' cp. Virg. E. 3. 60 'Ab Iove principium, Musae,' Theoc. 17. 1; and for the whole order of the objects of the poet's praises, cp. 4. 15. 28-32 'deos . . virtute functos duces . . progeniem Veneris.'

14. **qui res**, &c., Virg. Aen. 1. 230 'O qui res hominumque deumque Aeternis regis imperiis.'

15. **mundum**, surrounding space.

16. **horis**, like the Gr. *ὥραις*, 'seasons'; so again A. P. 302 'sub verni temporis horam.'

17. **unde**, 'from whom,' of a person, Od. 1. 28. 28, Sat. 1. 6. 12, 2. 6. 21. The Schol. quote Virg. Aen. 1. 6 'genus unde Latinum.' Cp. the use of 'undique,' Od. 1. 7. 7.

18. **secundum**, Cic. Brut. 47 'nec enim in quadrigis eum secundum numeraverim aut tertium qui vix e carceribus exierit cum palmam iam primus acceperit.'

21. **proeliis audax**. Bentley, followed by Ritter, puts the stop after instead of before these words, making them an epithet of Pallas, who is preeminently 'Armipotens,' 'Bellipotens,' &c. But Bacchus is 'idem pacis mediusque belli' in Od. 2. 19. 28.

22. **Virgo**, Diana, the huntress.

25. **Alciden puerosque Ledae**. A comparison of Od. 3. 3. 9 foll. 'Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules' (cp. also Od. 4. 5. 35) and Epp. 2. 1. 5 foll., seems to show that here also a comparison is hinted between Augustus and the heroes named. The calming of the stormy waters in v. 27 foll. is therefore not without significance.

26. Hom. Il. 3. 237 *Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα.*

**pugnis**, *πυγμαχίᾳ*, 'boxing.'

27. **alba stella**, see on Od. 1. 3. 2; 'alba,' probably as bringing back clear weather, as 'albus Notus,' Od. 1. 7. 15.

Defluit saxis agitatus umor,
Concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes,
Et minax—quod sic voluere—ponto
Unda recumbit.
Romulum post hos prius, an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem, an superbos
Tarquini fasces, dubito, an Catonis
Nobile letum.
Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae
Prodigum Paulum superante Poeno
Gratus insigni referam Camena
Fabriciumque.
Hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
Utilem bello tulit et Camillum

29. **agitatus umor,** 'the wind-driven spray.' It has been blown high up the rocks, now it streams down them and is not blown up again.

31. **quod sic voluere.** The MSS. have a strange variety of readings. The majority, including V, have 'quia sic,' B 'qui sic,' two 'Di sic,' one 'nam sic.' Porph., with one or two MSS. of no special value, 'quod sic.' 'Di' and 'nam' are evidently alterations. The former, though Bentley defends it, would be out of place, as we are now (as Ritter remarks) celebrating the power of heroes. Of the rest, 'quia' is out of the question itself metrically, but it is a likely gloss of 'quod.'

**ponto** is a local ablative, where in strictness we require 'in pontum,' as motion is expressed, Virg. G. 1. 401 'campo recumbunt'; cp. Aen. 5. 481 'procumbit humi bos.'

34. **superbos Tarquini fasces.** The apparent mention of Tarquinius Superbus among the Roman worthies has troubled commentators from the Scholiasts downwards. The latter are driven to take the words impossibly of Tarquinius Priscus. A comparison of Virg. Aen. 6. 817, 818, seems to show that it is no merit of Tarquin, but the glory of the Regifugium that Horace is recalling. His selection of Roman names will then be, the Founders of Rome's warlike fame and of her law and religion, the first instance and the latest of devotion 'pulchra pro libertate,' the representatives of her military spirit, (1) as to contempt of death, (2) as to loyalty and simplicity of life. Bentley, in his wish to bind Horace to a chronological order which in such cases he never follows, would rob him of the credit of the tribute to a lost cause (see on Od. 2. 7) by reading *ex mera conj.* 'anne Curti.'

37. **Regulum,** see on Od. 3. 5.

**Scauros.** The reference is probably, as Kiessling suggested, to a story told of M. Aemilius Scaurus and his son (3 and 4 in Dict. Biog. s. v. 'Scaurus'). The son had shown cowardice in the war against the Cimbri, and on returning home was ordered from his father's presence, and feeling the disgrace put an end to his own life. They are named as illustrating the old military spirit.

38. **Paulum,** L. Aemilius Paulus, the Consul who refused to leave the fatal field of Cannae, Liv. 22. 38 foll.

40. **Fabricium,** C. Fabricius Luscinus, Cos. B.C. 282 and 278; 'parvo potentem Fabricium,' Virg. Aen. 6. 844. The story of his refusal to avail himself of treachery against Pyrrhus is told by Cicero, Off. 3. 22; stories of his contented poverty by Val. Max. 4. 3. 6; cp. Cic. Tusc. 3. 23.

41–44. 'He and Curius of hair unkempt were bred to do good service in war, and Camillus too, by stern poverty and the ancestral farm with its cottage home to match.' They were 'rusticorum mascula militum proles,' Od. 3. 6. 37.

41. **incomptis,** cp. Od. 2. 15. 11 'intonsi Catonis,' of Cato the Censor.

Saeva paupertas et avitus apto
        Cum lare fundus.
Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo
Fama Marcelli; micat inter omnes
Iulium sidus velut inter ignes
        Luna minores.
Gentis humanae pater atque custos
Orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
Caesaris fatis data: tu secundo
        Caesare regnes.
Ille, seu Parthos Latio imminentes
Egerit iusto domitos triumpho,
Sive subiectos Orientis orae
        Seras et Indos,
Te minor latum reget aequus orbem;
Tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,

Pliny (N. H. 7. 59) says that the first 'tonsor' was brought to Rome from Sicily in B. C. 300, and that Scipio Africanus was the first Roman who was shaved daily. To have lived before the days of barbers implies antiquity, and the absence of softer modern habits.

**Curium**, M. Curius Dentatus, who as Consul won the battle of Beneventum, B. C. 275. He is a standing example of ancient Roman simplicity. 'Qui Curios simulant,' Juv. 2. 3; cp. id. 11. 78 foll. Cicero, de Sen. 16, numbers him among the worthies who 'a villa in senatum arcessebantur.'

45. 'As a tree grows by the unmarked lapse of time, so grows the glory of Marcellus'; so the glory of the house, dating at least from the captor of Syracuse (B. C. 212), is now culminating in the young Marcellus.

**occulto**, as Lucret., of the wearing away of iron by infinitesimal decrements, 'occulte decrescit vomer in arvis,' 1. 315.

47. **Iulium sidus**, 'the star of Julius' is the same as 'Caesaris astrum,' Virg. E. 9. 47, the comet which appeared after Julius Caesar's death. Here it stands for the name and greatness of the Julian house. The closeness of the conjunction of Marcellus and the Julian house lends colour to the suggestion that the occasion of the Ode was the marriage or betrothal of the young Marcellus to Julia.

51. **fatis**, as often 'fato.' The fates are not here personified.

**secundo Caesare**, 'with Caesar for thy vicegerent.'

53–57. He—it is only a choice of triumphs, we do not know what the first will be—shall rule the world.

53. **Latio imminentes**. For the exaggeration cp. Od. 3. 6. 9–16.

54. **iusto**, 'well-earned.'

55. **subiectos**, &c., 'that border the land of the rising sun'; so in Liv. 2. 38. 1 'campus viae subiectus'; 'sub' of succession.

**orae**, see on v. 5.

56. **Seras**, Od. 1. 29. 9, 3. 29. 27, 4. 15. 23. They stand with Horace for the peoples of the extreme East. He probably knew nothing of them except that silk came across Asia from them, Virg. G. 2. 121. As described by ancient geographers, 'Serica' is supposed to correspond to the north-west provinces of the present empire of China.

57. **te minor**, 'while he bows to thee,' Od. 3. 6. 5 'Dis te minorem quod geris imperas.' It is not merely a division of sovereignty, 'Caesar on earth, Jove in heaven' (cp. Od. 3. 5. 1), but the two sovereignties are connected. The rule of Caesar is the restoration of religion.

**latum**. The MSS. are fairly divided between 'latum' and 'laetum'; 'latum'

Tu parum castis inimica mittes
Fulmina lucis.

seems to sum up the feeling of the last stanza best, 'laetum' would mean 'to its joy.'

59. **parum castis.** Lightning striking a place was held to prove that it had been polluted by some crime, and the spot was covered lest any should tread on it. Dict. Ant. s. v. 'bidental,' and cp. Hor. A. P. 471; so that Horace, with a more general meaning, selects a particular instance, popularly recognised, of the moral government of Jove, 'Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem Regnare.'

---

# ODE XIII.

'It is torture to me, Lydia, to hear you for ever praising Telephus. Love as passionate and boisterous as his is not the love that lasts. Happy they that are bound in that true chain!'

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi
Cervicem roseam, cerea Telephi
Laudas bracchia, vae meum
Fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.
Tum nec mens mihi nec color
Certa sede manet, umor et in genas

1. **Telephi . . . Telephi**, 'of Telephus—always Telephus.' The repetition is emphatic; cp. Epod. 14. 6, and one interpretation of Virg. E. 7. 70 'Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis.' The name of Telephus recurs in 3. 19. 26 and 4. 11. 21, and always of the same ideal character, a youth, 'puro similis vespero,' whose beauty brings the ladies to his feet, and (here and in 4. 11.) stands in the way of the poet's own imagined affections.

2. **roseam.** Virg. Aen. i. 402 gives Venus a 'rosea cervix.' It seems to describe the pink blush of life and health.

**cerea.** Servius, on Virg. E. 2. 53, explains this epithet as meaning 'soft,' 'supple.' Flavius Caper, a grammarian older than Servius, quotes the passage as running 'lactea . . . bracchia,' and interprets it 'candida,' which may mean either that he had found 'lactea' (possibly as a gloss on 'cerea') or that he had interpreted 'cerea,' 'white,' and then forgotten the exact word which Horace had used instead of the simple 'candida.'

4. **difficili**, χαλεπῷ. The ancients believed the liver to be the seat of passion, attributing anger and even madness to fulness of bile. 'Difficilis' is used properly of a man who is ill-tempered, as A. P. 173 'difficilis, querulus.' The epithet is transferred to the bile which is supposed to make him so.

**iecur**, the seat of passion with the ancients; so 'bilis.'

5. **nec mens nec color.** Almost a zeugma, like Virgil's 'inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem,' Aen. 2. 654; the use of the same verb of a mental and a physical fact, 'my mind reels and my colour comes and goes.'

6. **manet.** The singular is strongly

Furtim labitur, arguens
Quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.
Uror, seu tibi candidos
Turparunt umeros immodicae mero
Rixae, sive puer furens
Impressit memorem dente labris notam.
Non, si me satis audias,
Speres perpetuum, dulcia barbare
Laedentem oscula, quae Venus
Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.
Felices ter et amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula nec malis
Divulsus querimoniis
Suprema citius solvet amor die.

supported by Bentley on grammatical grounds, and is found in B. Most of the other MSS. have 'manent,' an alteration no doubt to suit the supposed necessity of the metre—but it is one of the cases noticed on Od. 1. 3. 36.

8. **quam lentis**, slow, and so torturing.

14. **perpetuum**, 'constant.'

15. **oscula** = 'labella,' the pretty lips,' Virg. Aen. 1. 256 'Oscula libavit natae.'

16. **quinta parte**. Ibycus according to Athenaeus, 2. p. 39 B, called *honey* *ἔννατον μέρος τῆς ἀμβροσίας*. And the Scholiast, on Pind. Pyth. 9. 116, says that honey had been said to be *δέκατον μέρος τῆς ἀθανασίας*. It is possible that Horace may have had some such words in his head in giving this numerical ratio of the sweetness of Lydia's lips. Another suggestion to which Orelli inclines, is that he is thinking of Pythagoras' division of the elements, earth, air, fire, water, and ether, the *πέμπτον ὄν, πέμπτη οὐσία*, 'quinta essentia,' the most perfect element; so that 'quinta pars' will mean the 'purest and best' of her nectar. This is the proper meaning of the word 'quintessence' which was adopted, with other words of the Pythagorean philosophy, by the Alchemists, and passed from their use of it into common language.

20. **suprema citius die**, 'sooner than at death.' We may say that 'citius' is used for 'citius quam,' as 'amplius' and 'plus'; 'neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas,' Virg. G. 4. 207; or that the ablative does double duty, as the ablative of comparison and of the point of time. Cp. Od. 4. 14. 13 'plus vice simplici.'

## ODE XIV.

THE ship addressed has just escaped from a storm, its mast broken, its hull shattered, its sails in ribands. The harbour is in sight. The wind is rising again. It is warned not to drift back into a sea in which it cannot live.

Quintilian (8. 6. 44) makes the Ode his illustration of the meaning of the term 'allegoria.' 'Ut "O navis referent," &c., totusque ille Horatii locus quo navem pro republica, fluctuum tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit.' And the poem of Alcaeus, which looks like its model, was believed by the ancients to be an allegorical description of the political troubles of Mitylene:—

ἀσυνέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν·
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται,
  τὸ δ' ἔνθεν· ἄμμες δ' ἀν τὸ μέσσον
    νᾶϊ φορούμεθα σὺν μελαίνᾳ,
χειμῶνι μόχθεντες μεγάλῳ μάλα·
περ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἰστοπέδαν ἔχει,
  λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἤδη
    καὶ λάκιδες μέγαλαι κατ' αὖτο.
χόλαισι δ' ἄγκυραι . . .

(Fr. 18 Bergk.)

As long as we are content with Quintilian's general exposition, all is simple. The allegory is satisfied when the commonwealth, in danger of relapsing into civil war, has become a sea-wearied ship, drifting back into the storm. The masts, the sails, the pine of Pontus, the Cyclades, belong to the ship, and we must not look for their exact counterparts in the State. Here, as with other allegories, we are beset with difficulties the moment we attempt to fit the details more exactly. It has been argued, from vv. 17, 18, that Horace speaks of the ship as if he had himself left it (but see notes on those verses), and that the subject of the Ode must, therefore, be not the State but the Republican party. Why, others ask, is it a Pontic pine, not some other—Idean, perhaps, as more suitable to the mythical origin of Rome? Acron suggested the answer, which has since been developed into a whole theory of the purpose of the Ode. Pompey was the conqueror of Mithridates of Pontus. The ship, therefore, represents the fortunes of his son, Sextus Pompeius, whom Horace would dissuade from embarking again in war with Octavianus after the treaty of Misenum, B.C. 39.

The difficulties of interpretation seemed so great to Muretus, Dacier, and Bentley, that they refused to allow the Ode to be allegorical at all.

On our view there will be nothing to fix it to a definite date. The ship is in sight of harbour. This distinguishes the Ode from Epodes 7 and 16 (see the Introductions to them). It is not yet moored beyond the reach of the wind. So long as the most timid politician could see in any movement a thought of renewed resistance to the rule which had saved Rome from anarchy, so long might Horace have vented his fears, or appealed to the fears of others by this allegory.

A plausible suggestion of Torrentius, which Franke adopts, finds an occasion

for the Ode in B.C. 29, when Augustus, according to the statement both of Suetonius (Oct. 28) and of Dion (52. 1), entertained the thought of abandoning the supreme power which had just fully come into his hands. Dion gives a speech of Maecenas on that occasion, in which he uses the very allegory of the Ode. It is however certain that Horace drew his image, not from any speech of Maecenas, but from Alcaeus. Dion may more probably have taken it from Horace.

The image of a ship for the State is an old one. See, inter alia, Aesch. Sept. c. T. 1, Soph. O. T. 25, Plat. Rep. p. 488, Theognis, 671–682.

Metre—*Fifth Asclepiad.*

O NAVIS, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus! O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
Portum! Nonne vides, ut
Nudum remigio latus
Et malus celeri saucius Africo
Antennaeque gemant, ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinae
Possint imperiosius
Aequor? Non tibi sunt integra lintea,
Non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo.

1. **referent . . . novi**, a double statement. Fresh waves are rising, and they will carry thee back. Horace speaks of the civil war under the same metaphor in Od. 2. 7. 15 'Te rursus in bellum resorbens Unda fretis tulit aestuosis,' and in Epp. 2. 2. 47 'Civilis . . . belli . . . aestas'; although in those cases it is individuals, not the State, who are battling with the waves.

2. **fortiter occupa portum**, 'make a brave effort and gain the harbour first,' i.e. before the fresh waves prevent you. The ship is still outside the bar.

4. **nudum**, supply 'sit,' as also after 'saucius.' Orelli speaks of this as 'miro zeugmate ex v. "gemant" v. "sit" elicere,' and thinks it far more poetical to make 'gemant' the verb to all three clauses. But it is a harsher zeugma to speak of a broadside swept bare of rowers as 'groaning' in the same sense as yardarms. And if 'gemant' apply to all three subjects, the 'antennae' are left without any special description of the injury done to them. Bentley, accepting the reading of some of the less ancient MSS., 'gemunt,' 'possunt,' puts the question at 'latus,' making the second stanza consist of categorical statements. For 'vides ut . . . gemant,' the particular sense of 'seeing' being lost after a time in the more general notion of 'perceiving,' cp. Od. 3. 10. 5–8 'Audis quo strepitu ianua . . . remugiat Ventis, et positas ut glaciet nives Iuppiter,' and Virg. Aen. 4. 490 'mugire videbis Sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.'

6. **sine funibus.** They are the ὑποζώματα of Plat. Rep. p. 616 C; cp. Acts 27. 17 βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο, ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον, ropes passed round the hull to prevent the timbers starting.

7. **durare**, Virg. Aen. 8. 577 'durare laborem.'

**carinae**, apparently a plural for a sing., the keel and all that belongs to it, the timbers that start from it, the hull, the bottom. Bentley takes it as a proper plural, 'Other ships about you cannot hold without anchors.'

8. **imperiosius**, 'too tyrannous,' 'peremptory.' The sea insists on breaking in, will have no refusal.

10. **non di**, sc. 'sunt integri.' The images of gods which were carried on board as a protection to the ship; Pers. 6. 30 'Iacet ipse in litore, et una Ingentes de puppe dei.'

Quamvis Pontica pinus,
Silvae filia nobilis,
Iactes et genus et nomen inutile;
Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
Fidit. Tu, nisi ventis
Debes ludibrium, cave.
Nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
Nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
Interfusa nitentes
Vites aequora Cycladas.

11. **Pontica**, cp. Catullus, 'Dedicatio Phaseli,' 4. 13 'Amastri Pontica, et Cytore buxifer,' &c.

12. **nobilis**, with 'silvae,' 'a forest of name,' cp. Od. 3. 13. 13 'fies nobilium tu quoque fontium.'

14. **pictis puppibus**, Virg. Aen. 5. 663. Ships in Homer are μιλτοπάρῃοι. Seneca, perhaps thinking of this place, Ep. 76 'navis bona dicitur non quae pretiosis coloribus picta est, ... sed stabilis et firma et iuncturis aquam excludentibus spissa.'

**timidus**, 'in the time of his fear.'

15, 16. **nisi debes ... cave**, 'unless thou art doomed to make sport for the winds, take good heed,' i.e. if it is any use to warn you, be warned. 'Cave,' absolutely, as in Epod. 6. 11 'cave ... cave.' 'Debere' is 'to be bound to give'; it may be, because we have received an equivalent; it may be, as here, by some irreversible law outside of us, as we talk of death as the 'debt' of nature. 'Debemur morti nos nostraque,' A. P. 62. It is not necessary to imagine with Orelli a hesitation between the two constructions, 'nisi mavis perire, cave' and 'cave ne pereas,' or with Dill$^{r}$., an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ government of 'ludibrium' by 'debes' and 'cave.' You could not say 'cavere ludibrium' in the same sense of 'ludibrium' in which you would say 'debere ludibrium ventis.' The position of 'cave' gives it the necessary emphasis.

17, 18. Here Horace seems to be thinking of the Commonwealth as much as of the ship. The contrast is between the two moments, a few hours ago when the ship was struggling for existence in the storm, and now when it is at the haven's mouth, but still not quite safe. His feeling towards it then was 'a hopeless heart-sickening,' now it is 'a fond yearning and anxious care.'

18. **desiderium** does not necessarily imply regret for what is lost or impossible to get, see for instance, Od. 3. 1. 25 'desiderantem quod satis est.'

19. **nitentes**, 'fulgentes Cycladas,' Od. 3. 28. 14, of their marble rocks. Perhaps there is a notion of tempting to the eye but destructive.

# ODE XV.

NEREUS becalms Paris, as he flies with Helen, to foretell to him his own fate and the destruction of Troy.

'Hac ode Bacchylidem imitatur; nam ut ille Cassandram facit vaticinari futura belli Troiani ita hic Proteum,' Porph. (The last word is a slip arising from a reminiscence of the prophecies of Proteus in Hom. Od. 4.) The same statement is repeated by a Scholiast on Stat. Theb. 7. 330. If, however, the fine verses which Clement of Alexandria quotes, without giving the name of their author (Strom. 5. 731 *ὁ Λυρικός φησι*), belonged, as is commonly believed, to this poem, Horace's imitation cannot have extended beyond the mere framework.

The lines of Bacchylides are:—

> *ὦ Τρῶες Ἀρηΐφιλοι, Ζεὺς ὑψιμέδων, ὃς ἅπαντα δέρκεται*
> *οὐκ αἴτιος θνατοῖς μεγάλων ἀχέων· ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται κιχεῖν*
> *πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισι Δίκαν ὁσίαν, ἁγνάν,*
> *Εὐνομίας ἀκόλουθον καὶ πινυτᾶς Θέμιδος·*
> *ὀλβίων παῖδές νιν εὑρόντες σύνοικον.*
>
> Fr. 29 (Bergk).

The imagery of Horace's Ode is really Homer's rather than that of the Greek lyrists, cp. Od. 1. 6.

A Scholiast calls the Ode an allegory of Antony and Cleopatra, and that explanation of it is adopted by several editors, Landinus, Baxter, and Sanadon. Ritter draws the parallel out in detail. Paris, hidden by Venus in Helen's chamber, is Antony taking refuge in Cleopatra's ship at Actium, &c. The theory cannot be pronounced probable, although it is true that elsewhere (see additional note to Ode 3. 3) Horace seems to have thought of Antony and Cleopatra while telling of Troy and Helen. Mitsch. remarks that to the Scholiast very possibly the suggestion was due to the position of the Ode. The key which had unlocked the last was applied to this. Compare the relation of the next two Odes to one another.

The Ode is imitated by Statius, Achill. i. 20 foll.

Metre—*Fourth Asclepiad.*

PASTOR cum traheret per freta navibus
Idaeis Helenen perfidus hospitam,
Ingrato celeres obruit otio
    Ventos, ut caneret fera

1. **pastor,** Virg. Aen. 7. 363 'Phrygius pastor.'

2. **Helenen.** The older MSS. are divided between '-am' and '-en,' the majority of later ones are for the Greek form, see on Od. 1. 1. 34.

**perfidus hospitam,** 'his hostess,' cp. Od. 3. 3. 26 'famosus hospes.' The great sting of Paris' offence was that he *ᾔσχυνε ξενίαν τράπεζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός*, Aesch. Ag. 401. For the relation of the two adjectives, cp. 3. 7. 13 'perfida credulum.'

3. **ingrato,** to the winds themselves, as in Virg. Aen. 1. 55 'Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis Circum claustra fremunt.'

Nereus fata: Mala ducis avi domum,
Quam multo repetet Graecia milite,
Coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias
    Et regnum Priami vetus.
Heu heu quantus equis, quantus adest viris
Sudor! quanta moves funera Dardanae
Genti! Iam galeam Pallas et aegida
    Currusque et rabiem parat.
Nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox
Pectes caesariem grataque feminis
Imbelli cithara carmina divides;
    Nequiquam thalamo graves

5. Dill$^{r}$. remarks on the weight given to the words 'Nereus fata' by their reservation to this place, the name of the speaker, and the nature of his words. They bespeak attention for the prophecy which follows.

**mala avi**, Od. 3. 3. 61 'alite lugubri'; Epod. 10. 1 'mala alite'; Od. 4. 6. 23 'potiore alite,' like the Gr. *ὄρνις*, *οἰωνός*.

7. **rumpere**, by a zeugma (Madv. § 478, obs. 4) with 'nuptias' and 'regnum.' The union of the two objects under the one verb helps the feeling that the *same blow* will effect both purposes.

9. Hom. Il. 2. 388 *ἱδρώσει μέν τευ τελαμὼν . . . ἱδρώσει δέ τευ ἵππος*.

10. **quanta funera**, 'what a scene of death!' Virg. Aen. 8. 537 'Heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant.' See Forc. for this use of 'quanta' with a plural, where we should expect 'quot.' The strongest instance quoted from an Augustan writer is Prop. 1. 5. 10 'Ac tibi curarum milia quanta dabit.' It is poetical, and seems to include the notion of magnitude as well as of number, 'What a mighty host of cares!'

**moves**, used, without any definite metaphor, of 'setting in motion,' 'beginning,' 'causing.'

**Dardanae**, Od. 4. 6. 7. The poets, and especially Horace, use the names of nations and tribes as adjectives instead of the fuller derivative forms in -ius or -icus. 'Marsus aper,' Od. 1. 1. 28; 'Medum flumen,' 2. 9. 21; 'Afro murice,' 2. 16. 35; 'Thyna merce,' 3. 7. 3. They extend the liberty even to the proper names of individuals, as here; cp. C. S. 47, Od. 4. 5. 1 'Romulae genti'; Virg. Aen. 6. 877 'Romula tellus.'

12. **currusque et rabiem**, her rage is one of its own weapons, as Aeneas in Virg. Aen. 12. 107 'acuit mentem et se suscitat ira'; and Hecuba, in Ov. Met. 13. 554 'se armat et instruit ira.' For the union of abstract and concrete, Orelli quotes Hom. Il. 4. 447 *σύν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥινούς, σὺν δ' ἔγχεα καὶ μένε' ἀνδρῶν*, and Hor. Od. 1. 35. 33 'cicatricum et sceleris.'

13 foll. Hom. Il. 3. 54 *οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμῃ κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης, | ἥ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐν κονίῃσι μιγείης*.

15. **divides**. The meaning is doubtful. Orelli understands by it 'halve the song with the guitar,' i. e. between the voice and the guitar, 'make the guitar take half the song.' Or it may conceivably mean 'mark the time of songs,' 'accompany them.' Cp. Luc. 2. 688 'buccina dividat horas,' 'tell the hours,' i. e. 'mark their divisions.' Dill$^{r}$. gives it a simpler sense, comparing Od. 1. 36. 6 'sodalibus . . . dividit oscula,' 'sing to one and another'; 'feminis' will then depend, *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*, on 'grata' and 'divides.'

16. **thalamo**, of Venus carrying him from the fight to Helen's chamber, Il. 3. 381.

**graves**, compare Homer's spear, *βριθύ, μέγα, στιβαρόν*; and there is an Horatian contrast between the weighty spear and the light arrow of reed.

Hastas et calami spicula Gnosii
Vitabis strepitumque et celerem sequi
Aiacem; tamen heu serus adulteros
    Crines pulvere collines.
Non Laërtiaden, exitium tuae
Genti, non Pylium Nestora respicis?
Urgent impavidi te Salaminius
    Teucer et Sthenelus sciens
Pugnae, sive opus est imperitare equis,
Non auriga piger; Merionen quoque
Nosces. Ecce furit te reperire atrox
    Tydides melior patre,
Quem tu, cervus uti vallis in altera
Visum parte lupum graminis immemor,
Sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
    Non hoc pollicitus tuae.
Iracunda diem proferet Ilio
Matronisque Phrygum classis Achilleï;
Post certas hiemes uret Achaïcus
    Ignis Iliacas domos.

17. **Gnosii**, Cretan, Virg. Aen. 5. 306 'Gnosia spicula'; E. 10. 59 'Cydonia.'

18. **celerem sequi**, *'Οϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας*, Hom. Il. 2. 527, &c.

20. **crines**. The MSS. are divided between this and 'cultus,' 'ornaments.' Acr. read 'crines,' as he illustrates it by Virg. Aen. 12. 99 'foedare in pulvere crines.' And the reference seems to be to the line of Hom. quoted on v. 13. With 'adulteros crines,' cp. 'impia cervice,' 3. 1. 17; 'timido tergo,' 3. 2. 16; 'libero tergo,' 3. 5. 22; 'iratos regum apices,' 3. 21. 20; and in Gr. *ἐξ ἐλευθέρου δέρης*, Aesch. Ag. 328.

24. With some hesitation I retain 'Teucer et.' The better MSS. are divided between this and 'Teucer te,' the majority being for the latter, which most recent editors prefer. Bentley objected to 'Teucer te' that the number of 'urgent' would be indefensible. He would accept 'Teucerque et' from some late MSS. There was an obvious metrical reason for altering 'et,' which explains the double variation.

**sciens pugnae**, Homer's *μάχης εὖ εἰδώς*, 'citharae sciens,' Od. 3. 9. 10. Orelli points out that the form 'sciens . . . sive opus est,' &c., is very likely from Hom. Od. 9. 49 *ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων ἀνδράσι μάρνασθαι καὶ ὅτε χρὴ πεζὸν ἐόντα.*

27. **nosces**, 'thou shalt come to know.'

**furit reperire**, App. 2. § 1.

28. **melior patre**, from Hom. Il. 4. 405, where Sthenelus says, *ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι.*

31. **sublimi**. I explained it formerly, after Meineke, as a rendering of *πνεῦμ' ἄνω ἔχειν* Menandr. Hal. 3, the *μετέωρον πνεῦμα* of Hippocrates—of breath arrested—but it is simpler to take it as describing the stag's own attitude 'panting, with head in air,' cp. A. P. 457.

33. **iracunda classis**, the anger which kept Achilles' ships apart from the rest.

**diem proferet**, 'shall postpone the day of doom.'

34. **Achilleï**, see on Ulyxei, Od. 1. 6. 7.

36. For the trochee, as the 'basis' of the line and in v. 24, see Index of metres, § 1.

# ODE XVI.

'FAIR daughter of a mother fair, though not so fair as you, burn and forget my scurrilous iambics. Passion is as resistless as the afflatus of Cybele, or Apollo, or Bacchus, its expression as noisy and senseless as the cymbals of the Corybantes. We are all liable to it, we all have our share of the lion's heart. You may read its effects in all story. Curb your passion; I too was led astray by it. Forgive me, accept my palinode and be my friend.'

'Tyndaridi satisfacit . . . Imitatus est Stesichorum poetam Siculum qui vituperationem Helenae scribens coecatus est et postea responso Apollinis laudem eius scripsit et oculorum aspectum recepit, cuius rei et in Epodo poeta idem meminit:—

'Infamis Helenae Castor offensus vice
Fraterque magni Castoris victi prece
Adempta vati reddidere lumina.' Acron.

'Hac ode παλινῳδίαν repromittit ei in quam probrosum carmen scripserat Tyndaridi amicae suae.' Porph.

In accordance with this the Ode is headed in the MSS. B and A 'ad Tyndariden.'

'Cantat palinodiam, i.e. cantando revocat quae scripserat iratus in amicam Gratidiam,' Comm. Cruq. And so some MSS. head it 'Palinodia Gratidiae.' Others unite the two views, and identify 'Tyndaris' with 'Gratidia' or 'Canidia'; 'Palinodia Gratidiae vel Tyndaridis.'

For the first view, which identifies the unknown object of this palinode with the Tyndaris of the following Ode, there seems to be no external argument. There was the temptation to connect the two Odes, to make the invitation of that the complement of the reconciliation in this; and the connexion of the name of Helen on the one side with the name of Tyndaris, and on the other with the original 'palinode,' would easily suggest to ingenious Scholiasts the desired link.

With respect to the second view the case is not so clear. If the 'criminosi iambi' here recanted are to be looked for among Horace's extant poems, they can hardly be other than his attacks on Canidia in Epodes 5 and 17. To our ideas it is a slight recantation for such a libel, so much so that it might seem to force us to give both to the Epodes and to Sat. 1. 8 less reality than we should naturally give. There is no bitterness in this Ode, nothing which would justify us in holding (for this is one suggestion) that it is a continuation of the libel, the 'tu pudica, tu proba' which he offered to sing, 'mendaci lyra,' 'tuning his harp to falsehood,' in Epod. 17. 39; but yet the tone of the palinode is barely serious. There is a mock heroic air in the 'urbes altae,' 'Thyestes,' 'Prometheus' (comp. Od. 2. 4, 4. 11. 25 foll., and Epod. 3). It is intended, as Newman says, to make the occasion slightly ridiculous, to represent both himself and the lady as having made too much of it.

The παλινῳδία of Stesichorus, which added to the legend of Troy the famous variation that it was only a phantom in Helen's shape that Paris carried from

Mycenae, is mentioned by Plato, Phaedr. 243 A, who quotes the first three lines:—

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος
οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν εὐσέλμοις
οὐδ' ἵκεο Πέργαμα Τροίας.

Acron's statement, 'Stesichorum imitatur,' can barely mean more than that Horace took from him the idea of a 'palinode.' Ritter suggests that the first line may be an echo of some line in which Stesichorus addressed Helen as fairer than her mother Leda.

O MATRE pulchra filia pulchrior,
Quem criminosis cumque voles modum
Pones iambis, sive flamma
Sive mari libet Hadriano.
Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
Mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
Non Liber aeque, non acuta
Sic geminant Corybantes aera,

2. **modum pones**, 'modum ponere,' 'to set bounds,' 'cupidinibus, orationi,' &c., are common expressions, cp. Od. 3. 15. 2 'nequitiae fige modum.' There is a play in its extension here to mean simply 'to put an end to,' i.e. 'destroy.' The verses have been intemperate, the lady shall put bounds to them in the only possible way. Compare Ovid's trope, 'Emendaturis ignibus,' Trist. 4. 10. 62.

3. **pones**, the permissive future, 'you shall if you wish,' see on Od. 1. 6. 1.

4. **Hadriano**, see on Od. 1. 1. 14.

5–7. 'Ira furor brevis est.' 'No divine afflatus makes those it possesses so reckless as the passion of anger.'

5. **Dindymene**, 'Dea Dindymi,' Cat. 62. 91, a mountain in Phrygia where Cybele was worshipped.

**non adytis . . . incola Pythius.** It seems best to take this as a slight inversion, after Horace's manner, for 'adytis Pythiis incola,' 'not in his shrine at Pytho the god who dwells there'; comp. Epod. 10. 12 'Graia victorum manus' for the more usual 'Graiorum.' For the mode of describing the god, comp. Virg. Aen. 3. 111 'mater cultrix Cybelae.' Possibly 'incola' may have a stronger force, and represent Pindar's οὐκ ἀπόδαμος τυχών (Pyth. 4. 7), 'when his presence is there'; with reference to the migrations of gods from one shrine to another. Dillenburger's interpretation is less likely. He takes 'sacerdotum,' ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, with 'incola' as well as with 'mentem,' 'his priests' hearts when he possesses them,' quoting Plutarch de Orac. Def. p. 414 e, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν . . . ἐνδυόμενον εἰς τὰ σώματα τῶν προφητῶν ὑποφθέγγεσθαι.

**adytis** is opposed to the more widely diffused afflatus, ἐνθουσιασμός, of Cybele or Bacchus.

5–9. **non aeque . . . non sic . . . ut.** It has not generally been noticed that there are two points of comparison between anger and the possession of some god; (1) that they both make men lose their balance of mind, (2) that they find expression in senseless noise. This last comes home especially to the present case: Horace suggests that his lampoon was only an instance of 'sound and fury signifying nothing,' like the tinkling cymbals of the frantic Corybantes. Grammatically, 'ut' answers both to 'non aeque' and to 'non sic.' In each case, if the sentence were completed as in prose, something should be added to give a predicate to 'tristes irae' which would suit it more exactly than 'geminant aera' or even than 'quatiunt mentes sacerdotum.' Bentley proposed to read *ex conj.* 'si' for 'sic,' constructing as Od. 2. 17. 13 'Me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae, Nec si resurgat centimanus Gyas, Divellet umquam,' and his reading is followed by

Tristes ut irae, quas neque Noricus
Deterret ensis nec mare naufragum
Nec saevus ignis nec tremendo
Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu.
Fertur Prometheus, addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.
Irae Thyesten exitio gravi
Stravere et altis urbibus ultimae
Stetere causae, cur perirent
Funditus imprimeretque muris

Dill[r]., Keller, Kiessling, but if the explanation given above is right the alteration will damage the sense.

9. **tristes**, 'ill-omened,' 'odious.'

**irae**, 'bursts of passion.'

**Noricus**, Epod. 17. 71. Noricum, the modern Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, was famous for its iron, Plin. N. H. 34. 41.

10. **deterret**, frightens from their purpose.

**naufragum**, actively, as Virg. Aen. 3. 553 'navifragum Scylaceum.'

12. **Iuppiter ipse ruens**, cp. Od. 3. 3. 7 'Si fractus illabatur orbis Impavidum ferient ruinae.' The expression here contains a remembrance of Ζεὺς καταιβάτης, though the thought is not so much, as it is in the Greek, of the thunderbolt, as of the vault of heaven cracking, 'ruit arduus aether,' Virg. G. 1. 324, of the lightning, thunder, and rain; for 'Iuppiter' of the sky, cp. Od. 1. 1. 25.

13 foll. The legend of Prometheus does not appear in this form in extant Greek literature, see on Od. 1. 7. 21 and Epod. 13 Introd. He is the creator of man in the myth of Plato's Protagoras.

13–16. The simplest construction is to take 'addere' after 'coactus,' 'apposuisse' after 'fertur,' giving to 'et' the sense of 'etiam,' 'also,' 'among the rest.' It has been proposed also to supply 'esse' with 'coactus,' 'fertur coactus esse . . . et apposuisse'; cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 65 'visus est . . . obsecutus . . . et repulisse.'

**fertur** is a usual word in introducing a legend or story which goes beyond the reach of human testimony. See Gossrau on Virg. Aen. 1. 15, 7. 735, &c. Cp. Od. 1. 7. 23, 3. 5. 41, 3. 20. 13.

14. **undique**, from every animal; A. P. 3 'Undique collatis membris.' The Schol. Cruq. adds (possibly from an older commentator, and so conceivably from some fuller version of the legend), 'Sic timorem deprompsit a lepore, a vulpe astutiam.'

16. **vim**, to be taken closely with 'insani,' which defines its meaning, 'the force of the lion's fury.'

**stomacho**, the seat of anger, see on Od. 1. 6. 6.

17. **Thyesten**. Thyestes stands as the representative of the crimes of passionate revenge in Greek Tragedy. Cp. Od. 1. 6. 8 'Saevam Pelopis domum.'

18. **ultimae**, the furthest off, the first link of the chain. Ritter quotes Virg. Aen. 7. 49 'tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.'

19. **stetere**. By the variation from the usual 'exstitere,' Horace clearly wishes to feel again something of a living metaphor in the verb, though it is not quite evident what the metaphor is. Cp. Virg. Aen. 7. 553 'stant belli causae.' There it seems to be 'they are on foot, in full life and strength, there is no need to use any more efforts to arouse them.' Here perhaps the verb cannot be altogether separated from 'ultimae.' The succession stopped in them.

20. **imprimeret muris aratrum**, to plough the site of a conquered city was a token (or a metaphor) of its total destruction. Prop. 4. 9. 41 'Moenia cum Graio Neptunia pressit aratro Victor Palladiae ligneus artis equus.' Cp. Aesch. Ag. 526.

Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.
Compesce mentem: me quoque pectoris
  Temptavit in dulci iuventa
    Fervor et in celeres iambos
Misit furentem; nunc ego mitibus
Mutare quaero tristia, dum mihi
  Fias recantatis amica
    Opprobriis animumque reddas.

22. **me quoque**, as well as the rest of the world, as it may you. Take care you are not as bad as I was in your revengefulness.

23. **temptavit**, of a disease; Epp. 1. 6. 28 'Si latus aut renes morbo temptantur'; Virg. G. 3. 441 'Turpis oves temptat scabies.'

**dulci iuventa**, 'so sweet,' says Dill^r., 'that one can think of nothing else, its pleasures make one careless'; cp. Od. 1. 37. 11 'dulci fortuna ebria.' Orelli thinks it is only the fondness with which a man, as he grows old, looks back on his youth, and pleads for it even while he recounts its errors.

24. **celeres**, 'hasty,' 'impetuous'; cp. Epp. 1. 18. 89 'oderunt... sedatum celeres'; but there is some force in giving the epithet to the 'iambi,' rather than to himself. He would suggest that his Pegasus ran away with him.

26. **tristia**, perhaps with reference to v. 9. Here, as contrasted with 'mitibus,' it carries more distinctly a metaphor of taste, as Virg. G. 2. 126 'tristes suci'; G. 1. 75 'triste lupinum.'

---

# ODE XVII.

AN invitation to Tyndaris to visit the poet at his Sabine farm, 'a very haunt of Faunus, a heaven-blest spot, where she will find all country pleasures, and be able to sing her favourite songs and sip Lesbian in the shade without the brawls of a city merrymaking or the tipsy violence of Cyrus' love and jealousy.'

VELOX amoenum saepe Lucretilem
Mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam

1. **Lucretilem**. This name probably covers the whole mass of mountain between the Licenza valley and the Campagna—the highest point of which is now called Monte Gennaro. See note on the site of Horace's villa, vol. ii. p. 294.

2. **mutat**. It is more usual to put the thing *taken* in exchange in the abl., as in the last Ode, v. 26 'mutare tristia mitibus'; but Horace often inverts them as here and in Od. 3. 1. 47 'Cur valle permutem Sabina Divitias operosiores'; cp. Od. 2. 12. 21, Epod. 9. 27, Sat. 2. 7. 109. The abl. in either case is analogous to the abl. of price, the

Defendit aestatem capellis
Usque meis pluviosque ventos.
Impune tutum per nemus arbutos
Quaerunt latentes et thyma deviae
Olentis uxores mariti,
Nec virides metuunt colubras,
Nec Martiales Haediliae lupos,
Utcumque dulci, Tyndari, fistula
Valles et Usticae cubantis
Levia personuere saxa.

transaction being regarded from the side, in the first case, of the seller, in the second of the buyer.

**Lycaeo Faunus.** Horace identifies (see on Od. 2. 17. 28) the Latin Faunus, the legendary son of Picus, and giver of oracles (Virg. Aen. 7. 48, 81), the god of agriculture and cattle (Hor. Od. 3. 18), with the Arcadian Pan, ὀρειβάτης, the inventor of the pipe (see v. 10). Cp. Ovid, Fast. 2. 267 foll., and esp. v. 424 'Faunus in Arcadia templa Lycaeus habet.' 'Lycaeus' is a mountain in Arcadia.

3. **defendit,** Virg. E. 7. 47 'Solstitium pecori defendite.'

4. **usque.** The 'frequent' visits of Faunus have conferred 'perpetual' salubrity on Lucretilis.

5. **tutum,** pred., 'without risk, for it is safe in his guardianship.' Bentley is needlessly offended at the repetition, and would read 'totum.' Ritter points out that stress is laid on the quiet and security of the place; there are no vipers nor wolves for the goats, no tipsy Cyrus for Tyndaris.

**arbutos,** the bushes, not the berries, for it was the leaves that the kids liked, Virg. G. 3. 300 'frondentia capris Arbuta sufficere.'

6. **latentes . . . deviae.** The two adj. are correlative, and so really belong each to both clauses. The arbutus may be hidden in a thicket of other shrubs, the thyme may grow only in nooks, but the goats may stray safely to search for both.

7. **uxores,** Virg. E. 7. 7 'Vir gregis ipse caper'; G. 3. 125 'pecori maritum.'

8. **virides,** possibly, as Orelli and Ritter think, with the idea that the colour indicated their poisonous character. But any epithet makes a danger more terrible which helps our imagination to realize any of its circumstances more vividly.

9. **Martiales,** an habitual epithet, as Virg. Aen. 9. 566 'Martius lupus'; but doubtless some correspondence is intended between the qualities of the wolves and the fierce god to whom they belong, see on 1. 22. 13.

**Haediliae.** The oldest MSS. vary only between 'haediliae' and 'haedilia.' Acron read the latter, and interprets it 'Septa hedorum.' But Bentley shows conclusively that even if the Romans had used 'haedilia' rather than 'caprilia' (Varr. R. R. 2. 3. 8, as they use 'ovile,' not 'agnile'), it would be the plural of 'haedile' with the *i* long and the *a* short. Bentley himself defends the suggestion of 'haeduleae,' 'kids' (Auratus had conj. 'haedulei' following the analogy of 'equuleus,' 'equula,' 'hinnuleus'). We have to weigh the probability of such an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον against the probability of the name of some wood or hill near the farm being otherwise unknown to us.

10. **utcumque,** temporal, as always in Hor. Od. 1. 35. 23, 2. 17. 11, 3. 4. 29, 4. 4. 35, Epod. 17. 52; here, as in Od. 4. 4. 35, it means 'so soon as.'

**fistula,** the pipe of Faunus. 'Pan primus calamos cera coniungere plures Instituit,' Virg. E. 2. 32.

11. **cubantis,** the meaning of the epithet cannot be certainly known till we are sure what 'Ustica' was, which it qualifies. Is it 'low-lying,' of a valley, or some spot in a valley; Theoc. 13. 40 ἡμένῳ ἐν χώρῳ? or 'sloping,' of a hill-side, Virgil's 'colles supini'; Lucretius', 4. 528, 'cubantia tecta'?

Di me tuentur, dis pietas mea
Et Musa cordi est. Hic tibi copia
  Manabit ad plenum benigno
    Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Hic in reducta valle Caniculae
Vitabis aestus et fide Teïa
  Dices laborantes in uno
    Penelopen vitreamque Circen;
Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii
Duces sub umbra, nec Semeleïus
  Cum Marte confundet Thyoneus
    Proelia, nec metues protervum

13. **di me tuentur.** He sums up the previous stanzas. The thought was apparently at first only the beauty of Lucretilis which draws Faunus even from Arcadia; but it has passed into the wider idea that the Farm and its owner are under the special protection of heaven.

14. **hic.** The great majority of MSS. have 'hinc,' and we must add Acr. and Porph., who interpret 'scilicet de Sabino fundo.' But 'hic' and 'hinc' (hc̄) are often confused, as in Od. 1. 21. 13, where B has 'hinc' against the clear sense. And the balance of the three promises, country pleasures, music, and good wine without quarrelling, perhaps justifies the almost unanimous preference given by the editors to 'hic.'

14–16. The construction is 'copia, ruris honorum opulenta, benigno cornu manabit tibi ad plenum.' 'Plenty, rich in all the pride of the country, shall stream from her bounteous horn into thy lap till it is full.'

15. **ad plenum,** adverbially, as in Virg. G. 2. 244 'Huc ager ille malus dulcesque a fontibus undae Ad plenum calcentur.'

16. **honorum** = 'omnium quibus honestatur rus,' Orelli; i.e. flowers, fruits, &c. S. 2. 5. 12 'dulcia poma Et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores.' So leaves are 'silvae honor,' Epod. 11. 6, Virg. G. 2. 404.

**cornu,** the horn of plenty. Ovid gives two forms of legend. In Fast. 5. 115 it is the broken horn of a goat which Amalthaea filled with fruit for the infant Jupiter. In Met. 9. 85 foll. it is the horn which Hercules broke from the forehead of Achelous, and which the Naiads filled for Plenty, 'pomis et odoro flore.'

17. **reducta valle,** as in Epod. 2. 13 and Virg. Aen. 6. 703 'deep-drawn,' running into the hills. It suggests the ideas both of quiet and of shade.

18. **fide Teïa,** in songs such as Anacreon might have written and sung.

19. **dices,** see on 1. 12. 13.

**laborantes in uno,** wearying themselves for love of the same man, viz. Ulysses.

20. **vitream,** as a sea-nymph (cp. 'vitreo ponto,' Od. 4. 2. 3), daughter of the Oceanid Perse, Hom. Od. 10. 139; so Thetis is called '[Achillis] mater caerula,' Epod. 13. 16. Statius has imitated it, Silv. 1. 3. 85 'vitreae iuga perfida Circes,' and 1. 5. 15 'Ite deae virides, liquidosque advertite vultus, Et vitreum Veneris crinem redimite corymbis.'

21. **innocentis,** that will not lead to brawls.

22. **duces,** 'drink,' as Od. 3. 3. 34 and 4. 12, 14.

**Semeleïus Thyoneus.** Semele and Thyone were both names of Bacchus' mother. So he plays on Bacchus' own name, Lyaeus, Od. 3. 21. 16, Epod. 9. 38: 'the son of Semele who is also Thyone'—the latter name being connected with θύειν, to rage furiously. Cp. Θυιάς, a raving Bacchante.

23. **confundet,** an extension of the usual phrase, 'miscere proelia'; the drunken brawl is represented as a 'blind and aimless quarrel' between Mars and Bacchus.

24 foll. You will be out of the way of the petulance with which Cyrus vents his jealous suspicions.

Suspecta Cyrum, ne male dispari
Incontinentes iniciat manus
Et scindat haerentem coronam
Crinibus immeritamque vestem.

25. **male dispari**, 'a poor little match for him'; 'male' increasing the unfavourable force of the adj. as in Sat. 1. 3. 45, 1. 4. 66.

26. **incontinentes**, 'violent,' 'tipsy,' the epithet belonging more properly to the person than to his hands. See on Od. 1. 15. 20.

---

## ODE XVIII.

'THE purpose of the Ode may be summed up,' says Dillenburger, 'in the lines of Theognis (509, ed. Bergk):—

*οἶνος πινόμενος πουλὺς κακόν· ἢν δέ τις αὐτὸν*
*πίνῃ ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.*

'Plant the vine, Varus, especially where it grows so well as at Tibur, and drink of its fruit, but it is possible to drink too much.'

Varus is called by the Scholiasts 'Quintilius Varus,' and generally identified with the Quintilius the friend of Virgil, who died in B.C. 24, and whose death is lamented in Od. 1. 24.

The form at least of the poem was suggested by an Ode of Alcaeus, of which we have the first line, Athen. 10. 8:—

*μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσῃς πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλω.*

Metre—*Second Asclepiad.*

NULLAM, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
Circa mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catili.
Siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit, neque
Mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines.

1. **sacra**, 'god-given,' belonging to Bacchus. Horace begins by granting to the full the virtues of wine.

**severis**, for the mood, see on Od. 1. 11. 1; 'sero' is Virgil's word for planting trees, G. 2. 275, &c.

2. **mite**, a soft and kindly soil, opp. to Virgil's 'difficile,' G. 2. 279; 'amarum,' ib. 238.

**moenia Catili**, a further description of 'Tiburis solum'; for Catilus see on Od. 1. 7. 13, and cp. Virg. Aen. 7. 672. Horace seems to stand alone in shortening the penult. of the usual 'Catillus.' Compare his use of 'Porsena,' Epod. 16. 4.

3. **siccis**, the opp. of 'uvidis,' Od. 4. 5. 39 'dicimus integro Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi Cum Sol Oceano subest'; cp. Epp. 1. 19. 9.

**dura**, tertiary pred. 'All that heaven ever sets before them, every task and fortune, is hard.'

**deus**, as in Od. 1. 3. 21; not Bacchus, but the power which rules our life.

4. **aliter**, 'in any other way than this,' the true way is implied by 'siccis' in the opposed clause.

Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?
Quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque, decens Venus?
At, ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
Debellata, monet Sithoniis non levis Euius,
Cum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
Discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candide Bassareu,
Invitum quatiam, nec variis obsita frondibus
Sub divum rapiam. Saeva tene cum Berecyntio

5. **crepat,** like the Gr. *παταγεῖν, κροτεῖν*, of rattling or tiresome talk, S. 2. 3. 32 'si quid Stertinius veri crepat'; Epp. 1. 7. 84 'Sulcos et vineta crepat mera'; A. P. 247 'immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta.' So that it can only be used with the next verse by a zeugma.

6. **decens,** Od. 1. 4. 6.

7. **at.** I venture to keep the reading of the older editors, supported by *λu*, although B and the rest of the tenth century MSS. have 'ac,' and Bentley follows them. But the passages which he quotes, Epp. 1. 1. 13, 1. 19. 26, 2. 1. 208, do not require an adversative as strongly as this transition from the use to the abuse of wine.

**modici,** 'that loves moderation,' 'verecundum Bacchum,' Od. 1. 27. 3. It would properly be the epithet of the draught, *ὃς δ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον*, Theogn. 47, or of the proportions of the mixture, see on Od. 1. 20. 1.

**transiliat,** see on 1. 3. 24, 'lightly to overpass the bounty of Liber,' *δῶρα Διονύσου*, is not to be content with what the god allows us, but to take more 'invito deo,' v. 12.

8. **Centaurea.** For this story, see Ov. Met. 12. 219 foll., and cp. Hom. Od. 21. 295 *οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, ἀγακλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα, ἄασ' . . ἐς Λαπίθας ἐλθόνθ'*; Virg. G. 2. 455 foll. 'Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit: ille furentes Centauros leto domuit,' &c.

**super mero.** 'Super' possibly of place, 'over the wine.' It has also been taken (so perhaps the Schol. who interprets 'propter vinum') as = 'de.' Cp. 'super urbe curas' Od. 3. 8. 17. If so, Horace is forgetting the legend in which wine was not the cause of the quarrel.

9. **debellata,** see on Od. 1. 3. 13.

**Sithoniis,** properly the inhabitants of the middle finger of the three which run out into the Aegean from Chalcidice. For Thracian intemperance, cp. Od. 1. 27. 1, 1. 36. 13, 2. 7. 26.

9, 10. 'There is warning in the heavy hand of Evius on the Sithonians, when in their greedy haste they divide right and wrong by the slender line of their own appetite,' i. e. when the only distinction they place between right and wrong is that they desire the thing or not.

11. **candide,** 'ever fair and ever young,' of the bright beauty of divine youth; Epod. 3. 9 'candidum ducem,' of Jason.

**Bassareu,** a name of Dionysus from *βασσάρα*, a Thracian word for a foxskin worn by the Bacchants. Horace puts 'I and those who agree with me will be moderate in the use of wine,' into language taken from the Bacchic mysteries. 'I will not lay an irreverent or untimely hand on thy rites.'

12. **quatiam,** properly applied to the thyrsus, and perhaps to the solemn lifting of the sacred 'cista,' which contained the emblems of the god, 'commotis excita sacris Thyias,' Virg. Aen. 4. 301.

**variis,** Theoc. 26. 3 gives a list of the leaves gathered by the Bacchants, *λασίας δρυὸς ἄγρια φύλλα | κίσσον τε ζώοντα καὶ ἀσφόδελον τὸν ὑπὲρ γᾶς.*

**obsita,** Catull. 64. 259 'obscura cavis . . orgia cistis'; Tib. 1. 7. 48 'occultis conscia cista sacris.'

13. **sub divum,** into the light.

**tene,** 'silence,' addressed still to Bacchus. 'Do not excite us too much.'

**Berecyntio,** Od. 3. 19. 18 'Cur Berecyntiae cessant flamina tibiae?' the horn used in Cybele's worship on Mount Berecyntus in Phrygia. It was also an accompaniment of the Bacchic orgies. Catull. l. c. 'Plangebant alii proceris tympana palmis, Multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos.'

Cornu tympana, quae subsequitur caecus Amor sui,
Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem,
Arcanique Fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro.

14. **caecus**, a physical characteristic of the personified self-love, as Conington points out in a note on his translation.

15. **plus nimio**, Od. 1. 33. 1, Epp. 1. 10. 30. The order in prose is 'nimio plus,' Cic. ad Att. 10. 8. It has been explained: (1) as a translation of *ὑπεράγαν*, following the analogy of 'plus justo,' &c., 'more than that which is too much'; (2) as following the analogy of 'plus paulo' ('a little too much') Ter. Heaut. 2. 1. 8; 'nimio validius,' Plin. 24. 12; 'nimio melius,' Plaut. Pers. 1. 3. 31, 'by very much too much'; 'nimio' being the ablative or adverb of measure. It is a colloquial phrase common in Plautus, M. G. 2. 6. 106, Bacch. 1. 2. 42, and the combination in Bacch. 4. 4. 21 'nimio minus, multo parum,' seems to show that the second explanation was the true one; see a collection of instances of 'nimio' with compar. adj. in Ramsay's Mostellaria, Excursus 12. It qualifies 'tollens,' 'lifting far too high'; with this picture cp. Od. 3. 16. 17 'Iure perhorrui Late conspicuum tollere verticem.'

**Gloria**, 'vainglory,' as in Epp. 1. 18. 22 'Gloria quem supra vires et vestit et ungit.'

16. **arcani Fides prodiga**, an oxymoron, 'Faith, that blabs out her secret'; cp. Od. 3. 24. 59 'periura fides.'

**perlucidior vitro**, 'with a window in its mind,' Con. Compare the Greek proverbs, *κάτοπτρον εἴδους χαλκός ἐστ' οἶνος δὲ νοῦ* and *τὸ ἐν καρδίᾳ τοῦ νήφοντος ἐπὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ τοῦ μεθύοντος*, Hor. Epod. 11. 14, S. 1. 4. 89.

---

## ODE XIX.

'I THOUGHT my days of passion were over, but love and wine and idleness and Glycera's beauty are too much for me. Again I feel the full power of Venus—again must leave all other subjects to write love songs—again think only of propitiating Venus and moderating the pains of my passion.'

See Introd. to Ode 4. 1, which Horace links to this Ode by repeating the first line.

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

MATER saeva Cupidinum
Thebanaeque iubet me Semelae puer

1. **saeva**, 'imperious.' 'Saeva Proserpina,' Od. 1. 28. 20; 'saeva Necessitas,' 1. 35. 17.

2. **Semelae**. It is needless to write 'Semeles' against the nearly unanimous authority of the MSS., although Horace more usually prefers a Greek form in the Odes. Comp. Helenae, Od. 1. 3. 2, Epod. 17. 42 with Helenen, 1. 15. 2, Helene, 4. 9. 16. Hirschfelder points out that there is no certain instance in Horace of the gen. in *es*. So we find 'Pelidae,' Od. 1. 6. 6, side by side with 'Tydiden,' ib. 16.

Et lasciva Licentia
Finitis animum reddere amoribus.
Urit me Glycerae nitor
Splendentis Pario marmore purius:
Urit grata protervitas
Et vultus nimium lubricus aspici.
In me tota ruens Venus
Cyprum deseruit, nec patitur Scythas
Et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere nec quae nihil attinent.
Hic vivum mihi caespitem, hic
Verbenas, pueri, ponite turaque
Bimi cum patera meri:
Mactata veniet lenior hostia.

3. **Licentia**, 'freedom of life,' as Catullus, 51. 13, traces his passion to 'otium,' 'Otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est,' &c.

5. **nitor**, Od. 3. 12. 5 'Liparaei nitor Hebri,' 'bright beauty.'

8. **lubricus**, a face to look on which is to slip from your resolve. The metaphorical use of '**lubricus**' in the sense of 'hazardous' is common in Cicero. For the infin. see App. 2. § 2.

10. The Scythians, with the Parthians and the Spaniards, represent to Horace the foreign politics of the time, the glory that Augustus' arms were always about to win or had won, cp. Od. 2. 11. 1, 3. 8. 16, &c., and Introd. to Odes i–iii. §§ 7, 8.

11. **versis equis**, Od. 2. 13. 18 'sagittas et celeris fugam Parthi'; Virg. G. 3. 31 'Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis.'

12. **nec quae nihil attinent**, 'nor aught that is irrelevant,' sc. to her, and to love, to my proper themes: that he does not add such a qualification may be possibly meant to show that he is already absorbed in the thoughts of love; he is no longer speaking of them from outside.

13. **vivum caespitem**, a fresh cut turf for a temporary altar. Od. 3. 8. 4 'acerra thuris Plena . . positusque carbo in Caespite vivo.'

14. **verbenas**, Od. 4. 11. 6 'ara castis vincta verbenis'; Virg. Aen. 12. 120 'verbena tempora vincti'; Virg. E. 8. 65 'verbenas adole pingues et mascula thura.' Fxplained (by Servius on Virg. Aen. l.c., Donatus on Ter. Andr. 4. 3. 11, and Acron on this place) as the name of all green things, boughs or leaves of myrtle, bay, olive, &c., or even grass gathered 'ex puro loco' and used in a religious rite. The quotations given show that they were used for several purposes in a sacrifice.

15. **bimi**. New wine was used in sacrifices, cp. Od. 1. 31. 2, 3. 23. 3; 'bimi' will therefore probably mean 'last year's wine,' which would be used till the wine of the year was ready.

**meri**, wine with any admixture of water was unfit for religious uses. Fest. s. v. 'spurcum.'

16. **veniet lenior**, opposed to 'in me tota ruens,' v. 9. The overpowering and painful 'afflatus' of a god was a sign of disfavour rather than of favour, and would be mitigated by submission and reverence. See Od. 2. 19.

# ODE XX.

AN invitation to Maecenas to visit Horace at his Sabine farm, where he will have not indeed the Caecuban or Falernian which he drinks at home, but Sabine wine, if cheap yet carefully bottled by Horace himself, and carrying in its date a pleasant reminiscence of Maecenas' life, viz. of the rounds of applause with which he was received on first entering the theatre after an illness.

On the date of this Ode, see Introd. to Odes i–iii. § 8.

Compare the tone of the Ode with Epp. i. 5.

VILE potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa
Conditum levi, datus in theatro
Cum tibi plausus,
Care Maecenas eques, ut paterni
Fluminis ripae simul et iocosa
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
Montis imago.

1. **modicis.** As the wine will be cheap, so the cups will be modest, whether in make and material, or in size, is doubtful. Small cups would mean that it was not a drinking bout. Cp. Sat. 2. 6. 70 '[poculis] modicis uvescit laetius,' and 2. 8. 35 where the hard drinker 'calices poscit maiores.' There is the same doubt in Epp. 1. 5. 2, 'modica patella.'

2. **cantharis.** A handled cup, old-fashioned, and traditionally associated with Bacchus, cp. Virg. E. 6. 17 'gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa,' where it belongs to Silenus: Plin. N. H. 35. 53. 'C. Marius post victoriam Cimbricam cantharis potasse Liberi patris exemplo traditur.' Horace names it among his table furniture, rough, but scrupulously clean, in the parallel Epp. 1. 5. 23, 'et cantharus et lanx Ostendat tibi,' &c. This shows that it was of metal.

**Graeca . . ipse,** both touches point to the care bestowed on the process of racking it off from the 'dolium.' Horace did it with his own hands, and used a 'testa' or 'amphora,' which still kept some of the fragrance of the Chian or Lesbian which it had held; for 'Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu,' Epp. 1, 2. 70.

3. **conditum levi,** 'stored and sealed.' The cork was secured by a coating of pitch, Od. 3. 8. 9 'Hic dies . . Corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit Amphorae.' So to open an amphora is 'relinere,' see on v. 10.

**in theatro,** Od. 2. 17. 25 'cum populus frequens Laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum.'

5. **eques,** see on Od. 3. 16. 20, and 1. 1. 1.

**paterni,** because Maecenas is 'Tyrrhena regum progenies,' and the river is the 'Tuscus alveus,' Od. 3. 7. 28; 'Lydius Tibris,' Virg. Aen. 2. 781. So that in the whole verse there is implied reference to both topics of compliment, Maecenas' high birth and his modest state. 'Maecenas eques Etrusco de sanguine regum Intra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam,' Prop. 4. 9. 1.

6. **iocosa imago,** see on Od. 1. 12. 3.

7. **Vaticani.** The theatre of Pompey, which was the only one finished at this time, stood at the south end of the Campus Martius, near the present church of S. Andrea della Valle, so looking across the Tiber on the Janiculan and Vatican hills. Juvenal (6. 344) lengthens the second syllable in Vaticanus, and he is followed by Martial.

Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernae
Temperant vites neque Formiani
Pocula colles.

9. **Caecubum.** The 'Caecubus ager' was a marshy tract on the coast of Latium between Terracina and Formiae. The wines chosen to represent the finer Italian growths are two pairs of neighbouring vintages, one pair in Latium, the Caecuban and Formian (Od. 3. 16. 34); the other in Campania, the Falernian and the wine of Cales (Od. 1. 31. 9, 4. 12. 14).

10. **tu bibes.** It is easier to see the difficulty of this reading than to convince oneself of the admissibility of any of the proposed remedies. If it stands, it must mean, 'I must leave *you* to drink, sc. at home,' the future, as in Od. 1. 6. 1. There is undoubtedly great awkwardness in the difference of sense which we are thus obliged to put on the future here and in v. 1, 'potabis.' Munro (Journal of Philology, 1871, p. 350) proposed from a reading 'bides' in a Paris MS. of the 10th century (λ), to restore 'vides' in the sense of 'you provide.' Cp. Cic. ad Att. 5. 1. 3 'ut prandium nobis videret,' and Ter. Heaut. 3. 1. 48 'Quid vini absumsit! Sic hoc, dicens, asperum, Pater, hoc est: aliud lenius sodes vide: relevi dolia omnia, omnes serias,' a passage which he thinks may have unconsciously suggested to Horace the 'levi' of v. 3 as well as the 'vides' of this verse. Keller has at different times suggested three modes of treatment. In the Rhein. Mus. vol. xviii. p. 274 he supported 'Tu bibis' the quantity as in 'scribis,' Sat. 2. 3. 1. In his own edition of 1864 he gave 'Tum bibes,' which is found in the best MSS. of the scholia on Sat. 2. 2. 48 where the verse is quoted. He explained it (Rhein. Mus. vol. xix. p. 212) to mean 'Then, after the Sabine, you shall have some Caecuban; I cannot give you Falernian.' But the sense is dull, and it is hardly possible to doubt the antithesis 'Tu . . mea.' In the Epilegomena (1879) he suggested 'Tu bibas' on the analogy of 'Premat Calena falce . . . me pascunt olivae,' thinking the subjunctive had been misunderstood and assimilated by copyists to the fut. of 'tu potabis.' If any treatment is needed, this is the simplest.

11. **temperant.** Properly the man who mixes the wine and water is said 'temperare pocula.' The vines and hills are here said to do so because they produce the grapes which are used for the purpose.

# ODE XXI.

COMPARE Catull. 34 'Dianae sumus in fide,' &c.

Several occasions have been imagined for this Ode. The Pseudo.-Acr. associated it with the Ludi Saeculares, B.C. 17, and it was accordingly treated by several editors as an introduction to the Carm. Saec.

Franke assigns it to B.C. 28, the year in which Augustus dedicated the temple to Apollo on the Palatine (Od. 1. 31), and instituted the quinquennial Ludi Actiaci in honour of Apollo and Diana. He thinks the ode was written for their first celebration.

It is more probably an exercise of fancy, suggested perhaps by some such occasion as the games of B.C. 28. It is hardly of weight enough to have been composed for public performance, and Horace was not prominent enough at that date to have been selected, as he was in B.C. 17, to write such an Ode.

Metre—*Fifth Asclepiad.*

DIANAM tenerae dicite virgines,
Intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium
Latonamque supremo
Dilectam penitus Iovi.
Vos laetam fluviis et nemorum coma,
Quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido,

1. **Dianam.** The first syllable is long, as once in Virg. Aen. 1. 499.

2. **intonsum,** Epod. 15. 9, Hom. Il. 20. 39 Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης. It is the sign of youth. The maidens are to sing Diana, the maid τὰν αἰὲν ἀδμήταν, Soph. El. 1239; the boys, Apollo the ever young. Notice Horace's way of distributing the epithets, 'tenerae' with 'virgines,' 'intonsum' with 'Cynthium,' both implying that the choir is as the god it addresses.

**Cynthium,** from Mt. Cynthus in Delos.

3. **Latonam,** as the mother of the two deities. Cp. Hymn. in Apoll. 14 χαῖρε μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοῖ ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα. It is probably meant that both choruses should join in her praise; cp. Od. 3. 28. 9–16. He returns to the maidens in v. 5 'vos.'

5. **laetam fluviis,** as in Catull. 34. 5 'Montium domina ut fores Silvarumque virentium Saltuumque reconditorum Amniumque sonantium'; Pind. P. 2. 7 ποταμίας Ἀρτέμιδος.

**coma.** Some of the best MSS. (V B τ) give 'comam,' which Acron seems to have read and tried, against the sense, to take with 'laetam fluviis.' Bentley defends it as setting off the woods of Algidus, &c. against Tempe and Delos, and 'laetam fluviis' against the 'insignem pharetra umerum' of the next stanza. But Horace would hardly have tolerated the ambiguity of 'laetam' not agreeing with 'comam,' yet without a visible substantive of its own. And though it is a natural hyperbole to speak of Diana's joy in 'every leaf of the woods,' it would be forced to bid the maidens sing of each leaf.

6. **Algido,** sacred to Diana; C. S. 69 'Quaeque Aventinum tenet Algidumque.' 'Mons Algidus' was the name of part of the eastern side of the Alban hills. Its name is supposed to be still recognized in the Cava dell' Aglio, the gorge by which the Via Latina issues from them on the south-east. Its woods are celebrated in Od. 3. 23. 10, 4. 4. 57.

Nigris aut Erymanthi
Silvis aut viridis Cragi;
Vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus
Natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis,
Insignemque pharetra
Fraternaque umerum lyra.
Hic bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem
Pestemque a populo et principe Caesare in
Persas atque Britannos
Vestra motus aget prece.

7. **Erymanthi**, a mountain on the north frontier of Arcadia.

8. **Cragi**, in Lycia, for Artemis as well as Apollo Λύκι' ὄρεα διᾴσσει, Soph. O. T. 208. 'Nigris' is the epithet of 'silvis' only so long as it belongs to 'Erymanthi'; in the second clause the epithet 'viridis' supplies its place, though grammatically attached to 'Cragi,' see on Od. 2. 5. 13, 3. 23. 15. For the verbal antithesis 'nigris,' 'viridis,' cp. Od. 1. 36. 15 'Neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium,' 2. 20. 3, and 11 'asperae . . leves'; 3. 27. 18, 19 'ater . . albus.' Horace is specially fond of contrasts of colour, see on Od. 2. 3. 9, and cp. 1. 25. 17, 18 'hedera virente . . pulla myrto.' The woods would be black from pines, holm oaks, &c., Od. 4. 4. 57; 4. 12. 11 'nigri colles Arcadiae.'

9. **Tempe**, where Apollo, according to the legend, purified himself after the slaughter of Python.

10. **natalem Delon**, Od. 3. 4. 63 'natalem silvam,' Virg. Aen. 4. 144 'Delon maternam.'

12. **fraterna**, for Hermes invented the 'lyra,' though he gave it to Apollo, Hom. Hymn. εἰς Ἑρμῆν, 490–502; see on Od. 3. 4. 4.

13. **hic.** B and some other MSS. read 'hinc,' see on Od. 1. 16. 14. Bentley would read 'haec bellum . . hic miseram famem,' 'ne nihil omnino agat Diana.' But Horace does not separate the functions of the two deities. Both are ἀλεξίκακοι, 'averrunci.' The boys are to pray to Apollo because he can avert war and pest and famine; and it may be understood that the girls will pray to Diana for a similar reason. For a similar brachylogy leading to a slight confusion as to the assignment of the parts of the hymn I have already (on v. 3) referred to Od. 3. 28.

**lacrimosum**, πολύδακρυν, δακρυόεντα; 'lacrymabile bellum,' Virg. Aen. 7. 604, war and its pains. He does not pray for peace, but only that the horrors of war may be felt in Parthian or British, not in Roman, homes. Cp. Od. 3. 27. 21 'Hostium uxores,' &c.; Virg. G. 3. 515 'Dii meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum.'

14. **principe**, see on Od. 1. 2. 50.

# ODE XXII.

'Di me tuentur: Dis pietas mea
Et Musa cordi est.' Od. 1. 17. 13.

The protection from common dangers accorded to the poet's flocks is extended to himself. As a child, 'non sine Dis animosus,' he is covered by the wood-pigeons from the snakes and bears of Mount Vultur (Od. 3. 4). Mercury snatches him from the folly and danger of civil war into which his boyish enthusiasm had carried him (Od. 2. 7). Faunus (Od. 2. 17) wards off from him the falling tree. Now a wolf flies from him as he wanders unarmed in the woods near his Sabine farm.

We may compare the Ode with the Epistle (1. 10) addressed to the same Fuscus, 'Urbis amatorem Fuscum salvere iubemus Ruris amatores.' 'Fuge magna,' v. 32. 'A harmless, pious life is the true secret of safety and of happiness.' The Ode dresses this doctrine in the garb of poetry and religion—the Epistle in that of philosophy and worldly wisdom. Aristius Fuscus is an intimate friend of Horace, Epp. 1. 10. 2–4 'cetera poene gemelli Fraternis animis quicquid negat alter et alter Annuimus pariter vetuli notique columbi.' He appears in S. 1. 10. 83, amongst the critics by whose judgment Horace will abide, in S. 1. 9, as the friend who wickedly escapes, leaving the poet 'sub cultro.' He is called by Acr. on Epp. 1. 10 'scriptor tragoediarum,' by Porph. 'comoediarum,' by both, on S. 1. 9, 'grammaticorum doctissimus,' but nothing is known of him from other sources.

INTEGER vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
  Fusce, pharetra,
Sive per Syrtes iter aestuosas
Sive facturus per inhospitalem

1. **integer vitae.** S. 2. 3. 220 'integer animi.'

**sceleris purus,** Od. 3. 17. 16 'operum solutis.' Two uses of the Greek genitive, for each of which the Latin idiom would have the ablative. Cp. S. 2. 3. 213 'purum est vitio tibi . . cor,' Madv. § 290 g, § 268 b, obs. 2.

5. **aestuosas.** As far as concerns Horace's use of words there is equally good authority for taking this of the hot sandy coast that borders the Syrtes, as 'aestuosae rura Calabriae,' Od. 1. 31. 5, or of the boiling surf of the bay; 'Barbaras Syrtes ubi Maura semper Aestuat unda,' Od. 2. 6. 3. Perhaps the similarity of that place makes for the latter interpretation, as in that case both passages will combine the same two dangers. You have to choose betweeen a furious sea, if you don't land, and savage inhabitants if you do. The proverbial danger of the Syrtes consisted partly in the number of sunken rocks in the bay, partly in deep quicksands which lined the shore.

6. **inhospitalem Caucasum,** Epod. 1. 10; Aesch. P. V. 20, of the same mountains, τῷδ' ἀπανθρώπῳ πάγῳ.

Caucasum vel quae loca fabulosus
Lambit Hydaspes.
Namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
Dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
Terminum curis vagor expeditis,
Fugit inermem,
Quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias latis alit aesculetis,
Nec Iubae tellus generat leonum
Arida nutrix.

7. **fabulosus**, with its storied dangers, the stories that would be told of India as of any unknown southern country, of its jungles, its strange beasts. The Hydaspes is a river of the Punjaub, the modern Jelum, Virg. G. 4. 211.

8. **lambit**, used of the gentle wash of water, as of fire, S. 1. 5. 73, Virg. Aen. 2. 683, &c.

9. **namque**. The whole force of the Ode is thrown on Horace's miraculous escape, which is the sufficient justification both of the general statement in the two preceding stanzas of the safety of innocence, and of the particular statement in the two that follow of the poet's own indifference to outward circumstances, see Introd. to 1. 34.

10. **ultra terminum**, beyond the bounds of his own farm. A few acres of the forest belonged to him, Od. 3. 16. 29, S. 2. 6. 3.

11. **expeditis**, as Catull. 31. 7 'O quid solutis est beatius curis?' a variation of the more usual 'expedire, solvere animum curis.' It is the reading of the best MSS., and Porph. explains it, 'curis expeditis pro ipse curis expeditus.' Bentley defends the less-supported reading 'expeditus.' Dill[r]. points out that the ὁμοιοτέλευτον, -is -is, is in Sapphic verses rather an argument for the reading. There are six other instances in the Ode, vv. 3, 9, 14, 17, 18, 22.

13. **portentum**, sc. the wolf, τέρας, πέλωρον; not that to see a wolf there was such a wonder, but he means to express the shock which the sight gave him, and half playfully turns the wolf into a monster.

**militaris**, 'the land of soldiers,' is chiefly a complimentary epithet to the poet's birth-place, cp. 3. 5. 9 'sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus'; 2. 1. 34 'Dauniae caedes.' All other Roman excellences are in the same way attributed to the Apulians, industry and hardness to the men, housewifely virtues to the women, Od. 3. 16. 26, Epod. 2. 42. A comparison, however, of 1. 17. 9 (see note there) suggests that there is some connexion of thought between the size of the wolves and the soldierly character of the inhabitants.

14. **Daunias**, Apulia, so called, according to Festus, from Daunus, an Illyrian prince who settled in it and became the son-in-law of Diomede, see on Od. 3. 30. 11. 'Daunias,' is a Greek form, not found elsewhere in Horace, but not uncommon in Ovid; cp. 'Ambracias terra,' Her. 13. 164, &c, though more usually with Greek names and in an adjective. The MSS. vary between 'Daunias' and 'Daunia,' the latter altered, metri gratia, in a few to 'Daunia in.' For Apulian wolves, cp. Od. 1. 33. 7.

15. **Iubae tellus**. Augustus restored to the younger Juba, in B.C. 30, the kingdom of Numidia, which had been forfeited by his father, the elder Juba, who fought at Thapsus on the side of Scipio and Cato, and slew himself after their defeat. In B.C. 25 Juba surrendered Numidia, which became a Roman province, and received instead of it Mauretania with some tribes of the Gaetuli to the south of it. As 'Gaetulus' is a common epithet of lions (see on the next Ode, v. 10), it has been supposed that this is a passing allusion to this exchange, and that 'Juba's new territory' gives a date to the Ode.

Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Iuppiter urget;
Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis in terra domibus negata:
Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem.

17–24. 'Place me in the frigid zone or in the torrid (cp. Od. 3. 3. 55 'Qua parte debacchentur ignes, Qua nebulae pluviique rores') I care not, I shall still be safe, still light-hearted.'

17. **pigris**, ἀργοῖς, of the dull deadness of winter; 'bruma iners,' Od. 4. 7. 12; Lucret. 5. 745 'Bruma nives affert pigrumque rigorem.'

**nulla arbor recreatur**, i. e. there is no tree to be woke to life again by the breezes of summer, the 'genitabilis aura Favoni.'

19. **malus Iuppiter**, see on Od. 1. 1. 25.

22. **domibus negata**, unfit for human habitation, opp. to the temperate zones, which are 'mortalibus aegris Munere concessae divum,' Virg. G. 1. 237.

23. **dulce ridentem**, from Sappho's ἀδὺ φωνείσας . . καὶ γελαίσας ἰμερόεν. Catullus, in his imitation of that Ode (51. 5), has 'Dulce ridentem.' For the construction compare 2. 12. 14 'lucidum fulgentes'; 2. 19. 6 'turbidum laetatur'; 3. 27. 67 'perfidum ridens,' &c. 'Lalagen' takes us back to the wolf and v. 10: 'I shall be the same Horace still, free from care and thinking of Lalage, and safe in being the same.' Horace doubtless felt the play on the name of 'prattling' Lalage (λαλεῖν); cp. Od. 1. 33. 2 'immitis Glycerae.' The choice of the name may be due to the remembrance of Sappho's verse or the reminiscence of Sappho to the name.

# ODE XXIII.

'YOU fly from me, Chloë, like a frightened kid to its dam. I am not a tiger or lion going to eat you. You are too old for such shyness.'

We have possibly part of a Greek original to this Ode in a fragment of Anacreon (Fr. 52 Bergk):—

> *ἀγανῶς οἷά τε νεβρὸν νεοθηλέα*
> *γαλαθηνόν, ὅστ' ἐν ὕλῃς κεροέσσης*
> *ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπὸ μητρὸς ἐπτοήθη.*

Chloë's name seems to be chosen to suit the character, see Introd. to i. 8 and App. 1.

Metre—*Fifth Asclepiad.*

VITAS hinnuleo me similis, Chloë,
Quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
Matrem non sine vano
Aurarum et silüae metu.
Nam seu mobilibus veris inhorruit
Adventus foliis seu virides rubum
Dimovere lacertae,
Et corde et genibus tremit.

1. **vitas.** This was the reading of the Comm. Cruq. and is found in one MS. of the 10th century (ᴨ); but if it be right, it was very early corrupted to 'vitat,' which is read in B and all the other 10th century MSS., was interpreted by Porph. and Acr., and is quoted by Diomedes. A change from the third person in v. 1 to the second in v. 9 would be strange in the absence of any change of tone to account for it; and, on the other hand, a misunderstanding of the subj. of 'tremit' may have led a copyist to assimilate 'vitas' to it. On the metrical question, see on Od. 1. 15. 24, and Index of Metres.

4. **aurarum et silüae**, cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 728 'Nunc omnes terrent aurae sonus excitat omnis.' 'Silüae' is a trisyll. as in Epod. 13. 2; so 'miluus,' Epod. 16. 32.

5. **veris .. adventus,** &c., 'if through the light-hung leaves hath run the shiver of spring's approach,' i.e. of the 'animae veris comites,' Od. 4. 12. 1; Lucret. 5. 735 'It ver et Venus et Veneris praenuntius ante Pinnatus graditur Zephyrus.' Bentley, perhaps pressing 'adventus' too closely, objects that when spring is still approaching there are no leaves nor lizards nor fawns, and is displeased at the boldness of attributing the shiver to the approach of spring rather than to the leaves, see 4. 4. 7. Muretus had written ('ex codd.' but no extant MS. is known to have it) 'Vitis inhorruit Ad ventum,' which Bentley accepted, altering 'vitis' to 'vepris,' a conj. which had occurred independently to Salmasius. This is approved, though not printed, by Munro and Keller, and adopted by Haupt, Kiessling, &c. The Schol. read it as we do.

7. **lacertae**, Virg. E. 2. 9 'Nunc virides etiam occultant spineta lacertos.'

8. **tremit,** sc. hinnuleus.

Atqui non ego te tigris ut aspera
Gaetulusve leo frangere persequor:
Tandem desine matrem
Tempestiva sequi viro.

9. **atqui**, 'and yet,' Od. 3. 5. 49, Epod. 5. 67.

**aspera**, 'angry,' as 'asperas serpentes,' Od. 1. 37. 26; 'asperum tactu leonem,' 3. 2. 10; 'asper siti anguis,' Virg. G. 3. 434.

10. **Gaetulus leo**, Od. 3. 20. 2, Virg. Aen. 5. 351, see on v. 15 of the last Ode.

**frangere**, of crushing between the teeth; Virg. G. 2. 72 'glandemque sues fregere sub ulmis'; Hom. Il. 11. 113 ὡς δὲ λέων ἐλάφοιο ταχείης νήπια τέκνα | ῥηϊδίως συνέαξε, λαβὼν κρατεροῖσιν ὀδοῦσιν. For the infin. see App. 2, § 1.

12. **tempestiva viro**, as Virgil expresses it, Aen. 7. 53 'Iam matura viro, plenis iam nubilis annis.'

---

# ODE XXIV.

Of the person whose death is the subject of this Ode we know nothing but what is contained in the statement of the Chronicon of Eusebius (A. D. 264–340), which, opposite the year A. V. C. 730, B. C. 24, has (in the Latin version of Jerome) 'Quintilius Cremonensis Vergilii et Horatii familiaris moritur.' We may notice that the mention of Cremona makes him a neighbour of Virgil. The Scholiasts on Horace call him Quintilius Varus, and add that he was a Roman knight, identifying him with the Quintilius of A. P. 438, see on v. 8, and with Varus of Od. 1. 18.

The Ode is not merely, as Porph. describes it, 'θρῆνος in Quintilium sodalem Vergilii.' The Pseudo-Acr. characterizes it more justly, 'Consolatur Vergilium impatienter amici sui mortem lugentem.' Horace's feeling is for Virgil as much as for their common friend. From this point of view we must be struck by the delicacy of the 'consolation.' He justifies Virgil's grief, he shares it. 'He too will join in the dirge; Quintilius is gone, the peerless, the soul of modesty, honour, justice, and truth! All good men weep; and who has greater right to weep than Virgil, whose piety and trustfulness the gods have so hardly rewarded?' Only at last, when he has opened his friend's heart by his expression of sympathy, does he venture on a hint, not perhaps of comfort, but of self-restraint. 'After all, no laments, though sweeter than Orpheus, no prayers, will reach the dead. It is a cruel fate, patience only will lighten what may not be cured.'

It would seem, if Donatus be giving a genuine trait of Virgil in his Life, c. 18, that Horace is recalling his friend to his own philosophy for consolation: 'Solitus erat dicere nullam virtutem commodiorem homini esse patientia, ac nullam adeo asperam esse fortunam quam prudenter patiendo vir fortis non vincat.'

Metre—*Fourth Asclepiad.*

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis? Praecipe lugubres
Cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam pater
  Vocem cum cithara dedit.
Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
Urget! cui Pudor et Iustitiae soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
  Quando ullum inveniet parem?
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Vergili.
Tu frustra pius heu non ita creditum
  Poscis Quintilium deos.
Quid si Threïcio blandius Orpheo
Auditam moderere arboribus fidem,

2. **praecipe**, 'teach me.' The Muse herself is to sing, cp. Od. 1. 12. 1. Horace will only hear her voice and repeat the strain after her.

3. **Melpomene**, see on Od. 1. 1. 33, and cp. 3. 30. 16, 4. 3. 1.

5. **ergo**, S. 2. 5. 101 'Ergo nunc Dama sodalis Nusquam est?' cp. Virg. E. 1. 47 'Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt.' So Ovid begins Trist. 3. 2. 1 'Ergo erat in fatis Scythiam quoque visere nostris.' Like the Gr. ἄρα, it indicates a conclusion forced on the speaker to his surprise.

**perpetuus**, broken by no waking, ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον, Mosch. 3. 110. Catull. 5. 5 'Soles occidere et redire possunt: Nobis quum semel occidit brevis lux Nox est perpetua una dormienda.'

6. **urget**, 'lies heavy on'; Od. 4. 9. 27 'Urgentur . . longa nocte'; Virg. Aen. 10. 745 'Olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget Somnus.'

**Pudor**, αἰδώς. According to the definition in A. Gell. 19. 6 'timor iustae reprehensionis,' the sensitiveness to the judgment of others, which makes a man modest, harmless, temperate.

7. **Fides**, defined by Cic. Off. 1. 7 'dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas,' and called there 'iustitiae fundamentum.' In calling Good Faith or Honour the sister of Justice, Horace implies that the two go together, and therefore that both were present in Quintilius.

**nuda Veritas**, as Acr. explains, 'quae nihil occulti habeat ut egeat 'tegumento.' Ritter compares the picture of Quintilius, the candid critic of A. P. 438 foll.; see Introduction to this Ode.

8. **inveniet**, for the sing. verb after several subjects, see Od. 1. 3. 3.

11. **frustra pius**. Virgil, the gentle and reverent poet, has committed his friend to the safe keeping of the gods, little dreaming how they would discharge the trust; now he asks back his 'depositum' (cp. Od. 1. 3. 5-8) only to find how fruitless his piety has been. Another interpretation is that of Lambinus, 'Thou askest Quintilius of the gods, and findest, despite thy piety, that he was not lent to thee on such terms,' i. e. that you should never part. The first is probably right as assigning the same agent to 'creditum' and 'poscis,' and as giving a more definite sense and connexion with the context to 'frustra pius.' With the thought of these words we may perhaps compare, as a characteristic difference between the two poets, Virgil's notice of the same moral difficulty, Aen. 2. 426-430, and his more reverent and religious comment, 'Dis aliter visum.'

**ita** = 'hac condicione,' on such terms as this.

13-15. **quid si . . num**. The words 'frustra pius' have struck the note which is the key to this stanza. 'In vain—did I say?—while he was alive. What if you had the persuasive lyre of Orpheus, could it restore to us the

Num vanae redeat sanguis imagini,
Quam virga semel horrida,
Non lenis precibus fata recludere,
Nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi?
Durum: sed levius fit patientia,
Quicquid corrigere est nefas.

dead?' For the construction, a hypothetical question preceded by the interrogative or exclamatory 'quid,' cp. S. 2. 3. 159, Epp. 1. 19. 12, Virg. Aen. 4. 311. There is a reading of less authority, 'Quod si.'

15. **vanae imagini.** Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 292 'tenues sine corpore vitas . . . volitare cava sub imagine formae.' The unsubstantial forms, νεκύων εἴδωλα, in Hom. Od. 11, have to drink a draught of blood before they can recover life enough to talk with Ulysses.

17. **lenis recludere,** App. 2. § 2.

**precibus**, the dat. = 'in answer to.'

**fata recludere,** to open the door of fate. 'Panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces,' Prop. 4. 11. 2.

18. **nigro compulerit gregi,** has gathered to the black fold. For the case, cp. Od. 1. 28. 10 'Panthoiden iterum Orco demissum.' Madv. § 251. For the image, Od. 2. 3. 25 'omnes eodem cogimur.'

19. **patientia,** see Introduction to the Ode.

## ODE XXV.

The 'vices superbae' which await a fading beauty when lovers begin to leave her for her younger rivals.

Parcius iunctas quatiunt fenestras
Iactibus crebris iuvenes protervi,
Nec tibi somnos adimunt, amatque
Ianua limen,
Quae prius multum facilis movebat
Cardines; audis minus et minus iam:
'Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
Lydia, dormis?'
Invicem moechos anus arrogantes
Flebis in solo levis angiportu,

1. **iunctas,** the 'fenestrae bifores' (Ov. ex Pont. 3. 3. 3), shut close for the night.

2. **iactibus,** so the oldest MSS. against 'ictibus' the reading of the mass of more recent ones.

3. **amat,** 'cleaves to'; cp. its metaph. use, Virg. Aen. 5. 163 'litus ama,' 'hug the shore.'

5. **multum facilis,** cp. S. 1. 3. 57 'multum demissus'; 2. 3. 147, 2. 5. 92, Ep. 1. 10. 3, 2. 2. 62.

10. **levis** = 'contempta.'

Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
lunia vento,
Cum tibi flagrans amor et libido,
Quae solet matres furiare equorum,
Saeviet circa iecur ulcerosum,
Non sine questu,
Laeta quod pubes hedera virente
Gaudeat pulla magis atque myrto,
Aridas frondes hiemis sodali
Dedicet Hebro.

11. **sub interlunia**, changes of the moon are, in common fancy, still associated with changes of weather: *αἱ σύνοδοι τῶν μηνῶν χειμεριώτεραι*, Theophr. de Ventis, 3; 'Interluniorum dies tempestatibus plenos,' Veget. de Re Mil. 5. 10. For the division of the word between the two lines, see on 1. 2. 19.

18. **pulla**, 'subnigra'; it is used of the colour of a ripe fig, Epod. 16. 46; for the contrasted 'virente'—'pulla,' see on Od. 1. 21. 7.

19. **aridas frondes.** The same image is used in Od. 4. 13. 9 'Importunus enim [cupido] transvolat aridas Quercus.' The commentators multiply illustrations of the metaphor of the 'sere and yellow leaf,' as Aesch. Ag. 79 *τό θ' ὑπεργήρων φυλλάδος ἤδη κατακαρφομένης*; Archil. Fr. 91 *οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς θάλλεις ἁπαλὸν χρόα, κάρφεται γὰρ ἤδη.*

20. **dedicet Hebro.** In plain words, 'throw away,' as in the next Ode, 'Tradam protervis in mare Creticum Portare ventis'; but the river seems to be chosen as one specially associated by Roman poets with images of winter (Epp. 1. 3. 3, 1. 16. 13, Virg. E. 10. 65, Aen. 12. 331), and so one to which the offering of withered leaves is more appropriate. A large number of Editors, following a conjecture of Rutgers, have adopted 'Euro' as simpler, and a better parallel to 'animae veris comites,' Od. 4. 12. 1; 'Notus comes Orionis,' 1. 28. 22. The corruption, if it be so, is older than all the MSS, and than the Schol. who interpret 'Hebro.' A similar question has been raised in respect of Virg. Aen. 1. 317, 'praevertitur Hebrum,' where Rutgers suggested 'Eurum.'

# ODE XXVI.

'THE Muse's friend, I can cast sorrow and fears to the winds. The politics of Scythia and Parthia that trouble all the world are nothing to me. Help me, sweet Muse, to weave a chaplet of freshest lyric verse for my dear friend Lamia.'

It is difficult to see the point of connexion between the first and last parts of the Ode, unless, indeed, as has been suggested, Horace is holding up his own cheerfulness and its source to Lamia's imitation, see Introd. to Od. 3. 17. If Epp. 1. 14. 6 refer to the same person as the two Odes, the trait there given, 'rapto de fratre dolentis Insolabiliter,' may confirm the idea that he was a person on whom sorrow sat heavily.

Aelius Lamia, the school friend of Numida (Od. 1. 36. 7) and the 'vetusto nobilis ab Lamo' of 3. 17. 1, is generally identified with L. Aelius Lamia who was Praefectus urbi in A.D. 32, and died A.D. 33. Tac. Ann. 6. 27 'genus illi decorum, vivida senectus.' If this Ode therefore is to be dated before B.C. 23, he must have been quite a young man when it was written. Ritter, feeling this to be a difficulty, suggests that the Lamia of the Odes is an elder brother of Lucius. The name of a Q. Aelius Lamia, 'triumvir monetalis,' has been found on a coin of this date. He thinks that it is his death that Lucius is represented as lamenting in Epp. 1. 14. 6.

On the date of the Ode and the allusion of vv. 3-5 see Introd. to Odes i-iii, § 8.

With vv. 1-6 cp. Virg. G. 2. 490-497. The friendship of the Muses gives to Horace the freedom which Virgil attributes to philosophy and a country life.

MUSIS amicus tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis, quis sub Arcto
Rex gelidae metuatur orae,

1. **Musis amicus**, gives the reason for his being able to throw care to the winds; for the expression, cp. 'amicum Crethea Musis,' Virg. Aen. 9. 774.

**metus.** Cp. Virg. G. 2. 491 'Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum Subiecit pedibus.'

2. **protervis**, the winds 'at play,' as 'ludibrium ventis,' 1. 14. 16.

**Creticum**, see on Od. 1. 1. 14. It is a proverbially stormy sea. Soph. Tr. 117 βιότου πολύπονον ὥσπερ πέλαγος Κρήσιον.

3. **portare**, for infinitive, see App. 2, § 1.

**quis**, probably the nom. 'who is the dreaded king.' In former editions I inclined to take it as the dat. 'to whom the king, &c. is an object of fear.' Horace is wishing us to feel how distant and uninteresting, in comparison with poetry, are the political questions in which every one but he is absorbed. This he expresses in two ways in the two clauses; in the first, by *not naming* this formidable king, only the character of his country, at the world's end, 'a frozen coast at the north pole'; in the second, by naming the Parthian pretender, as though his name were enough, 'who would care what a Tiridates is frightened at?' The references seem to be the same as in Virg. Georg. 2. 496 'infidos agitans discordia fratres, Aut coniurato descen-

Quid Tiridaten terreat, unice
Securus. O, quae fontibus integris
Gaudes, apricos necte flores,
Necte meo Lamiae coronam,
Pimplea dulcis! Nil sine te mei
Prosunt honores: hunc fidibus novis,
Hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
Teque tuasque decet sorores.

dens Dacus ab Istro'; cp. also Hor. Od. 3. 8. 18 'occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen, Medus infestis tibi luctuosis dissidit armis.' The 'rex' then of v. 4 is Cotiso, king of the Dacians, north of the Danube, who had at some time made himself formidable by descents across the river. For Tiridates, see p. 23.

5. **unice**, though every one else is full of these questions.

6. **fontibus integris**, &c. A second reminiscence (see Od. 1. 7. 7) of Lucr. 1. 926 'iuvat integros accedere fontes Atque haurire; iuvatque novos decerpere flores,' &c. Observe how Horace combines the two claims for his poetry, 'integris,' 'novis fidibus,' and yet 'Lesbio plectro'; cp. Epp. 1. 19. 21 'Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, Non aliena meo pressi pede . . . Parios ego primus iambos Ostendi Latio'; see on Od. 1. 1. 29. He only claims originality in imitation.

9. **Pimplea**, prop. the name of a fountain in Pieria (cp. 'Pierides Musae'), near Mount Olympus. Horace uses it as an adj. of the Muse who haunts the spot. Bentley and others would read the Greek form 'Pimplei' against the MSS. which vary only between 'Pimplea' and 'Piplea.'

**mei honores**, 'honours that I can give'; cp. Pind. Nem. 9. 21 ἐπασκήσω κλυταῖς ἥρωα τιμαῖς.

11. **sacrare**, to canonize, to give the immortality which so many stout hearts have lacked for want of a 'vates sacer,' Od. 4. 9. 25.

# ODE XXVII.

In Od. 1. 18 the poet had recommended moderation in the use of wine on moral and religious grounds. Here his object is the same though the tone is lighter. The Ode is a dramatic sketch of a banquet which is degenerating into a drunken brawl. Horace interrupts it by an appeal, playful in its mixture of the Bacchic hierophant with the genial poet of good living. The company would reply to their monitor by filling his glass. 'On one condition only,' he says, and diverts them at once from his own lecture and their rising quarrel to an absorbing interest in the love affairs of Megilla's brother, his bashfulness, his imagined confidences, his mysteriously hopeless fate.

Athen. x. p. 427 A preserves part of a poem of Anacreon, which may have inspired the beginning of this Ode:—

*ἄγε δηὖτε* (al. *δεῦτε*) *μηκέθ' οὕτω*
*πατάγῳ τε κἀλαλητῷ*
*Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνῳ*
*μελετῶμεν ἀλλὰ καλοῖς*
*ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις.*

Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis
Pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
Morem, verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis!
Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
Immane quantum discrepat: impium

1. **natis.** Horace is fond of the trope, 'nata mecum testa,' Od. 3. 21. 1; 'versus male nati,' Epp. 2. 1. 233.

**scyphis pugnare**; cp. Juv. 5. 26 'Iurgia proludunt: sed mox et pocula torques Saucius, et rubro deterges vulnera mappa; Inter vos quotiens libertinorumque cohortem Pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagena.'

2. **Thracum**; see on Od. 1. 18. 9.

3. **verecundum**, 'modici Liberi,' Od. 1. 18. 7. He is represented as shocked at the misuse of his own gifts. From another point of view Horace calls him 'inverecundus deus,' the god who removes the restraints of bashfulness, Epod. 11. 13. The construction, 'Bacchum prohibete rixis' (cp. Epp. 1. 1. 31 'nodosa corpus prohibere cheragra') is found in prose, as Cic. de Leg. Man. 7 'magnum civium numerum calamitate prohibere.'

5. **vino et lucernis**, the lamps are signs of festivity, as they imply a banquet prolonged into the night; cp. 'vigiles lucernas perfer in lucem,' Od. 3. 8. 14: 'vivae lucernae,' 3. 21. 23. So probably to exalt the hospitality of Dido's welcome, and not only for the picture, Virg. Aen. 1. 726 'Dependent lychni laquearibus aureis Incensi et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.'

**Medus acinaces.** Plat. Rep. 8. p. 553 *μέγαν βασιλέα τιάρας τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ ἀκινάκας παραζωννύντα*, 'It is only barbarians that sit down with a dirk to drink wine, and so we must leave it to them to quarrel.'

Lenite clamorem, sodales,
Et cubito remanete presso!
Vultis severi me quoque sumere
Partem Falerni? Dicat Opuntiae
Frater Megillae, quo beatus
Vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.
Cessat voluntas? Non alia bibam
Mercede. Quae te cumque domat Venus,
Non erubescendis adurit
Ignibus ingenuoque semper
Amore peccas. Quicquid habes, age,
Depone tutis auribus. A! miser,
Quanta laborabas Charybdi,
Digne puer meliore flamma!

6. **immane quantum,** *ἀμήχανον ὅσον, θαυμαστὸν ὅσον.* Tac. Hist. 4. 34 'Civilis, lapsu equi prostratus . . . immane quantum suis pavoris et hostibus alacritatis indidit.' Cicero has 'nimium quantum,' Orat. 25. 87. Grammatically, it is a full parenthetical clause, after the model of 'nescio quis,' standing instead of the expected adverb of quantity, so that it is unnecessary to read 'discrepet.'

**impium,** because they offend Bacchus.

8. **cubito presso,** with the left arm deep in the cushions of the sofa.

9. **severi,** 'rough,' 'strong tasted,' seems synonymous with the 'forte Falernum' of S. 2. 4. 24. Pliny (N. H. 14. 8. 6) distinguishes three sorts of Falernian, 'austerum' (Horace's 'severum'), 'dulce,' 'tenue'; cp. Catull. 27. 1 'minister vetuli puer Falerni Inger mi calices amariores.'

11. **Megillae,** a Greek name. Megillus is an interlocutor in Plat. Legg. She comes from Opus Locrorum. The challenge to give a name as a toast is common: Theoc. 14. 18 *ἤδη δὲ προϊόντος ἔδοξ' ἐπιχεῖσθαι ἄκρατον, | ὤτινος ἤθελ' ἕκαστος, ἔδει μόνον ὤτινος εἰπεῖν*; Mart. 1. 72. 1 'Naevia sex cyathis, septem Iustina bibatur.'

**beatus . . . pereat,** 'dies a happy death.' For the oxymoron, cp. Od. 1. 33. 14 'grata detinuit compede,' and Tib. 2. 5. 109 'iaceo cum saucius annum Et faveo morbo, tam iuvat ipse dolor.'

13. **cessat voluntas,** 'Falters thy will?' Do you hesitate to tell us?

14. **quaecumque Venus,** Od. 1. 33. 13 'melior Venus'; cp. v. 16 'ingenuo amore,' i. e. love for a freeborn girl. 'Venus' is still more definitely for 'the beloved' in Virg. E. 3. 68 'Parta meae Veneri sunt munera.'

15. 'The passion with which she fires thee need raise no blushes.'

16. **que.** Dillenburger draws attention to Horace's use of 'que' in such a case, where the first clause having a negative form an adversative conjunction would be more usual; cp. 2. 12. 9, 2. 20. 4, 3. 30. 6, and see on Epod. 15. 14.

**semper,** always, and so I am sure now.

17. Whisper to me, if you will not tell it to all the company.

19. **laborabas.** There seems to be no doubt that this is the true reading. 'Laboras' is found in a few good MSS., but the hiatus is filled in none of any authority. The imperfect represents the Greek *ἄρ' ἐπόνεις*, 'you are labouring *all the time*.' It is of a new discovery, and refers to the time before the discovery was made; see on Od. 1. 37. 4.

**Charybdi.** Compare the lines of Anaxilas, the comic poet, quoted by Athen. 13. p. 558 'Η *δὲ Φρύνη τὴν Χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω που ποιεῖ: | τόν τε ναύκληραν λαβοῦσα καταπέπωκ' αὐτῷ σκάφει.* Cicero says of Antony 'Quae Charybdis tam vorax,' Phil. 2. 27. 67.

Quae saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
Magus venenis, quis poterit deus?
Vix illigatum te triformi
Pegasus expediet Chimaera.

21, 22. **saga** . . **magus** . . **deus**, a climax.

21. **Thessalis**, Epod. 5. 21, 45.

22. **venenis**, a translation of φαρμάκοις, of magic potions.

23. **triformi**. Hom. Il. 6. 181 πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα. Bellerophon, according to the post-Homeric legend, killed the monster with arrows from the back of the winged horse Pegasus. The ablative 'Chimaera' is governed, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, by 'illigatum' and 'expediet,' see on Od. 1. 3. 6.

## ODE XXVIII.

'DEATH is common to all. That thought should make us quick to recognize the duties imposed on us by our common humanity.' Though the Ode is not free from difficulties, this seems to be its general purport.

There are two parts in it. In the first some one is addressing the philosopher Archytas, whose tomb (if we read the Ode right) is in sight.

'To such a small compass is shrunk the far-reaching mind of the philosopher. It is the doom even of those who seem most nearly to escape the common lot of man. It is the end even of your own master, the great Pythagoras, teach as he may the transmigration of souls. The ways of death are many, but the fact of death is one and the same to all.'

In the second part an unburied corpse lying on the seashore appeals to a passer-by for the boon of the triple casting of earth upon it, which was necessary in order that the shade might cross the Styx and find rest in Hades. The urgency of the appeal implies that the person addressed is inclined to hurry on and neglect it.

The Ode is taken by many editors to be a dialogue, the simplest view in this case being to suppose that the 'nauta' of v. 23 speaks the first twenty lines and is interrupted at v. 21 by the appeal of a dead body for his good offices. Others, perhaps better, take it as a monologue, put into the mouth of the corpse on the shore, which first (1–20) by the address to Archytas, near whose tomb it is lying, assures itself that it has only shared the common lot, and then by that consideration appeals to the passing sailor to give it burial.

It is one of the few Odes in which the loss of a clue which Horace's contemporaries probably possessed either in the knowledge of the locality, or of some incident, or of some Greek poem (it is like some of the Greek Epigrams rather than

a lyric), throws some real uncertainy over the idea of the poem. Archytas was a Pythagorean philosopher who lived at Tarentum in the fourth century B.C. Nothing is known of the place of his death and burial. The Ode seems to imply that he had a tomb on the sea-coast which Horace calls (v. 3) 'litus Matinum.' The locality of this is uncertain. Some have placed it near Tarentum on the ground that Archytas belonged to that place, and that the dead man appeals to 'Neptune the guardian of Tarentum.' The Ode would then be due to some incident or association which Horace came upon in one of his visits to Tarentum (Od. 2. 6. 9 foll.). But the arguments are stronger for placing it near the Prom. Garganum in Apulia, near Horace's own country. The name occurs only in Horace (here and in Od. 4. 2. 27 'Ego apis Matinae more modoque,' and Epod. 16. 28 'quando Padus Matina laverit cacumina') and in Lucan Phars. 9. 185 where the 'buxeta Matini' are ranked with 'Garganus' and Mount Vultur as belonging to Apulia. A village at the base of the promontory of Garganum is now called 'Mattinata.' It is also noticed that the 'woods of Venusia' (v. 26) are near enough to stand for 'the inland woods,' if the scene is laid near the mouth of the Aufidus, but would not occur naturally if the speaker was at Tarentum.

We may notice that Horace seems to have been interested in the Pythagorean doctrines, and especially in that of Metempsychosis, and yet not disinclined to speak playfully of them, Epod. 15. 21, S. 2. 6. 62, Epp. 2. 1. 52. He ranks Pythagoras with Socrates and Plato as representing the great teachers of Greek philosophy, S. 2. 4. 3.

Metre—*Alcmanium.*

TE maris et terrae numeroque carentis harenae
Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
Munera, nec quicquam tibi prodest

1–3. The point of the lines is 'One who seemed in powers so unlimited, who measured all space and counted all number, has now in his turn such narrow limits set to him.' Archytas, like most of the Pythagorean philosophers, was a distinguished mathematician. Horace takes the two sides of mathematics, geometry ('terrae mensorem') and arithmetic. Nothing was beyond his power in either. His geometry was sufficient to measure the dimensions of the whole world, his arithmetic to count the sand on the shore. In respect of the phrase 'numero carentis harenae (mensorem),' we notice (1) that the form of it involves an apparent contradiction, 'to number what has no number'; (2) that to 'count the sand' was a proverbial phrase for effort wasted on an impossibility; cp. Virg. Georg. 2. 103, Pind. Ol. 13. 66. There is therefore some irony in the description, 'you performed the impossible'; (3) that Horace has probably in mind the actual work of a kindred genius, Archimedes of Syracuse, who wrote a treatise, still extant, called Ψαμμίτης, 'Harenarius,' in which he does not indeed propose to count the existing sand, but, by way of illustrating the possibility of expressing vast numbers, he attempts roughly to compute the number of grains of sand which would be required to fill the sphere, as he estimates it, which is contained between the fixed stars; see Dict. Biog. s. v. Archimedes.

3. **litus.** There is a variant 'latum' found in B and others of the best MSS. Keller printed it in 1864, but abandoned it in the Epilegomena, pointing out that the clearness of the scene absolutely requires 'litus.' 'Latum' was an early mistake. It is more consistent than 'litus' with the form of the notes of Acr. and Porph., and it is interpreted by 'amplum' in Schol. on γ.

Aëriäs temptasse domos animoque rotundum
Percurrisse polum morituro.
Occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum,
Tithonusque remotus in auras,
Et Iovis arcanis Minos admissus, habentque
Tartara Panthoiden iterum Orco
Demissum, quamvis, clipeo Troiana refixo
Tempora testatus, nihil ultra
Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atrae,
Iudice te non sordidus auctor
Naturae verique. Sed omnes una manet nox
Et calcanda semel via leti.

5. **temptasse**, as if there were some audacity in lifting even the mind to the heavenly bodies; 'animo' of course in sense qualifies it as well as 'percurrisse.'

6. **percurrisse**, from Lucr. 1. 73 'Omne immensum peragravit mente animoque.'

**morituro**, the case ruled by 'tibi' (Madv. § 393 c), the time fixed by 'temptasse' and 'percurrisse.' 'What profits it you now to have scaled the homes of the sky, and in spirit to have ranged from star to star through the round heaven, you that had still to die!' Cp. 2. 3. 4, where 'moriture' occupies the same emphatic position.

7 foll. The instances are of those who seemed at one time to have escaped the universal law: Tantalus, when he feasted with the gods; Tithonus, when he was beloved by Aurora, and snatched by her into the sky (Eur. Tro. 855 *ὃν ἀστέρων τέθριππος ἔλαβε χρύσεος ὄχος ἀναρπάσας*); Minos, when Jove himself counselled him in the art of lawgiving (cp. Hom. Od. 19. 179 *Διὸς μεγάλου δαριστής*); Pythagoras, when he proved that he had outlived one death. The form of argument is that of Hom. Il. 18. 117, so often imitated, *οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα | ὅσπερ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διῒ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι | . . ὣς καὶ ἐγών, κ.τ.λ.* Horace uses the myths of Tantalus and Tithonus ('longa Tithonum minuit senectus,' Od. 2. 16. 30) for other purposes elsewhere; here we are not to think of the punishment of the one or the old age of the other, only of the fact that, though privileged above humanity, they died at last like others.

10. 'And the son of Panthus is in Tartarus now since he descended a second time to the lower world, for all that before (for he took down his shield and proved his knowledge of the days of Troy) he had yielded to black death no spoils beyond mere sinews and skin.' Pythagoras was said to have supported his doctrine of *μετεμψύχωσις* by asserting that his own soul had animated the body of Euphorbus (*Πάνθου υἱὸν ἐϋμμελίην*, whom Menelaus slew, Hom. Il. 17. 69), a fact which he proved by recognizing Euphorbus' shield hung with others in a temple at Argos.

**Tartara**, not of the place of punishment, but of the lower world generally, as in Virg. G. 1. 36, where the Elysian plains seem to be included in it. No distinction is intended between 'Tartara' and 'Orco.' 'Orco demittere' is a Virgilian phrase representing Homer's *Ἄϊδι προϊάπτειν*. For the dat. see on Od. 1. 24. 18.

14. **iudice te**. As addressed to Archytas this is simple, and the case of Pythagoras is a natural climax.

**auctor**, 'master,' 'teacher,' Cic. ad Att. 7. 3 'auctor Latinitatis'; Virg. Aen. 11. 339 'consiliis habitus non futilis auctor.'

15. **sed**, advers. to the last clause. He may have been a great philosopher, *but* he was a man, and death knows no exceptions.

16. **via leti**, the same image, Od. 2. 17. 11 'supremum carpere iter.'

Dant alios Furiae torvo spectacula Marti;
    Exitio est avidum mare nautis;
Mixta senum ac iuvenum densentur funera; nullum
    Saeva caput Proserpina fugit.
Me quoque devexi rapidus comes Orionis
    Illyricis Notus obruit undis.
At tu, nauta, vagae ne parce malignus harenae
    Ossibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare: sic, quodcumque minabitur Eurus
    Fluctibus Hesperiis, Venusinae

17. **spectacula.** The metaphor is from gladiatorial shows; wars are the 'ludi' in which Mars delights, Od. 1. 2. 37. The Furies are represented as stirring up war in Virg. Aen. 7. 324 foll., 12. 845 foll.

18. **avidum,** a few MSS. read 'avidis'; but even if we want a hit at the trader's eagerness for gain, 'avidis' is neither so delicate nor so forcible as 'avidum,' which means 'greedy as they'; cp. Od. 2. 18. 30 'rapacis Orci,' where the epithet is clearly meant to compare the greediness of death for his prey with the greediness of the rich landlord who is laying field to field.

20. **saeva,** Od. 1. 19. 1, perhaps with a reminiscence of the Homeric epithet, [ἐπ]αινὴ Περσεφόνεια.

**caput fugit.** None could die (acc. to Virg. Aen. 4. 698) till Proserpine had cut a lock of hair from his head; the idea being that the dying man was a victim offered to the powers below ('victima Orci,' Od. 2. 3. 24), as it was usual to begin a sacrifice by cutting some hairs from the forehead of the victim and burning them, Virg. Aen. 6. 245. Cp. Eur. Alc. 74, where Θάνατος says, στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὡς κατάρξωμαι ξίφει· | ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν | ὅτου τόδ' ἔγχος κρατὸς ἁγνίσῃ τρίχα.

**fugit.** The perf. tense, as Od. 2. 13. 20 'leti vis rapuit rapietque gentes.'

21. **me quoque.** 'I have only shared the lot of all humanity.' If the unburied corpse speaks throughout (see Introd.) we notice how the transition is prepared from his address to Archytas to his appeal to the sailor. 'Death claims all; the sea has its tribute from the sailors who traverse it. I was not exempt from the law. Do not you, a sailor like them and like me, forget your common mortality.'

**devexi Orionis.** Orion's setting is a time proverbial for bad weather, Od. 3. 27. 18, Epod. 15. 7, Virg. Aen. 7. 719.

**comes,** Od. 4. 12. 1.

22. **Illyricis,** for the Adriatic generally, as Virg. Aen. 1. 243.

23. **vagae** adds a touch, 'surely the sand that drives hither and thither before the wind won't cost you much.' It is time, however, rather than sand, that he doubts his sparing; 'parce dare' as 'parce cavere,' Od. 3. 8. 26.

**ne parce malignus,** 'grudge not churlishly'; he puts it as though avarice could be the only reason for his refusing. Notice that the 'nauta' is supposed to be a 'mercator' (Od. 1. 1. 16) sailing in pursuit of gain.

24. For the hiatus, cp. Epod. 13. 4 'Threicio Aquilone'; Virgil's 'Actaeo Aracyntho,' Ecl. 2. 24 &c.

25. **sic,** i.e. if you do as I ask; see on Od. 1. 3. 1.

**quodcumque minabitur,** for the personification, cp. Virg. G. 1. 462 'quid cogitet Auster.'

**Eurus fluctibus Hesperiis.** Horace had often heard the wind roaring up the valleys near Venusia as though it were on an errand of vengeance across the Appennines. The form of expression is dictated by the love of verbal antithesis, but there is the notion of the wind sweeping, or threatening to sweep, from one end of heaven to the other. As the trader is already east of Italy, he would more probably be sailing to the east than, like the 'mercator' of 1. 31. 14, to the Spanish ports outside the Straits.

Plectantur silvae te sospite, multaque merces,
Unde potest, tibi defluat aequo
Ab Iove Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti.
Neglegis immeritis nocituram
Postmodo te natis fraudem committere? Fors et
Debita iura vicesque superbae
Te maneant ipsum: precibus non linquar inultis,
Teque piacula nulla resolvent.
Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa; licebit
Iniecto ter pulvere curras.

27. **plectantur**, in its usual sense not only of being lashed, but of bearing the punishment; 'may all his vengeance be wreaked on them.'

**multa merces**, 'a rich reward,' i.e. for your humanity.

28. **unde potest**, I cannot reward you, but there is that which will, the favour of Jove, who (as originally in his function of *ξένιος*) presides especially over the reciprocal duties of men to one another, and of Neptune the tutelary god of Tarentum, who will remember kindness shown to a citizen of his own. For 'unde' of a person, see on Od. 1. 12. 17.

30, 31. 'Art thou careless of committing a crime that shall bring punishment presently on thine innocent children? May-be even in thine own person the debt of justice and a return of contumely may be in store for thee.'

**te natis**, to be taken together, 'te' being the ablative, as in 'nate Dea,' 'Apolline natus,' &c.: the opposition is to 'te ipsum.' 'Te' has also been taken (as by Nauck) as the subj. of 'committere.' 'Is it nothing to thee that thou art committing,' &c. 'Neglegis committere' and 'neglegis te committere' are both possible constructions.

33. **non linquar**, i. e. 'a te.' If thou leavest me my prayers for vengeance will not be unheard.

36. **ter**, the sacred and complete number; cp. Soph. of Antigone pouring the dust on Polynices' body, *χοαῖσι τρισπόνδοισι τὸν νέκυν στέφει*, Ant. 431.

# ODE XXIX.

'WHAT, Iccius hankering after the treasures of Arabia, and planning eastern conquests? Have you chosen already your share of the spoil? Who will say again that aught in nature is impossible, when Iccius the scholar sells his library to buy armour and belies the promise of his life?'

Iccius is unknown to us except from this Ode and Epp. 1. 12. He is there described as a man of the loftiest tastes and of rigidly temperate life. This Ode is playful. Iccius has conceived (or talked of) a purpose of joining in the expedition led by Aelius Gallus (as it turned out, unsuccessfully) into Arabia Felix in B.C. 25, 24. Horace rallies him on the idea as unsuited to his tastes. The expedition itself is spoken of in terms which are hardly serious, as if it aimed at the conquest of the whole East ('horribili Medo,' 'sagittas Sericas'), and Iccius' own part in it in terms which must be banter. It is he who plans the war, who carries chains for his captives; he is to have the pick of the spoil, a princess, a court page as a cup-bearer, &c.

The same expedition is spoken of as projected in Od. 1. 35.

ICCI, beatis nunc Arabum invides
Gazis, et acrem militiam paras
  Non ante devictis Sabaeae
    Regibus, horribilique Medo
Nectis catenas? Quae tibi virginum
Sponso necato barbara serviet?
  Puer quis ex aula capillis
    Ad cyathum statuetur unctis,

1. **beatis**, properly the epithet of the rich man, not of his riches; but it contains a reference to the name of Arabia Felix.

**nunc**. Dillr. points out the emphasis laid on this word. 'What, *now*, after a lifetime spent in such different pursuits!'

**Arabum gazis**, Od. 2. 12. 24 'plenas Arabum domos'; 3. 24. 1 'Intactis opulentior Thesauris Arabum'; Epp. 1. 7. 36 'divitiae Arabum.' On the extravagant ideas of the Romans about the wealth and treasures of Arabia, see Dict. Geog. s. v. Sabaei.

3. **Sabaeae**, the name of the most important city and tribe of S. Arabia, the Σαβά, 'Sheba,' of 1 Kings 10. 1.

4. **Medo**, a hyperbole, possibly of those who vapoured about the expedition; but it is in Horace's way, cp. Od. 1. 12. 56, 1. 35. 31.

5. **quae virginum barbara**, for 'quae virgo barbara' or 'quae virginum barbararum.' Horace is fond of variations of the kind; cp. Epod. 10. 13 'Graia victorum manus'; Sat. 2. 1. 61 'majorum nequis amicus.' He is speaking of a princess, the 'bellantis tyranni adulta virgo' of Od. 3. 2. 7.

7. **puer ex aula**, 'a page from the court'; Liv. 45. 6 'pueri regii apud Macedonas vocabantur principum liberi ad ministerium regis electi.' The phrase 'ad cyathum stare' occurs in Suet. Jul. 49. Compare Virro's cup-bearer, 'Flos Asiae,' Juv. 5. 56, and the 'incultus puer . . . non Phryx aut Lycius' of a humbler household, id. 11. 146.

Doctus sagittas tendere Sericas
Arcu paterno? Quis neget arduis
Pronos relabi posse rivos
Montibus et Tiberim reverti,
Cum tu coëmptos undique nobilis
Libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum
Mutare loricis Hiberis,
Pollicitus meliora, tendis?

9. **doctus**, &c., i. e. 'a high-born boy,' an archer like his fathers before him. The purpose is to exalt the value of the page, not, as some editors think, to frighten Iccius.

**sagittas tendere.** Virgil has the same inversion, 'spicula tendere cornu,' Aen. 9. 606.

**Sericas.** This illustrates the 'Mede' or Parthian of v. 4: it is the whole East that Iccius is going to conquer; see on Od. 1. 12. 56.

10. **arduis montibus.** It may be doubted whether this is a dative case like Od. 1. 24. 18, or an abl. absol. on the analogy of 'adverso, secundo, flumine,' 'up the steep mountains' side.' Notice the antithetical position of the two adjectives 'arduis pronos.' Eur. Med. 410 ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί, καὶ δίκα καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται.

13. **nobilis.** The MSS. are fairly divided between 'nobilis' and 'nobiles,' but it must be remembered that 'nobilis' may still be the accusative plural. The arrangement of the words is in favour of the genitive, as pairing, after Horace's way, the substantives and epithets. In support of the genitive are quoted Epp. 1. 19. 39 'nobilium scriptorum'; Cic. Phil. 5. 5 'Phaedri philosophi nobilis.' In support of the accusative, A. P. 258 'Acci nobilibus trimetris'; Mart. 7. 97. 8 'Turni . . . nobilibus libellis'; and A. Gell. 13. 27 'Panaetii tribus illis inclytis libris.'

14. **Panaeti**, the Stoic philosopher and the friend of Scipio Africanus Minor. His great work was a treatise περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος, which was the basis of Cicero's de Officiis.

**Socraticam domum**, A. P. 310 'Socraticae chartae,' the writings of Plato, Xenophon, &c. 'Domus' is used for a school of philosophy by Sen. Epp. 29. 'Idem hoc omnes tibi ex omni domo acclamabunt, Peripatetici, Academici, Stoici, Cynici.' Cp. Cicero's phrase, de Div. 2. 1. 3 'Peripateticorum familia,' and Horace himself, Epp. 1. 1. 13 'quo me duce, quo lare, tuter.'

15. **Hiberis.** Spanish steel was famous, Plin. N. H. 34. 41 and 43.

16. **tendis**, for 'tendere,' of purpose or effort, with infinitive, cp. Epp. 1. 7. 31, 1. 19. 16, Virg. Aen. 1. 18.

# ODE XXX.

'QUEEN VENUS, leave Cyprus and bring thy presence to the shrine which Glycera offers thee, and bring with thee love and grace and youth and wit.'

The Ode is a hymn of the kind which the Greeks called *κλητικοί*, hymns of invitation; see on Alcman, Fr. 10. Ed. Bergk, *Κύπρον ἱμερτὰν λιποῖσα καὶ Πάφον περιρρύταν*, a line of which we may possibly hear an echo in 'Sperne dilectam Cypron.'

O VENUS, regina Cnidi Paphique,
Sperne dilectam Cypron, et vocantis
Ture te multo Glycerae decoram
    Transfer in aedem.
Fervidus tecum puer et solutis
Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae
Et parum comis sine te Iuventas
    Mercuriusque.

1. **Cnidi**, in Caria; *Κνίδιοι τιμῶσιν Ἀφροδίτην μάλιστα*, Paus. 1. 1. 3.

**Paphi**, in Cyprus; Hom. Od. 8. 362 *Ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη | ἐς Πάφον, ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις*; Virg. Aen. 1. 415. Tacitus describes the worship of Venus at Paphos. Hist. 2. 2.

2. **sperne dilectam**, Od. 1. 19. 9 'Venus Cyprum deseruit.' So Faunus must leave Lycaeus to visit Horace's Lucretilis: and Apollo, when he would visit Delos, 'deserit hibernam Lyciam,' Virg. Aen. 4. 143.

4. **aedem**, 'temple,' not 'house,' according to the distinction laid down by Bentl. on Epp. 2. 2. 92 between 'aedes' in the sing. and in the plur. There is nothing strange in supposing either that a little shrine or 'sacrarium' is dignified with the larger title, or that the whole house is called a temple of the goddess.

5. **fervidus**, Virg. Aen. 1. 710 'Flagrantesque dei [Cupidinis] vultus.'

**solutis Gratiae zonis**, Od. 3. 19. 16 'Gratia nudis iuncta sororibus,' cp. 4. 7. 5. Seneca describes the representations of them, de Ben. 13 'Tres Gratiae sorores manibus implexis ridentes iuvenes et virgines solutaque et pellucida veste.' The notion seems to be the absence of restraint and of disguise—the grace of nature. They are joined with the nymphs in Od. 4. 7. 5, and in 1. 4. 6.

6. **properentque**. Dill[r]. has a note (on Od. 2. 7. 25) on Horace's not uncommon practice of joining an enclitic particle to some word other than the one which it logically couples to the preceding clause. In all these cases the word to which it is joined is emphatic and is usually a common element in the two clauses, the verb or adverb which gives their meaning to both, and which is placed in this way between them in order to make us feel their unity. Cp. 'que' in Od. 2. 17. 16, 2. 19. 32, 3. 11. 13, C. S. 22, Sat. 1. 4. 115, 1. 6. 43, 44, 2. 1. 68, 2. 3. 182; 'ne' in Sat. 1. 8. 2; 've' in Od. 2. 7. 25, Epod. 2. 50, Sat. 2. 3. 139 and 180.

8. **Mercurius**, as the god of speech and wit. Compare Homer's description of Aphrodite's cestus, Il. 14. 216 *ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς | πάρφασις ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων*. Orelli quotes Plutarch, Conjugalia Praecepta Praef. *οἱ παλαιοὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸν Ἑρμῆν συγκαθίδρυσαν, ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἡδονῆς μάλιστα λόγου δεομένης, τήν τε Πειθὼ καὶ τὰς Χάριτας.*

## ODE XXXI.

THIS Ode professes to be written on the day (Oct. 24, B.C. 28) on which Augustus dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to which was attached the famous Library, see Epp. 1. 3. 17, 2. 1. 217, 2. 2. 93, Suet. Oct. 29, Dion 53. 1. Propertius gives an account of the inauguration of the temple, at which he had himself been present, 3. 23 'Quaeris cur veniam tibi tardior? Aurea Phaebo Porticus a magno Caesare aperta fuit,' &c.

'What special boon shall his poet ask of Apollo to-day? Not wealth in cornlands or cattle, not gold and ivory, not vineyards in Campania. He envies neither those who grow the rich wines nor the trader who at the cost of so much risk buys and drinks them. Content with humble fare, all he asks is the power to enjoy health of body and of mind too now, and an old age not wanting either in honour or in the pleasure of poetry.'

QUID dedicatum poscit Apollinem
Vates? quid orat de patera novum
  Fundens liquorem? Non opimae
    Sardiniae segetes feraces,
Non aestuosae grata Calabriae
Armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum,
  Non rura, quae Liris quieta
    Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.

1. **dedicatum.** The Latins said 'dedicare deum' as well as 'dedicare aedem,' perhaps from the image of the god which was installed in his shrine. Liv. 5. 51 'Iunonem dedicare.'

2. **vates.** The poet has a special claim on Apollo, the inspirer of his art.

**novum.** Wine of the latest making was proper for sacrifice (see on 1. 19. 15). In this case there is felt to be a special appropriateness in the wine of the new vintage to the new temple.

4. **Sardiniae.** Val. Max. 7. 6. 1 calls Sardinia and Sicily 'benignissimas urbis nostrae nutrices.'

**segetes**, corn-land; as often Epp. 2. 2. 161 'Qui segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas.' He is speaking of 'latifundia' in the corn-growing provinces, see on Od. 1. 1. 9.

5. **aestuosae Calabriae**, cp. on the same topic Epod. 1. 27 'Non ut iuvencis illigata pluribus Aratra nitantur mea Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum Lucana mutet pascuis.' A second investment of Roman wealth, large cattle farms; cp. Od. 2. 16. 33 'Te greges centum Siculaeque circum Mugiunt vaccae,' &c.; Epp. 2. 2. 177 'Quid vici prosunt aut horrea? quidve Calabris Saltibus adiecti Lucani?'

**grata**, 'pleasant,' to own or to see.

6. A villa adorned with gold and ivory; cp. Od. 2. 18. 1 'Non ebur neque aureum Mea renidet in domo lacunar.'

7. **rura**, i.e. as the next stanza shows, the wine-growing lands through which the Liris (now the Garigliano) flows. On the left bank of the Liris, as it nears the sea, is the Ager Falernus, and at a short distance the Mons Massicus.

8. **mordet**, Lucret. 5. 257 'ripas radentia flumina rodunt.'

Premant Calena falce quibus dedit
Fortuna vitem, dives et aureis
Mercator exsiccet culullis
Vina Syra reparata merce,
Dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater
Anno revisens aequor Atlanticum
Impune. Me pascunt olivae,
Me cichorea levesque malvae.
Frui paratis et valido mihi,
Latoë, dones, at, precor, integra

9. 'Let who may own rich vineyards at Cales, I grudge them not.'

**premant** = 'reprimant,' check the luxuriant growth; Virg. G. 1. 156 'ruris opaci Falce premes umbram.' The words are probably meant to imply the richness of the soil and luxuriance of the vines. Cales was a town in the north of Campania. Its wine is named in Od. 1. 20. 9, 4 12. 14.

**Calena falce** (cp. 3. 6. 38) involves a slight hypallage, i. e. the adjective would more naturally go with 'vitem.' 'At Cales' is the simple meaning. Bentley, objecting that though 'prelo Caleno' (1. 20. 9) would be natural 'falce C.' was less so, would read 'Calenam' without MS. authority, and is followed by some editors. But it may be questioned whether this does not make 'falce' an unnecessary detail. Its adjective is what gives it relevance.

10. **et.** Some good MSS. (including B) have 'ut,' which also stands in the lemma of Porph. If we read 'ut' there is a taunt against the wine-grower who toils that other men may drink of his wine, as well as against the trader who risks his life for his gold cups and rare wines. The irony would be not unlikely to attract an emendator, but it seems beyond the requirements of this place.

11. **exsiccet.** 'cum aliqua aviditatis significatione,' Orell.

**culullis,** A. P. 434, apparently used for 'large cups.' According to the Schol. they were originally 'calices fictiles quibus pontifices virginesque Vestales in sacris utebantur.'

12. **Syra reparata merce,** obtained by bartering Syrian wares. The meaning of 'reparo' seems to be 'to obtain in exchange,' the 're' playing the part of ἀπὸ in ἀποδίδοσθαι, 'to give for a consideration,' ἀπαιτεῖν, &c. Forcell. quotes for the use two fragments of Alfenus Varus and Scaevola contained in the Digest, 'alios boves his numis reparare,' 'messes reparare'; see on Od. 1. 37. 24 'latentes Classe cita reparavit oras.' Bentley, denying this use of 'reparo,' alters that passage and interprets this, 'condita vel medicata Syriaco nardo,' referring to the Roman practice of mixing spices and perfumes with certain wines. For the 'Syrian wares' cp. Od. 3. 29. 60 'Tyriae merces.' These would consist of the produce of the East, amongst them of spices and perfumed oils. 'Assyria nardo,' 2. 11. 16; 'Malobathro Syrio,' 2. 7. 8.

13. **Dis carus ipsis,** 'I don't envy the trader his wealth, and yet he surely, if any one, must be a favourite (not, like the Campanian vine grower, of Fortune, but) of the gods themselves, else he would have been drowned long ago on his long voyages.' Under the form of exalting his εὐδαιμονία Horace hints at the deductions to be made from it.

15. 'I do not ask for wealth, for I am contented with what costs little,' 'dapes inemptae,' cp. Epod. 2. 55 foll. and Horace's own supper, S. 1. 6. 115.

16. **leves,** 'light,' 'digestible'; Epod. 2. 58 'gravi malvae salubres corpori.'

17. 'Be thy boon to me, son of Latona, both in full strength to enjoy the goods the gods provide me (only, I pray thee, be a sound mind among them) and to spend an old age neither unhonoured nor unsolaced by the lyre.'

**valido** is opposed to 'senectam.' He asks for the health and strength to

Cum mente, nec turpem senectam
Degere nec cithara carentem.

enjoy, as long as nature allows a man to look for health and strength, and when old age comes, for the solaces of old age. This double purpose of 'valido,' fixing the time as well as asking for the necessary condition of 'frui' ('while I am strong and because I am strong'), will explain the reason why 'et' is joined to it, although grammatically it qualifies 'frui' and answers to 'nec (=et non) turpem senectam degere.' For 'et . . . nec,' cp. Cic. Brut. 4. 17 'ego et expectabo ea quae polliceris neque exigam nisi tuo commodo.' &c. 'At' has been altered with some slight MS. authority to 'ac' and to 'et.' 'Et valido et integra cum mente,' which Orelli and others accept, would give a more flowing sentence, and a more complete parallel to Juvenal's prayer for the 'mens sana in corpore sano,' the insertion of 'precor' serving only to lay the greater stress on the second prayer.

## ODE XXXII.

'THEY call on us for a song. Come, my lyre, I have drawn strains from thee before which, light though they be, will not soon die: answer now with such music for Roman ears as thou yieldedst of old to Alcaeus. He was a patriot and a warrior, yet amidst his wars and shipwrecks he found time to sing of wine and love. O lyre, the delight of gods, the solace of toil, help me too whenever I duly call on thee.'

It is not unlikely that the Ode refers to some request of Augustus or Maecenas for a poem of a graver cast: Ritter thinks of the stately Alcaic Odes which stand at the beginning of Book iii. There is an appearance of reality in the appeal of the first stanza, and in the pains which he takes to point out that lyrics on Lycus' black hair were not inconsistent in Alcaeus' case with civic zeal and soldierly courage. It is written, like Od. 1. 1, 2. 20, 3. 30, when Horace had become easy as to his own powers and their recognition by the world. See, however, on v. 1.

POSCIMUR. Si quid vacui sub umbra
Lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum
Vivat et plures, age, dic Latinum,
Barbite, carmen,
Lesbio primum modulate civi,
Qui ferox bello tamen inter arma,
Sive iactatam religarat udo
Litore navim,
Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
Semper haerentem puerum canebat
Et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
Crine decorum.

1. **Poscimur.** The MSS. are divided between this reading and 'poscimus.' 'Poscimur' is interpreted by Acr. and Comm. Cruq., and is quoted by Servius on Virg. Ecl. 1. 10. The reading is strongly supported by the occurrence of the same phrase several times in Ovid, Fast. 4. 721 'Palilia poscor,' 'I am asked for a poem on the Palilia'; Met. 5. 333 'Poscimur Aonides,' 4. 274 'Poscitur Alcathoe,' 'scilicet ut narret fabulam,' Bentl. There is a rival reading 'poscimus,' which has the authority of B and of Diomedes, and which Bentl. supports. It seems to necessitate an alteration, which he also adopts, in the mode of taking the whole stanza. He put 'si quid . . . tecum' into a parenthesis, making 'quod et hunc in annum vivat et plures' a description not of what Horace and his lyre have already sung, but of the greater song now asked for, 'carmen' being constructed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with 'poscimus' and 'dic.' It is obvious that this would alter the character of the poem. It would hardly lead us to think of any special occasion, and the tone of confidence would have vanished from it.

**si quid ... lusimus**, the usual formula for urging a petition. C. S. 37 'Roma si vestrum opus est,' &c.; Virg. Aen. 4. 317 'si bene quid de te merui . . . oro.'

**vacui**, in hour of leisure. S. 2. 3. 10 'si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto'; Virg. G. 3. 3 'quae vacuas tenuissent carmina mentes.'

2. **lusimus**, παίζειν, Pind. Ol. 1. 23; 'si quid olim lusit Anacreon,' Od. 4. 9. 9; 'haec ego ludo,' S. 1. 10. 37. So Virg. E. 1. 10, G. 4. 565, of light and playful poetry; or used depreciatingly by an author of his own performances, which he represents as the amusement of a leisure hour.

3. **vivat.** Epp. 1. 19. 2 'nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt.'

**dic**, Od. 3. 4. 1; Theogn. 761 φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος.

**Latinum**, for it is a Greek lyre that is called upon to give music to Roman ears. Horace is 'Romanae fidicen lyrae,' Od. 4. 3. 23. The main antithesis is contained in the words 'Latinum,' 'Lesbio,' helped also probably, as Dill[r] suggests, by an antithesis which might be felt between the Greek and Latin 'barbite,' 'carmen.' See on Od. 1. 1. 34.

5. **modulate**, used passively as 'metatus,' Od. 2. 15. 15, S. 2. 2. 114; 'abominatus,' Epod. 16. 8; 'detestatus,' Od. 1. 1. 24. See Madv. § 153.

**civi**, emphatic: cp. Od. 1. 2. 21. Of Alcaeus' strenuous participation in the politics of Mytilene we have proofs in the fragments 15–23, classed together by Bergk as στασιωτικά ('Alcaei minaces Camoenae,' Od. 4. 9. 7).

6. **ferox bello.** Alcaeus fought against the Athenians in the Troad (Hdt. 5. 95), and against Myrsilus and Pittacus, 'tyrants' of Mytilene. 'ferox' = 'quamquam ferox erat.' With this stanza, cp. Od. 2. 13. 26 'te sonantem plenius aureo, Alcaee, plectro dura navis, Dura fugae mala, dura belli.'

11. **Lycum.** His name occurs in Alc. Fr. 57, Bergk.

**nigris oculis.** A. P. 37 'Spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.'

O decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
Grata testudo Iovis, o laborum
Dulce lenimen, mihi cumque salve
Rite vocanti.

15. **cumque.** This is the unanimous reading of the MSS. and was found by all the Schol., who explain it by 'quandocumque.' If so, we must either say that Horace, who abbreviates 'quandocumque' to 'quandoque' (Od. 4. 1. 17, &c.), has here treated 'cumcumque' (see Lucr. 2. 113) in the same way; or, that he has used 'cumque' (which generalizes relatives and relative particles of all kinds, and which is constantly separated from the word which it generalizes [Od. 1. 9. 14, &c.]), after the analogy of *ποτέ*, with the temporal participle. Nothing else is offered but conjectures, 'mihi, cuique,' Bentl.; 'medicumque,' Lachm.

---

# ODE XXXIII.

'THINK not too much, Albius, of Glycera's faithlessness, nor write piteous elegies about your rejection. It is the way always: Lycoris pining for Cyrus: Cyrus in love with Pholoë, who will as soon wed him as a she goat a wolf. This is merely Venus' cruel sport. I am not exempt from the law.'

The Ode is addressed to Albius Tibullus, the poet, to whom also Horace wrote an Epistle (1. 4). Glycera is not one of the mistresses to whom any of Tibullus' extant poems are addressed. See Dean Milman's Article on Tibullus in the Dict. Biog.

Metre—*Fourth Asclepiad.*

ALBI, ne doleas plus nimio memor
Immitis Glycerae, neu miserabiles

1. **ne doleas,** 'to prevent your grieving, consider these facts.' It is not a direct prohibition, but the negative purpose of the coming recital. Cp. 2. 1. 37 and 4. 9. 1, and, though there the clause that follows 'ne' is in the third person, 2. 4. 1.

**plus nimio,** see on Od. 1. 18. 15. It seems to qualify 'doleas' as well as 'memor.'

2. **immitis Glycerae,** with a play on her name which makes it an oxy-

Decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior
    Laesa praeniteat fide;
Insignem tenui fronte Lycorida
Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam
Declinat Pholoën; sed prius Apulis
    Iungentur capreae lupis,
Quam turpi Pholoë peccet adultero.
Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas atque animos sub iuga aënea
    Saevo mittere cum ioco.
Ipsum me, melior cum peteret Venus,
Grata detinuit compede Myrtale

moron; πικρὸν Γλυκέριον: see on Od. 1. 22. 24.

**miserabiles**, 'piteous,' 'moving pity.' Virg. G. 4. 514, of the nightingale, 'miserabile carmen Integrat.'

3. **decantes**. From the notion of 'singing out to the end,' comes that of persistence, and then of the tediousness of repetition, the same tune always, in which sense the verb is used constantly in Cicero, as de Or. 2. 18. 75 'nec mihi opus est Graeco aliquo doctore qui mihi pervulgata praecepta decantet.' Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 64 'nenia . . . Curiis et decantata Camillis.'

**cur . . . praeniteat**, this is the question which he is perpetually asking in his piteous elegies. Cp. Epp. 1. 8. 10 'irascar amicis Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno,' 'be angry, and ask what they mean by warning me,' &c. So in prose, Cic. ad Att. 3. 9 'quod me accusas, cur hunc meum casum tam graviter feram, debes ignoscere.'

5 foll. Cp. the sixth Idyll of Moschus, Ἤρα Πὰν Ἀχῶς τᾶς γείτονος, ἤρατο δ' Ἀχὼ | σκιρτητᾶ Σατύρω, Σάτυρος δ' ἐπεμαίνετο Λύδᾳ, κ.τ.λ.

5. **tenui fronte**. Mart. 4. 41. 9 'frons brevis.' Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 26 'reddes . . . nigros angusta fronte capillos.' There, however, it is a mark of youth as well as of good looks.

6. **torret**. The metaphor is Sappho's, ὄπταις ἄμμε Fr. 115.

**Cyrus . . . Pholoën**, see App. 1. The name of 'Cyrus' appears in Od. 1. 17. 25, that of 'Pholoë fugax' in Od. 2. 5. 17. In both cases the type of character, if not the person indicated, is the same as in this place. 'Pholoë' is the name of a coy or coquettish girl in Tibull. 1. 8.

**in asperam declinat**. 'Asperam' is not a mere epithet, but predicative. Cyrus, instead of pursuing Lycoris, turns aside after Pholoë, but only to find her bristles set against him.

7. **prius**, &c. Virg. E. 8. 26 'Mopso Nisa datur: quid non speremus amantes? Iungentur iam gryphes equis.' Wolves of Apulia are named in Od. 1. 22. 18.

10. **sic visum Veneri**, of mysterious 'dispensations'; as Acron says, 'quotiescunque ratio non apparet "sic visum" interponitur, ut Vergilius (Aen. 3. 1) "Postquam res Asiae Priamique evertere regnum Immeritum visum superis".' Here there is a half-comic irony in the solution. Sophocles' Chorus are more serious in their explanation of the troubles caused by love: ἄμαχος γὰρ ἐμπαίζει θεὸς Ἀφροδίτα, Antig. 800, a Play with which Horace was familiar, see on Od. 4. 13. 8. Compare the sport of Mars, Od. 1. 2. 39; of Fortune, 3. 29. 50; and of Venus herself, 3. 27. 67 foll

11. **iuga aënea**, 'a yoke they cannot break.' Od. 3. 9. 17 'quid si prisca redit Venus, Diductosque iugo cogit aëneo.'

13. **melior Venus**, on Od. 1. 27. 14. 'Melior' is interpreted by the description given of Myrtale's rank and temper.

14. **grata compede**, so again, Od. 4. 11. 23.

Libertina, fretis acrior Hadriae
Curvantis Calabros sinus.

15. **acrior,** 'more passionate,' as Virgil's 'acri Lycurgo,' Aen. 3. 14, translates Sophocles' ὀξύχολος παῖς Δρύαντος, Ant. 955.

**Hadriae,** Od. 3. 9. 23 'improbo iracundior Hadria.'

16. **curvantis Calabros sinus,** 'that breaks into curving bays the Calabrian shore.' Luc. 8. 177 'Scythiae curvantem litora pontum.' It is the proof of the force of the sea, and so of the passion of which it is the similitude. 'Sinus' is the accus. of the result rather than the object, as Virgil says, 'rumpere vocem,' Aen. 2. 129; 'rumpere aditus,' ib. 2. 494; as well as 'rumpere silentium,' 'claustra,' &c. Horace is thinking of the great Tarentine gulf. The words have also been taken, with less probability, of 'cresting the water,' like Homer's κυρτωθὲν κῦμα, Od. 11. 244; κῦμα κυρτὸν ἰὸν κορυφοῦται, Il. 4. 426; Virgil's 'Tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite,' Aen. 3. 564: 'sinus' in this case being either the water of the Calabrian bays, or the hollow of the waves themselves. For this last. cp. Virg. G. 4. 361 'Curvata in montis faciem circumstetit unda, Accepitque sinu vasto misitque sub undam.' The true parallel, however, is Virgil's constant epithet, 'litore curvo.'

---

## ODE XXXIV.

'I SURRENDER my old Epicurean doctrine of the "careless" gods (Sat. 1. 5. 101). I have heard thunder not where Lucretius might explain it to me from clashing clouds, but in a cloudless sky, where I could not but recognize it as the rolling of the chariot wheels that shake all creation. It is the same hand that launches "bolts from a clear sky" in human things, that lifts the humble and overthrows the proud when men least expect it.'

Horace is thinking of the challenge with which Lucretius clenches his argument that thunder comes from purely natural causes:—

'Denique cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro
Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit?'—6. 400.

The notable changes of fortune in his mind at the time are very possibly the vicissitudes of Phraates and Tiridates on the Parthian throne (see Introd. to Odes i–iii, § 8), though the expressions in vv. 14 foll. are not particular enough to necessitate this interpretation. The framework of the Ode bears some resemblance to that of 1. 22; each centering round a circumstance in the poet's personal experience. This in both cases stands in the middle of the Ode, introduced by the emphatic 'namque' (1. 22. 9): it is the ground of the statements that precede and follow. What he has witnessed in this case, and the cause to which alone he can trace it, justify both the general recantation of stanza 1, and the solution which he gives in stanza 4 of the difficulty in the human world which seems to him analogous to the thunder, for which no 'secondary cause' was to be found, in the material world.

PARCUS deorum cultor et infrequens,
Insanientis dum sapientiae
Consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
Vela dare atque iterare cursus
Cogor relictos: namque Diespiter,
Igni corusco nubila dividens
Plerumque, per purum tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum,
Quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina,
Quo Styx et invisi horrida Taenari
Sedes Atlanteusque finis
Concutitur. Valet ima summis

1. **parcus** refers to offerings, **frequens** to attendance. Cp. the opposite '[Demosthenes] frequens fuit Platonis auditor.' Cic. Or. 4. 15.

2. **insanientis sapientiae**, σοφίας ἀσόφου: the oxymoron is continued in 'consultus erro': σοφία or 'sapientia' is the special name that Lucretius claims for the Epicurean system, 'vitae rationem . . . eam quae nunc appellatur sapientia,' 5. 10, cp. 2. 7 'doctrina sapientum.'

3. **consultus**, as used commonly with 'iuris,' meant one whose opinion was sought, and so an adept, a professor. Livy had led the way in transferring it to other arts, 'iuris atque eloquentiae consultus,' 10. 22.

4. **iterare cursus relictos**, 'to steer again in the course I had deserted,' i.e. to return to the ways of thought to which I was accustomed before I learnt Epicureanism. Bentley, disliking the expression 'relinquere cursus' ('relinquere viam' he thinks would be right, but 'intermittere cursum'), and attracted by the frequent use by the later poets of 'relegere' with 'cursus,' 'viam,' &c. (cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 690 'relegens errata retrorsum Litora'), wished to read, ex mera coniectura, 'relectos,' which would be predicative, 'to retrace and travel again,' &c.

5. **Diespiter**, a religious archaism, affected by Horace again in Od. 3. 2. 29: cp. Varr. L. L. 5. 66 'antiquius Iovis nomen: nam olim Diovis et Diespiter dictus, id est dies pater.' So A. Gell. 6. 12 'Iovis Diespater appellatus est, id est, diei et lucis pater,' and Macr. Saturn. 2. 15. It is connected by them with the name 'Lucetius,' given to him in the hymns of the Salii. It occurs probably in the formula of the Fetiales, Liv. 1. 24 (see Prof. Seeley's note). On the etymology see Corssen, Aussprache, 1. 233: he refuses to allow the composition of a Latin word by means of a genitive case, and therefore sees in Dies- a form of the stem which also appears in the Greek εὐ-διέσ-τερος, and 'with the Latin change of *s* to *r*' in 'ho-dier-nus.'

7. **plerumque.** All the older commentators who notice the point join 'plerumque' with 'egit,' not perceiving that Horace is speaking of a single instance in his own experience. For the emphatic position of 'plerumque' at the end of its clause Bentl. compares Epp. 2. 2. 84 and Lucr. 5. 1131.

**purum**, the cloudless sky; 'sole puro,' Od. 3. 29. 45, cp. 3. 10. 8. Thunder, under such circumstances, is a special portent in the poets; Hom. Od. 20. 112–114, Virg. G. 1. 487, Aen. 8. 524 foll., Ov. Fast. 3. 370, &c.

8. **currum**, Od. 1. 12. 58.

9–11. See on Od. 3. 4. 45. The meaning is 'all creation.' The sense of universality is given by the contrasts; 'earth, though you might think it too dull and still, the streams which seem as if they moved too quick, the abysses below, the utmost bounds above.'

10. **Taenari**: a cavern in the cliffs of Taenarum Prom. (Cape Matapan) was thought to be an entrance to Hades. Virg. G. 4. 467 'Taenarias fauces, alta ostia Ditis.' Ἀΐδα στόμα, Pind. Pyth. 4. 44.

11. **Atlanteus finis.** Orelli quotes τέρμονες Ἀτλαντικοί, Eur. Hipp. 3.

Mutare et insignem attenuat deus
Obscura promens; hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

14. **apicem** seems to be used here, and in Od. 3. 21. 20 'regum apices,' for the tiara of eastern kings. It was the name of the conical cap worn at Rome by the 'flamines'; see Virg. Aen. 8. 664, and Conington's note on id. 2. 683. Cicero (Leg. 1. 1) uses it where Livy (1. 34) uses 'pileus,' in telling the story of the eagle which snatched away and restored the cap of Tarquinius Priscus as he approached Rome. It seems quite possible (as Lord Lytton argues) that even if Horace is actually thinking of the vicissitudes of Phraates, he may be also 'borrowing a metaphor to describe them from a familiar Roman myth.'

15. **Fortuna**, not apparently that he attributes any moral purpose to Fortune, as in the following Ode, or co-ordinates her with 'deus' as an expression of the power that governs human life. It is only (as in Od. 3. 29. 49 foll. where also we have her 'rushing wings') the personification of the vicissitudes of life, the effect that we see, not the cause which he has traced in the lines before.

16. **sustulit.** Like 'posuisse,' a proper perfect (not as I took it in earlier editions, aoristic). The time from which both are dated is 'gaudet.' She has snatched away from one and is rejoicing at having placed on another. All passes in a moment of time 'cum stridore acuto,' with one sharp whistle of her wings.

## ODE XXXV.

THE Fortuna of this Ode, as has been already suggested, is a different conception from that of the last. She is the author of the vicissitudes of life, but not in sport (as in Od. 3. 29. 49), or at random as the blind chance-goddess. The apparent capriciousness is that of a hidden will, and its decisions have the fixity of fate. Through any confusion of image in vv. 21–28 (see on v. 24) the thought is clear, that her attributes are moral. 'Her frown does not drive away hope nor extinguish any but mercenary affection.' Her purposes are moral, and the greatness of Rome is amongst them.

The purpose of the Ode seems to lie in the last three stanzas. Fortune the mistress of human life, so universal in her sway, so irresistible, yet with a more gracious aspect, is invoked to bless Caesar in his endeavours to turn Roman energy upon its proper object, foreign instead of civil war.

One of the chief conceptions of Fortune to a Roman was the 'Fortuna publica,' 'Fortuna populi Romani,' the Fortune described in Plutarch's image (de Fortuna Romanorum, c. 4): 'even as Aphrodite, when she crossed the Eurotas, laid aside her mirror and her ornaments and her cestus, and took spear and shield to adorn herself for Lycurgus' eyes, so when, after her sojourning with Persians and Assyrians, with Macedonians and Carthaginians, she (τύχη) approached the Palatine and

crossed the Tiber, she laid aside her wings and took off her sandals and left behind her ball, the symbol of fickleness and change.'

A date for the Ode seems to be approximately given by vv. 29 foll., which must refer to Augustus' departure from Rome in the summer of B.C. 27 with the purpose of invading Britain. Dion 53. 22. See Introd. to Books i-iii. § 3. It has been suggested that Augustus may have inquired of the oracle about the expedition which he was planning, and that this gave occasion to the Ode.

O DIVA, gratum quae regis Antium,
Praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
Mortale corpus vel superbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos,
Te pauper ambit sollicita prece
Ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris,
Quicumque Bithyna lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carina.
Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythae,
Urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox

1. **gratum**, sc. 'tibi,' 'your loved Antium,' as 'dilectam Cypron,' Od. 1. 30. 2. Horace imitates the common mode of addressing a Greek god or goddess by the title of some chief seat of their worship, 'O quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum,' Od. 3. 26. 9, &c. There was at Antium a famous temple of Fortuna, or rather apparently of the Fortunae, who were represented as two sisters, 'veridicae sorores,' Mart. 5. 1. 3, whose images were consulted as an oracle; cp. Suet. Calig. 57.

2. **praesens**, not elsewhere used with an infinitive, but found not uncommonly in the sense of 'powerful,' 'prompt to any purpose.'

3. **mortale corpus**, 'to lift from the dust a frail mortal man, and to change to a funeral train the proud triumphal procession.' Put man at his lowest, she can yet raise him to glory; put him at his highest, a touch of her hand brings him down to dust again. 'Funeribus' is the ablative, 'vertere seria ludo,' A. P. 226, after the analogy of 'mutare.'

5. **pauper**. There seems to be suggested a double opposition, the rich and the poor, the landsman and the sailor, though, after Horace's way, each clause has to borrow something to complete the antithesis from the other. 'Pauper ruris colonus' implies its converse, the riches of the trader; 'dominam aequoris' is meant to suggest that she distributes also the treasures of the country.

7. **Bithyna**, perhaps rather, like 'Cypria trabe,' Od. 1. 1. 13, as coming from or trading to Bithynia, a seat of commerce, Od. 3. 7. 3, Epp. 1. 6. 33, than as built of Bithynian timber. 'Pontica pinus,' Od. 1. 14. 11.

**lacessit**, 'tempts,' as though the sea were a wild beast which it was dangerous to go too near; 'non tangenda vada,' Od. 1. 3. 24.

8. **Carpathium**, the sea between Rhodes and Crete, named from the island Carpathus. Like 'Bithyna' it is merely a special name for a general. There is a point, however, in naming as many countries as may be.

9. **asper**, the Dacian who stands fiercely at bay (cp. 'tigris aspera,' Od. 1. 23. 9) is contrasted with the nomad Scythians who, if attacked, retreat into their boundless steppes. These again, perhaps with more settled peoples, 'urbesque.' The object of all the epithets is to insist on the universality of Fortune's sway (cp. 1. 34. 9-11, 3. 4. 45-48). No distance or difference of life exempts men from it. This is brought out equally by the antithetical form of v. 9 and by the quick accumulation of copulatives in vv. 10-12.

10. **ferox**, 'pride in their port, defiance in their eye.' Cp. 3. 3. 44.

Regumque matres barbarorum et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni,
Iniurioso ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
Concitet imperiumque frangat.
Te semper anteit saeva Necessitas,
Clavos trabales et cuneos manu
Gestans aëna, nec severus
Uncus abest liquidumque plumbum.

11, 12. The mothers of eastern princes fear for their sons, as Atossa for Xerxes (cp. Od. 3. 2. 7), and princes in the midst of their splendid state fear for themselves.

13. **iniurioso**, ὑβριστικῷ, 'contumelious,' Epod. 17. 33.

**ne . . . neu**, not two different dangers; the second is only one form of the danger metaphorically described in the first clause.

14. **columnam.** The pillar seems to be metaphorical, an emblem of stability, as we might say colloquially, 'pull the house about our ears.' The best illustration, perhaps the source, is a line of Ennius (Annales 351, Vahlen), which Donatus quoted in explaining 'columen familiae,' Ter. Phorm. 2. 1. 58, 'Regni versatum [pilam?] summamve columnam.' Some editors have thought of the column erected in the Forum by the people in memory of Julius Caesar, and destroyed again by Dolabella, Suet. Jul. 85, Cic. Phil. 1. 2.

**frequens**, 'crowding,' 'gathering in crowds.'

15. 'Arouse to arms the loiterers, to arms'; 'ad arma' is the actual cry. Ovid imitates the repetition, Met. 11. 377 'Cuncti coëamus et arma, Arma capessamus'; 12. 241 'Certatimque omnes uno ore arma, arma loquuntur.'

17. **saeva**, 'stern,' cp. Od. 1. 28. 20. The balance of MS. authority is in favour of the rival reading 'serva,' which Porph. certainly found; for he interprets it 'slavish,' i. e. bringing slavery with it. Acr., though offering this as an alternative, takes it in what, if we retain it, is doubtless its true sense, 'as her slave,' 'quasi sit Necessitas comes et ministra Fortunae.' Keller, believing 'saeva' to be the original reading, thinks that this explanation of Acr. is what led to the corruption, having been meant to explain not 'serva,' but 'anteit,' and that Acron himself found 'saeva.' 'Necessitas' seems to want an epithet as in the corresponding passage (q. v.), Od. 3. 24. 6 'Si figit adamantinos Summis verticibus dira Necessitas Clavos.' The nails, &c. belong to Necessitas: they are not carried by her for Fortuna. We do not wish, even if it were possible, to make too perfect an image of the procession. The details of one part of it are not really congruous with those of another. 'Doom goes before the steps of Fortune; Doom, whose handiwork man cannot undo.' We want every word that we can spare to heighten the picture of Doom. Her relation to Fortune is lightly passed over.

18. **clavos trabales**, nails such as are used to fix beams. In a like symbolic sense, Cic. Verr. 2. 5. 21 'Ut hoc beneficium quemadmodum dicitur clavo trabali figeret,' i. e. 'ut ratum ac firmum faceret.'

**cuneos**, 'wedge-shaped nails.' Cic., who translates from Aesch., speaks of Prometheus as fastened to the rock by means of 'cunei,' Tusc. 2. 10, and renders πυκνοῖς γόμφοις in Plat. Tim. p. 1055 by 'crebris cuneolis.'

19. **severus**, 'inexorable': the quality which is the very object to be symbolized is attributed to the symbol, see notes on Od. 2. 2. 1, 4. 2. 7, 8. The 'uncus' is an iron cramp which, fastened by molten lead, was used to join blocks of stone, such as the joints of a column, Vitr. 2. 8. The implements which Necessitas carries are all emblems of the fixity of her sentence. The point is not that they are implements of building, but that they are the implements which make a building

Te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno nec comitem abnegat,
Utcumque mutata potentes
Veste domos inimica linquis.

indissoluble. Others besides her may be supposed to be planning and building, but what she builds none shall throw down or break in pieces. The metaphorical use both of nails and of molten lead is old; Pind. P. 4 *τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατεροῖς ἀδάμαντος δῆσεν ἅλοις*; Aesch. Supp. 944 *τῶνδ' ἐφήλωται τορῶς | γόμφος διάμπαξ ὡς μένειν ἀραρότως·* Eur. Andr. 267 *καὶ γὰρ εἰ πέριξ σ' ἔχει | τηκτὸς μόλυβδος.* On a cup found at Perugia is a representation of Atropos holding a nail against a wall with her left hand and lifting a hammer with the right, Dict. Ant. s. v. 'clavus.' The old mistake of the Comm. Cruq. who took all the expressions of instruments of torture has found no recent defender except Ritter.

There is a well-known criticism on this stanza in a note (30) to Lessing's Laocoon. It seemed to him an instance in which poetry had suffered from inattention to the laws which distinguish its functions from those of painting. It is a picture, the attributes all appeal to the eye. In a painting or piece of sculpture they would be all seen at a glance. The effort of mind required to comprehend them would be very small; and in the meantime, as 'Necessitas' would be in itself merely an unnamed female figure, they would be necessary symbols to convey the allegory to the spectator. It is different with the poet. The symbols are not needed to interpret the personification, for he can speak the terrible name of the power which he is personifying. They need interpretation themselves, and their accumulation wearies, because, though each costs a fresh effort to the mind, there is no corresponding and distinct addition to the idea conveyed. What, when we interpret it, is implied by the molten lead that was not also implied by the nails? Few will dispute the main propositions of Lessing's criticism; but we may notice that Horace does not leave the interpretation of the symbols to the unassisted efforts of the mind. The epithets are an integral part of his description, and they give at every turn the moral meaning which sculpture or painting could only indirectly convey. As Orelli remarks, 'aëna manu' is an addition which poetry only could have ventured to make, for it involves a figure within the figure. The very sameness from this point of view has some force. Horace gives us a very detailed picture, but in every feature he bids us see one and the same awful character.

21. **albo velata panno.** The image seems to be taken from the actual custom which was observed by the priests who sacrificed to Fides of veiling their hand in a white cloth, the symbol expressing apparently at once secresy (contrast Od. 1. 18. 10 'Arcani Fides prodiga pellucidior vitro') and guilelessness.

**rara**, i. e. rarely found. The epithet really reminds us that loyalty is a quality, and so impairs the personification, cp. Od. 2. 16. 21.

22. **comitem abnegat,** 'denies thee a companion,' i. e. the only companion whom she could deny, viz. herself. Ovid, possibly in imitation, 'Si qua repugnarat nimium comitemque negarat' (sc. se), A. A. 1. 127. For the sing. verb see on Od. 1. 3. 10.

24. **inimica.** It can hardly be denied that some confusion in the allegory is brought to the surface by this epithet. In this stanza at least Fortune is not a power wholly external to the person who suffers or rejoices, but rather the genius of his life, 'mortalis in unumQuodque caput, vultu mutabilis.' This is quite clear from its first lines, for Hope and loyal friends are said to cling to her when she changes her garb and leaves the home of greatness. Hope and loyal friends are consolations of adversity, so that Horace must mean not that they go with Fortune when she deserts a man, but that they cling to him, to his changed estate as to his unchanged. Yet if this is the case, in what sense is she said to be 'inimica'? On whom does she frown? A man deserted by Fortune, suffering under the illtreatment of Fortune, is a common picture, but it is a conception of Fortune which, if it suits the earlier stanzas of the Ode, is at variance with the

At vulgus infidum et meretrix retro
Periura cedit, diffugiunt cadis
Cum faece siccatis amici
Ferre iugum pariter dolosi.
Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos et iuvenum recens
Examen Eois timendum
Partibus Oceanoque rubro.
Eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet
Fratrumque. Quid nos dura refugimus
Aetas? Quid intactum nefasti
Liquimus? Unde manum iuventus

general tone of this one. Fortune, according to this, does not drive the great man from his palace, nor fly from him and leave him in it to calamity, but goes with him. She 'changes her garb,' but only as he would himself; it is the common Roman habit of putting on a sad-coloured dress in a time of misfortune (cp. Epod. 9. 28 'punico Lugubre mutavit sagum').

26. **cadis siccatis**, cp. the Greek proverb ζεῖ χύτρα ζῇ φιλία.

28. **ferre iugum pariter dolosi.** 'Ferre' depends not on the whole idea of 'dolosi,' but on the positive attribute which is denied in it. 'Not honest in bearing,' 'no loyal yoke-fellows.' The metaphor is common. The yoke sometimes, as perhaps here, has a reference to the labours or troubles that friendship shares and lightens. Aesch. Ag. 842 ἕτοιμος ἦν ἐμοὶ σειραφόρος, St. Paul, Phil. 4. 3 σύζυγε γνήσιε, Ov. Trist. 5. 2. 39 'Me miserum quid agam si proxima quaeque relinquunt? Subtrahis effracto tu quoque colla iugo.' Sometimes, as Theoc. 12. 15 ἀλλήλους ἐφίλησαν ἴσῳ ζυγῷ, it only refers to the bond of love or friendship which is only easy when both parties feel its weight equally.

29. **ultimos**, 'remotis . . . Britannis,' Od. 4. 14. 47. Cp. Virg. E. 1. 67 'penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos'; for the genitive 'orbis' cp. 'Extremi hominum Morini,' Virg. Aen. 8. 727.

30. **recens examen**, Aesch. Pers. 126 πᾶς γὰρ ἱππηλάτας καὶ πεδοστιβὴς λεὼς σμῆνος ὣς ἐκλέλοιπεν μελισσᾶν. Horace uses the metaphor of slaves clustering round the fire, Epod. 2. 65.

32. **Oceano rubro**, the Indian Ocean with its two arms, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

33. **cicatricum et sceleris.** The expression is of the nature of what grammarians call hendiadys. In prose the ideas would be grouped more logically. The real object of the feeling of 'shame' is one, viz. the 'guilt' of civil war; the 'scars' are only its memorials, the 'brotherhood' of the combatants its aggravation. We are not ashamed of them in the same sense that we are ashamed of the guilt; but the feeling of guilt comes to us through divers approaches.

34 **fratrumque**, Virg. G. 2. 510 'gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum.' The absence of any definite qualification of 'fratrum,' such as 'a fratribus occisorum,' is due partly to the fact just noticed that the word is not intended to convey the full feeling; it is only one approach among several;—the thought of brothers is a shameful thought to Romans, because they would think also how brothers had been treated, as the thought of scars was shameful, because they could not but remember the quarrel in which they had been come by—partly to the fact that 'fratrum' as a correlative term leads our thoughts to its correlative; of 'brothers' conduct,' means of their conduct as brothers, and so towards their brethren. Cp. the pregnant use of 'cives' in Od. 1. 2. 21. Any more definite expression of the horror of fratricidal war is purposely avoided and sunk in the general question 'quid nos refugimus?' With the string of questions that follow, cp. Od. 2. 1. 29–36.

Metu deorum continuit? Quibus
Pepercit aris? O utinam nova
Incude diffingas retusum in
Massagetas Arabasque ferrum!

39. **diffingas.** This is the reading of almost all the good MSS. and apparently of Acr. and Porph. The Berne MS. has 'defingas,' which Bentley adopted, altering at the same time 'retusum,' the unanimous reading of the old MSS., to 'recoctum,' 'melt and forge anew.' The verb 'diffingere' is found in no other author, and in Horace only here and in Od. 3. 29. 47 'neque Diffinget infectumque reddet.' The Scholiasts interpret it here 'refabricare,' 'reformare,' there 'immutare.' It seems to mean 'to make differently,' i.e. (in this case) 'to a different purpose.' The swords have been blunted in civil war, they are to be beaten straight and sharp again for a foreign enemy. For the image cp. Virg. Aen. 7. 636 'recoquunt patrios fornacibus enses.'

40. **Massagetas,** a tribe living to the east of the Caspian.

**Arabas.** The reference is to the expedition planned against Arabia, see introd. to Od. 1. 29.

## ODE XXXVI.

'THANKS to the gods that have brought Numida safe home again, to the delight of many friends, and of none more than his old school-fellow Lamia. The day must have a white stone to mark it. We will revel, we will dance: Bassus shall rival Damalis in his draughts of wine to-day. Every eye will be on Damalis; but Damalis will have no embraces for any one but Numida.'

Nothing is known of Numida. Acr. and Porph. call him 'Pomponius Numida,' the Comm. Cruq. 'Plotius.' The latter is more likely to be right, as Numida is a known cognomen of the Plautia or Plotia gens. It is usually supposed that he was returning from the Cantabrian war, from which Augustus returned in B.C. 24 (Od. 3. 14). Numida may of course conceivably have returned earlier.

For Lamia, see on Od. 1. 26, 3. 17.

For the subject of the Ode cp. 2. 7 on the return of Pompeius.

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

ET ture et fidibus iuvat
Placare et vituli sanguine debito

1. **fidibus,** of music at a sacrifice. Cp. Od. 4. 1. 21.

2. **placare,** a general word for 'to secure the favour' of the gods, without implying that they were angry before. Cp. Od. 3. 23. 3.

**debito,** cp. in the parallel Ode 2. 7. 17 'obligatam redde Iovi dapem,' 'due,' whether it had been actually vowed or not.

Custodes Numidae deos,
Qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima
Caris multa sodalibus,
Nulli plura tamen dividit oscula
Quam dulci Lamiae, memor
Actae non alio rege puertiae
Mutataeque simul togae.
Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota,
Neu promptae modus amphorae,
Neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum,

4. **Hesperia,** 'the West.' To the Greeks Italy was the 'western land,' and so we find the word used in Virgil. Horace himself uses it of Italy as compared with Parthia, Od. 2. 1. 32. In Roman mouths generally it would mean the countries still further west, and be used of Spanish wars, &c.

8. **non alio rege,** see on Od. 4. 1. 4 'sub regno Cinarae.' The expression seems partly to be due to the common mode of computing dates, 'consule Planco,' *βασιλεύοντος Κύρου*, &c., partly to contain a description of the imperious character of the rule, there of a mistress, here of a schoolmaster, like Horace's own 'plagosus Orbilius.'

**puertiae.** For the shortened form cp. 'lamna,' Od. 2. 2. 2, Epp. 1. 15. 36; 'surpuerat,' Od. 4. 13. 20; 'soldus,' S. 1. 2. 113, 2. 5. 65.

9. **mutatae . . . togae,** i.e. the assumption of the 'toga virilis' instead of the 'praetexta' at the age of fifteen.

10. **Cressa nota.** Bentley seems to have been the first to suggest that by 'Cressa nota' Horace meant 'a mark of Cretan stone,' i.e. of chalk, called 'creta,' or supposed to be called so, for the reason for which the Greeks called fuller's earth Κιμωλία γῆ (Ar. Ran. 713, Ov. Met. 7. 463 'Cretosaque rura Cimoli') from Cimolus, one of the Cyclades, whence they obtained it. He pointed out that where he is writing 'sermoni propiora,' he calls it simply 'creta'; S. 2. 3. 246 'creta an carbone notati.' Horace is referring to what was doubtless merely a proverbial mode of expression among the Romans. Pliny attributes it as an actual custom to a Thracian tribe, 'quae calculos colore distinctos pro experimento cuiusque diei in urnam condit ac supremo die separatos dinumerat atque ita de quoque pronunciat,' N. H. 7. 40. The Latin poets are full of allusions to such a fancied symbolic practice. Cp. Mart. 12. 34 (where he is reviewing his thirty-four years of intercourse with his kinsman Jul. Martialis) 'Quarum dulcia mista sunt amaris, Sed iucunda tamen fuere plura: Et si calculus omnis huc et illuc Diversus bicolorque digeratur Vincet candida turba nigriorem.' For briefer references, Catull 68. 148 'Quem lapide illa diem candidiore notat'; 106. 6 'O lucem candidiore nota'; Pers. 2. 1 'Hunc Macrine diem numera meliore lapillo.' Some early critics altered 'Cressa' to 'Thressa,' on the ground apparently of the story in Pliny. The Schol. justify 'Cressa' by relating the same story of the Cretans; but, as Bentley remarked, whether they were Thracians or Cretans they used black stones as well as white, so that the epithet would not imply the colour of the stone to be used.

11. **promptae,** pred., the wine jar must be brought out ('cellis depromere avitis,' Od. 1. 37. 5), and when brought there must be no stint of it.

12. Cp. 1. 37. 1 'pede libero Pulsanda tellus.' The words **morem in Salium** occur again in Od. 4. 1. 28. 'Salium' may be the gen., as 'Boeotum,' Ep. 2. 1. 244, or more probably the accus. of the adj. 'Salius,' which occurs in Fest., and which Horace (see on Od. 1. 15. 10) would have been likely to prefer to the longer 'Saliaris.' Dancing was a part of the ceremonies observed by the Salii in the festival of Mars (Liv. 1. 20), and according to Ovid (Fast. 3. 387 'a saltu nomina ducta') was the origin of their name.

Neu multi Damalis meri
    Bassum Threïcia vincat amystide,
Neu desint epulis rosae,
    Neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium.
Omnes in Damalin putres
    Deponent oculos, nec Damalis novo
Divelletur adultero
    Lascivis hederis ambitiosior.

13. **multi meri**, imitated by Ovid, Met. 14. 252 'multique Elpenora vini.' Cic. ad Fam. 9. 26, describes a man as 'hospes non multi cibi, sed multi ioci.' It is an extension of the descriptive gen. 'pusilli animi,' &c., Madv. § 287, with obs. 3. Bassus, whose usual character is clearly intended to contrast with that of Damalis in this respect, is on this occasion to rival her in taking deep draughts of wine, *ἀμυστί*, i.e. without closing the mouth = *ἀπνευστί*.

14. **Bassum.** The Roman name almost implies that a real person is intended. There was a Bassus a poetical friend of Ovid (Trist. 4. 10. 47), and one (or two) contemporary with Cicero; but none is known to us whose date would well suit this reference. By Martial's time the name has from this passage become proverbial for a hard drinker (Mart. 6. 69).

**Threïcia**, cp. Callim. Fr. 109 *καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θρηϊκίην μὲν ἀπέστυγε χάνδον ἄμυστιν ζωροποτεῖν*. Orelli recalls Hector's taunt to Rhesus the Thracian (Eur. Rhes. 418), *οὐκ ἐν δεμνίοις πυκνὴν ἄμυστιν ὡς σὺ δεξιούμενοι*. For the Thracian habits, see on Od. 1. 18. 8.

16. **vivax, breve.** Merely for the pleasure of the antithesis, cp. Od. 2. 20. 9. 11 'asperae, leves.' 'Breve,' 'short-lived,' as 'breves flores rosae,' Od. 2. 3. 13. The flowers are for garlands for the guests.

17. **putres** = 'languishing.'

18. **novo**, sc. Numida.

19. **adultero**, 'adulter vocatur quia veteres amatores ab eo excutiuntur. Cf. Od. 1. 33. 9 "turpi Pholoe peccet adultero."' Ritter.

20. Epod. 15. 5, Eur. Hec. 398 *ὁποῖα κισσὸς δρυὸς ὅπως τῆσδ' ἕξομαι*.

**lascivis**, cp. Od. 2. 2. 1–4. for the manner in which the two sides of the simile overlap. Her motives are attributed to the ivy, as well as the movements of the ivy to her. See also on 1. 35. 19 'severus uncus,' and compare Virg. Aen. 2. 626–630, where the falling tree, which is described to illustrate the fall of Troy, is itself spoken of in metaphorical terms which recall a 'warrior overthrown.'

**ambitiosior**, 'more closely clinging,' from the original sense of 'ambire,' which occurs in Ovid, Met. 2. 355, of the sisters of Phaethon being turned into trees, 'cortex . . . uterum pectusque humerosque manusque ambit.' Pliny uses 'ambitiosus' of a river in the sense of 'winding' (N. H. 5. 15).

# ODE XXXVII.

A SONG of triumph, written when the news reached Rome, in September, B.C. 30, of the death of Cleopatra and Antony (Dion 51. 19). Compare Epod. 9, which celebrates their defeat at Actium in the preceding year. We may note the absence from both Ode and Epode (see esp. on v. 13) of the name of Antonius. Octavianus has conquered not a Roman rival, but a foreign enemy: 'Senatus Cleopatrae non Antonio bellum indixerat (Dion 50. 6): de illa triumphum non de hoc decrevit (Dion 51. 19).' Ritter.

'Now is the time for merriment and thanksgiving, private and public; now, and not before, while the great queen was plotting wild schemes of destruction against Rome. Her madness was cooled at the sight of her fleet in flames. Blind panic became reasonable terror when she fled before Caesar as a dove before a hawk. Yet she was no vulgar woman. She could brave out her fortune, and look death in the face rather than adorn a Roman triumph.' As Horace paints the fierce barbaric queen, her recklessness and her fortitude, he is bringing out in stronger relief the danger from which Rome has been freed, and the glory of Octavianus, who has conquered no unworthy foe.

I have noticed (introduction to Odes i–iii. § 13) the important place assigned to this Ode, at the end of the Book. It gives Horace's second ground for acquiescing in the supremacy of Octavianus. The alternative, as time went on, had been seen to be not a restoration of the Republican constitution as Brutus conceived it, but (as a choice of masters) Antony with Cleopatra and an orientalized court. See also additional note to Od. 3. 3.

The opening of the Ode was doubtless modelled on the Ode of Alcaeus upon the death of Myrsilus (Fr. 20, Bergk), of which we have two lines preserved in Athen. x. p. 430, A:—

νῦν χρὴ μεθύσθην καί τινα πρὸς βίαν
πίνην, ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος.

NUNC est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
Ornare pulvinar deorum
Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.

1. **libero**, all restraint on our joy is removed. For dancing as an expression of joy see Od. 1. 36. 12; for the expression, 'pulsanda tellus,' Od. 1. 4. 7; 'quatiunt terram,' 3. 18. 15; 'pepulisse ter pede terram.'

2. **Saliaribus**, 1. 36. 12, 'fit for the Salii,' as 2. 14. 28 'mero Pontificum potiore cenis'; 'in proverbio erat Saliares cenas dicere opiparas et copiosas.' Acr.

3. **ornare pulvinar**, Dict. Ant. s. vv. 'supplicatio,' 'lectisternium,' Liv. 5. 13.

4. **tempus erat**, 'we were right to wait; this was the time.' In such uses of the imperfect there is always reference to some past thought, though the relation of the thought to the leading state-

Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum
Cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas
Funus et imperio parabat
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
Sperare fortunaque dulci
Ebria. Sed minuit furorem
Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus,
Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico

ment may vary. (1) 'It is, all the time, though we did not think so.' This is the Greek use of *ἄρ' ἦν*. *πόθος καὶ κακῶν ἄρ' ἦν τις*, Soph. O.C. 1697; so Od. 1. 27. 19 'quanta laborabas Charybdi'; so also negatively A. P. 19 'sed non nunc erat his locus.' (2) 'It is as we thought truly,' as here. (3) 'So we thought, but experience shows it is not so': this is the use in the passages of Ovid often quoted to illustrate this place: Trist. 4. 8. 5 'Nunc erat ut posito deberem fine laborum Vivere'; and ib. 24 'Me quoque donari iam rude tempus erat.' This, again, is like the Greek use of *ἐβουλόμην*, *ἐχρῆν*, of impossible wishes, and duties that will not be fulfilled. It should be said that the imperfect has been taken here in a simpler sense by Orelli, as rebuking the tardiness of the preparations, 'dudum oportebat'; *ὥρα δ' ἦν πάλαι*, Arist. Eccl. 877. This, however, weakens the antithesis, 'nunc ... antehac.'

5. **antehac**, a dissyllable, as 'anteit,' Od. 1. 35. 37.

**Caecubum**, 1. 20. 9; Epod. 9. 1 'repostum Caecubum in festas dapes.'

6. **cellis avitis**, the bins which our grandsires filled; so it is the oldest as well as the choicest wine reserved for such an occasion.

**Capitolio**, the symbol of Rome's eternal empire, 'Capitoli immobile saxum.' Cp. Od. 3. 3. 42, 3. 5. 12.

7. **regina**. The title 'regina' would be doubly odious to Roman ears. Cp. Od. 3. 5. 9 'sub rege Medo,' and Epod. 9. 12 'emancipatus feminae.' Orelli notes that coins of Cleopatra's have been found with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ, and coins of Antony's with the inscription 'Cleopatrae Reginae Regum Filiorum Regum.'

**dementes ruinas**, the epithet transferred from the person to her purpose. Cp. 1. 3. 40 'iracunda fulmina.'

8. **funus**, so Cic. Prov. Cons. 19. 45 'casum illum meum funus esse reipublicae.'

**imperio**, see on 1. 2. 26.

9. 'With her polluted crew of shamed creatures.' The ref. of 'morbo' and of the ironical 'virorum,' is to the Eunuchs, the shameful appendage of an oriental court. Cf. Epod. 9. 15.

10. **quidlibet impotens sperare**, App. 2, § 2, with no self-restraint in the audacity of her dreaming; 'impotens' is a translation of *ἀκράτης*.

12. **ebria**, 'drunken with the sweet draught of fortune.' Dem. Phil. 1. p. 54 *οἶμαι ἐκεῖνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων*.

13. **vix una sospes**. For the construction cp. 2. 4. 10 'ademptus Hector Tradidit . . . Pergama Graiis.' Horace, in the desire to omit Antony's name, does not distinguish his fleet, which was totally destroyed, from that of Cleopatra, which fled without striking a blow.

14. **lymphatam**, 'panic-stricken.' Properly = *νυμφόπληκτον*, panic terrors being attributed to the agency, amongst other deities, of the Nymphs; but the word, like *panic* itself, is generalized. Here the effect is attributed to her revels with Antony and the deep draughts of Egyptian wine, for Bacchus too is the author of such empty fears: cp. Eur. Bacch. 303 foll. *στρατὸν γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντα κἀπὶ τάξεσι | φόβος διεπτόησε πρὶν λόγχης θιγεῖν· | μανία δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ Διονύσου πάρα*. It is opposed to 'veros timores,' 'the fears of soberness.'

**Mareotico**, a sweet wine from Marea, a town of the Delta, mentioned but not characterized by Virg. G. 2. 91.

Redegit in veros timores
Caesar, ab Italia volantem
Remis adurgens, accipiter velut
Molles columbas aut leporem citus
Venator in campis nivalis
Haemoniae, daret ut catenis
Fatale monstrum: quae generosius
Perire quaerens nec muliebriter
Expavit ensem nec latentes
Classe cita reparavit oras;
Ausa et iacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno, fortis et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,
Deliberata morte ferocior,
Saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens

16. **ab Italia**, not that she had reached Italy, but that it was the object of the ambitious schemes broken down at Actium. A few of Octavianus' ships seem to have pursued Cleopatra for a short way, but she escaped safely to Alexandria. Horace marks no interval between this and the autumn of the following year, when Octavianus followed, to put a close to the war at Alexandria, and Antony and Cleopatra escaped his hands by a voluntary death.

20. **Haemoniae**, poetical name of Thessaly, mythically derived from Haemon, the father of Thessalus. The epithet probably only implies 'in winter,' the appropriate time for hunting. Sat. 2. 3. 234.

21. **monstrum: quae**, a common constructio ad sensum. Cicero calls Catiline 'monstrum,' Cat. 2. 1; Lucan calls Cleopatra 'Latii feralis Erinnys,' 10. 59.

22. **nec . . . ensem**. According to Plutarch (Ant. 79) she attempted to stab herself on the approach of Proculeius, Augustus' emissary, but was prevented. The next line and a half have reference perhaps to a plan which, on the same authority (ib. 69), she is said to have entertained of carrying her fleet across the isthmus, and escaping down the Red Sea.

24. **reparavit**, a word of doubtful sense, but found in all the MSS. and interpreted by the Schol. Porph. took it as a pregnant expression = 'ad latentes oras fugit ut vires inde repararet.' It may mean no more than 'found some fresh land out of the way of Caesar's vengeance.' It may also mean (see on 1. 31. 12) 'purchased,' 'used her fleet to win for herself,' and there may be in it a more or less conscious remembrance of the Greek uses of *ἀμείβειν* and *ἀλλάττειν*, for 'to go to' some new place. Bentley proposed 'penetravit,' and there have been many other conjectures, some of them astounding ones, as 'citare paravit,' 'ire paravit,' &c.

25. **ausa et . . . fortis et**. There is no verb understood. These are the grounds of the foregoing statements, the infinitive following 'fortis,' as in 1. 1. 18, &c.

**iacentem**, metaphorical = 'afflictam ac desolatam,' Orelli. Bentley, at the suggestion of one MS., would read 'tacentem.'

26. **asperas**, 1. 23. 9.

28. **combiberet**, 'drink the full draught.' The story of her death by the bite of an asp was, according to Dion (51. 14), due to conjecture. Some *κεντήματα λεπτά* were found on her arm, which were attributed by some to the bite of an asp, by some to a poisoned needle. Suetonius also (Oct. 17) only says 'putabatur.'

29. **deliberata**, in the sense of Cicero's 'certe statuere ac deliberare,' Verr. 2. 1. 1.

30. **Liburnis**, dative. Their will,

Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

which she grudged them, is expressed in the infinitive clause. For the Liburnian galleys see on Epod. 1. 1.

31. **privata**, 'unqueened.' The nominative is after the Greek idiom. Porph. and Acr. quote Livy for the statement that Cleopatra 'cum de industria ab Augusto in captivitate indulgentius tractaretur identidem dicere solitam fuisse οὐ θριαμβεύσομαι.'

---

# ODE XXXVIII.

A SLIGHT Ode, expressive of the modest avoidance of pomp and luxury which Horace professes and recommends.

For the meaning of its position at the end of the book, and immediately after the Ode on Cleopatra's death, cp. the position of Od. 3. 7, and see Introduction to Odes i–iii, § 12 and notes on 2. 1. 37, 3. 3. 69, 3. 5. 55.

PERSICOS odi, puer, apparatus,
Displicent nexae philyra coronae;
Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
Sera moretur.
Simplici myrto nihil allabores
Sedulus curo: neque te ministrum
Dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta
Vite bibentem.

1. **Persicos**, of oriental luxury. Ritter quotes Tac. Ann. 2. 57 'Vox quoque eius [sc. Pisonis] audita est in convivio, cum apud regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magno pondere Caesari et Agrippinae, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur principis Romani non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari; abiecitque simul coronam et multa in luxum addidit.'

2. **nexae philyra**. φιλύρα was the Greek name of the lime tree, Lat. 'tilia'; but it is used in Latin for the fibrous inner bark of that tree (Herod. 4. 67), which was employed, amongst other purposes, in making garlands (Plin. N. H. 16. 25. 14). Ovid calls such garlands 'sutiles,' Fast. 5. 335.

3. **quo**. Mr. Shilleto (on Thuc. 1. 89) explains this as an instance of attraction and absorption of the antecedent, 'quo' = 'eo ubi,' comparing Ter. Adelph. 2. 1. 36 'illuc redi quo occepisti.' It is perhaps better to take 'sectari' as only a picturesque substitute for 'quaerere' and admitting the same construction, and 'quo locorum' as = 'quo loco.' Cicero has 'quo loci'; see Forc. s. v.

4. **sera**, the time would seem to be autumn.

5. **allabores**, a word peculiar to Horace = 'laborando addas.'

6. **curo**. Bentley conjectures 'cura' (imperative), thinking 'curo' not a sufficiently peremptory way of expressing a wish to a slave 'ni Saturnalia tunc agebantur.' But the negative really qualifies it, so that it = 'non curo quicquam sedulus allabores.'

7. **arta**, not allowed to throw its arms abroad, but tied close over a trellis, or otherwise, so as to give shade.

# LIBER SECUNDUS.

---

## ODE I.

'POLLIO is writing the tale of the civil wars, a difficult and delicate task. We can afford to let even his tragedies wait awhile, till the great and brave orator of the forum and the senate, and the conqueror of Illyria, has given us his history. In our eagerness we seem already to hear the trumpets and see the flashing armour, to hear him reading to us of the fall of chieftains and the conquest of all the world save Cato's stubborn soul. Ay, Jugurtha is avenged now! What land or sea is not red with the blood of our fratricidal wars? But stay, my Muse, these are no themes for you.'

There is nothing to fix the date of the Ode. The expressions of the two first stanzas, 'nondum expiatis,' 'cineri doloso,' attract it to the Odes (such as 1. 2 and 14) which dwell more on the troubles from which the State had already escaped, than on the new and peaceful order on which it had entered. Octavianus is not mentioned. Pollio had not sided with him, and had certainly been a friend of M. Antony. But the Ode expresses, as strongly as Od. 1. 2, that weariness of bloodshed which had induced men to acquiesce in the rule of one.

C. Asinius Pollio, the friend and supporter of Julius Caesar, having passed through the Consulship in B.C. 40 (Virg. E. 4), and won the honours of a triumph for his campaign against the Illyrians (ib. 8. 6–13), withdrew from public life, and, in the subsequent struggle between Antony and Octavius, remained honourably neutral. He was a magnificent patron of literature, and is famous as having established the first public library at Rome out of the spoils of his Illyrian campaign. He was also one of the most accomplished men of the age. Catullus (12. 9) speaks of him in his youth as 'leporum Disertus puer et facetiarum.' He is ranked among the great orators by Quintilian (10. 1. 113), Seneca (Epist. 100), and Tacitus (De Or. 38). His tragedies are spoken of in high terms by Virgil (E. 8. 10 'sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno') and Horace (Sat. 1. 10. 42). His history of the civil wars, from B.C. 60 to the establishment of Augustus' power, is referred to by Tacitus (Ann. 4. 34), Suetonius (Jul. 30).

We may notice the skill with which Pollio's various accomplishments are worked incidentally into the Ode.

MOTUM ex Metello consule civicum
Bellique causas et vitia et modos
Ludumque Fortunae gravesque
Principum amicitias et arma
Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
Periculosae plenum opus aleae,
Tractas et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.
Paulum severae Musa tragoediae
Desit theatris: mox ubi publicas
Res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
Insigne maestis praesidium reis
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,

1. **motum**, the stir of civil strife. Cicero's word for a tumult or rising, whether of a foreign or a domestic enemy.

**ex Metello consule**, from the consulship of Q. Caec. Metellus Celer and L. Afranius, B.C. 60, the year of the league between Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar, often called the First Triumvirate.

**civicum**, an archaic and, with the exception of the phrase 'civica corona,' almost exclusively poetical form of the more usual 'civilis.' Cp. 'hosticus' for 'hostilis,' 3. 2. 6.

2. **vitia**, 'crimes.'

**modos** = 'rationes,' its shifting phases, now on land, now on sea, &c.

3. **ludum Fortunae**, Od. 3. 29. 50, 1. 2. 37.

**graves principum amicitias**, cp. Lucan, 1. 84 'Tu causa malorum, Facta tribus dominis communis Roma, nec umquam In turbam missi feralia foedera regni. O male concordes!' &c. It must not be applied to the triumvirate of Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus, of which Horace would not speak in such terms.

5. **nondum expiatis**, Od. 1. 2. 29.

**uncta**, Epod. 5. 19.

**cruoribus**, plural of quantity, Od. 2. 14. 25, Virg. Aen. 4. 687.

6. **aleae**, of hazards which no prudence can foresee. Horace's object is not to discourage Pollio, but to exalt the value of the difficult task which he is performing.

7. **ignes . . doloso**, metaphorical, of any dangerous business. Callim. 46. 2 πῦρ ὑπὸ τῇ σποδιῇ, Prop. 1. 5. 5 'ignotos vestigia ferre per ignes.'

9. **severae**, solemn. stately. Cp. Aristotle's epithets of Tragedy and its subjects, σπουδαῖος, σεμνός.

11. **ordinaris**, after the Greek συντάττειν, of composition. This is the Scholiast's interpretation; but before Bentley the other commentators took it to mean, according to a common poetical figure, 'tell of the settlement of the State.' Orelli's objection to this seems to be forcible, that it would imply Pollio's approval of Augustus' policy more distinctly than Horace appears to intend.

12. **Cecropio cothurno**. For the abl. cp. v. 16 'Delmatico triumpho,' and 2. 7. 16 'fretis aestuosis,' and see on 1. 6. 2 and 3. 5. 5. The relation is of the nature of those classed together as the 'ablative absolute'; i. e. the adjective is predicative, and it is not the substantive alone, but the substantive and adjective together which constitute the circumstance which justifies or limits the main statement. Pollio's occupation is a 'lofty calling,' because the 'buskin' which he wears is that of the Attic stage.

14. **consulenti**, absol. 'in its counsels.' Like 'maestis,' it describes the time at which Pollio's services would be most needed.

**Pollio**. There seems to be force in the reservation of Pollio's name for this

Cui laurus aeternos honores
  Delmatico peperit triumpho.
Iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
Perstringis aures, iam litui strepunt,
  Iam fulgor armorum fugaces
    Terret equos equitumque vultus.
Audire magnos iam videor duces
Non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
  Et cuncta terrarum subacta
    Praeter atrocem animum Catonis.
Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
Afris inulta cesserat impotens

place, when our interest has been roused for the forthcoming history, 'the history written,' Horace would say, 'not by a bystander, but by the great orator, statesman, warrior.' Compare a more evident instance of art in the collocation of a name, in the conclusion of Od. 1. 2.

**curiae**, 'the senate.' Cp. Od. 3. 5. 7.

16. **Delmatico**, Virg. E. 8. 6 foll. Pollio was sent by Antony against the Parthini, an Illyrian tribe who had espoused the cause of Brutus and Cassius. He defeated them, and took their chief town, Salonae. For the ablative see above on v. 12.

19. **fugaces**, pred. 'scares them till they would fain fly.'

20. **equitum vultus**, compare with Dill$^{r}$. Plutarch Caes. 45 (in the account of the battle of Pharsalia) *οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο τῶν ὑσσῶν ἀναφερομένων οὐδ' ἐτόλμων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν σίδηρον ὁρῶντες, ἀλλ' ἀπεστρέφοντο καὶ συνεκαλύπτοντο φειδόμενοι τῶν προσώπων.*

21. **audire . . . duces**, 'to hear you reading of chiefs,' &c. Ritter, Orelli, and Dill$^{r}$. take it of hearing the voices of the chiefs haranguing or giving command in the battle. Both interpretations are as old as Acron. The latter would suit better with the preceding stanza; but there would be a harsh zeugma in the use of 'audire,' which, with 'cuncta terrarum subacta,' must mean 'to hear of'; and although 'non indecoro pulvere sordidos' may refer only to the dust and heat of battle (Od. 1. 6. 14 'pulvere Troico Nigrum Merionen'), not to biting the ground in death, yet if 'audire' means 'to hear them speaking,' we should certainly have expected an epithet for 'duces,' which should appeal to the ear rather than to the eye. Bentley felt this difficulty, and wished to read, in despite of the MSS., 'videre.' The *point*, which Orelli desiderates in our interpretation of the verse, is possibly given by the fact (recorded by the elder Seneca, Controv. 4 Praef.), that 'recitation' by an author of his compositions, was a novel practice introduced by Pollio himself.

23. **cuncta terrarum**, Od. 4. 4. 76 'acuta belli'; 4. 12. 19 'amara curarum'; Madv. § 284. obs. 3 n.

**subacta**, sc. a Caesare.

24. **atrocem**, 'stubborn.' Silius, 6. 378, of Regulus, 'Atrox illa fides.'

**Catonis**, Od. 1. 12. 35 'Catonis nobile letum.' The mention of Cato's death, and the final overthrow of the Pompeians at Thapsus, suggest the thought that Jugurtha is avenged in the Roman blood shed on African soil. Similarly, and perhaps with remembrance of this passage, Lucan 4. 788 foll. 'Excitet invisas dirae Carthaginis umbras Inferiis Fortuna novis: ferat ista cruentus Hannibal et Poeni tam dira piacula Manes.' Orelli reminds us that the impression which Jugurtha's cruel death (see on Od. 2. 13. 18) had made on the Romans, had been revived by Sallust's history.

25. **Iuno**, Virg. Aen. 1. 15. The Roman poets represent Juno as a special patroness of Africa, identifying her with the Phoenician goddess Astarte.

26. **cesserat**. So Virgil of the gods of the conquered city, Aen. 2. 351 'Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis Di

Tellure victorum nepotes
Rettulit inferias Iugurthae.
Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
Campus sepulcris impia proelia
Testatur auditumque Medis
Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?
Qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
Ignara belli? Quod mare Dauniae
Non decoloravere caedes?
Quae caret ora cruore nostro?
Sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis
Ceae retractes munera neniae,
Mecum Dionaeo sub antro
Quaere modos leviore plectro.

quibus imperium hoc steterat.' Cp. the story of the destruction of Jerusalem, Tac. Hist. 5. 13 'Exapertae repente delubri fores, et audita maior humana vox, excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium.'

**impotens**, powerless to save their land from Rome.

29. **pinguior**, Virg. G. 1. 491 'sanguine nostro Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.'

30. **sepulcris**, the barrows that marked battlefields (ib. 493-497).

31. **auditumque Medis.** There seem to be two ideas conveyed; one of the mighty crash of the empire in the West heard in the extreme East, the other of the shame that barbarians should witness the catastrophe of Rome. Cp. Od. 3. 5. 39.

34. **Dauniae**, 'Apulian' for 'Roman.' See on Od. 1. 22. 14 and 3. 5. 9.

37-40. Cp. 1. 6. 17 foll., 3. 3. 69, 3. 5. 55, Introd. to Books i-iii, § 12.

37. **ne . . . retractes . . . quaere.** For the construction see on 1. 33. 1.

38. **retractes**, take up the task which Simonides of Ceos (cp. 4. 9. 7) left unfinished.

**munera**, as 'grande munus,' supr. v. 11.

**neniae**, θρήνου, 'maestius lacrymis Simonideis,' Catull. 38. 8.

39. **Dionaeo**, the grot of Venus, where the songs will be of love; so called from Dione, Venus' mother. Virg. E. 9. 47 'Dionaei Caesaris.'

40. **leviore plectro**, opposed to Od. 4. 2. 33 'maiore plectro.' Cp. 2. 13. 26 (of Alcaeus' style) 'aureo plectro'; Ov. Met. 10. 150 'cecini plectro graviore gigantas, nunc opus est leviore lyra.' The 'plectrum' was a little bar, usually of gold or ivory, with which the player touched the strings of the lyre.

# ODE II.

'WEALTH has no value save to use well: used as Proculeius used it, it wins immortal fame. To tame the spirit of avarice is more than to own the world. Avarice is like the thirst of dropsy, which grows by indulgence. Virtue calls him alone happy, him alone the true king, who has subdued the love of money.'

That the Ode is addressed to Sallustius is enough to show that there could be no danger of the world's applying its doctrine to him.

The little we know of him is chiefly derived from Tacitus, Ann. 3. 30, where his death in A.D. 20 is recorded: 'Crispum, equestri loco, C. Sallustius rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor, sororis nepotem, in nomen adscivit. Atque ille quanquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Maecenatem aemulatus, sine dignitate senatoria multos triumphalium consulariumque potentia anteiit, diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et munditias copiaque et affluentia luxu propior. Suberat tamen vigor animi negotiis par, eo acrior quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat. Igitur incolumi Maecenate proximus, mox praecipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur, et interficiendi Postumi Agrippae conscius, aetate provecta speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit.' Pliny (N. H. 34. 2) mentions that the Sallust family possessed copper mines in the Tarentaise ('Centronum tractu'), and it has been suggested that this gave a special point to the first stanza, 'As you know from your experience of ore.' The true person of the Ode, however, is Proculeius, the example of the right use of wealth—and he (see note on vv. 5-8) was the brother-in-law of Maecenas and the friend of the Emperor—so that the Ode becomes a compliment to them.

NULLUS argento color est avaris  
Abdito terris, inimice lamnae  
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato  
Splendeat usu.

1-4. 'As silver has no brightness while it is still in the mine, so wealth only acquires its value by the uses it is put to.' In the first line and a half we have the allegory, its application helped by the epithet 'avaris,' which suggests the miser's hoards as the parallel for the useless ore; in the remainder of the stanza we have the application, but still clothed, with the exception of 'temperato,' in terms metaphorical, taken from the allegory ('lamnae,' 'splendeat'). See notes on 1. 35. 19, 4. 2. 5-8, 4. 4. 59.

2. **abdito terris**, as Od. 3. 3. 49 'aurum irrepertum . . . cum terra celat.' Much of the force of the stanza is lost if we take it with the Scholiast of the miser's treasure, 'qui defosso incubat auro,' Sat. 1. 1. 41.

**lamnae**, the unwrought bar into which the ore was first run. Bentley pointed out that the construction is 'inimice lamnae nisi splendeat,' not as it had been strangely taken, 'nullus argento color est nisi splendeat.' For the syncopated form see on Od. 1. 36. 8.

3. **Crispe Sallusti.** For this inversion of the family and the gentile name cp. 'Hirpine Quinti,' Od. 2. 11. 2; 'Fuscus Aristius,' Sat. 1. 9. 61. In A. P. 371 there is an inversion of 'nomen' and 'praenomen,' 'Cascellius Aulus.' Such change of order, where the full names are not formally given, is found in Cicero occasionally, chiefly in the Letters, but see de Senect. 14. 48 'Turpione Ambivio.' It becomes common in the later writers.

4. **usu** seems to apply primarily to the brightening of genuine metal by handling (λάμπει γὰρ ἐν χρείαισιν ὥσπερ ἐκπρεπὴς χάλκος, Soph. Fr. 742, quoted

Vivet extento Proculeius aevo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni;
Illum aget penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes.
Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis

by Ritter); secondarily and metaphorically, to the right use of money. In the epithet 'temperato,' on the contrary, the moral sense is the predominant one.

5-8. An instance of the wisely directed use of which he speaks. Acron's note is, 'Proculeius qui pius sic erga fratres suos Scipionem et Murenam fuit ut cum spoliatis bello civili patrimonium suum de integro divideret,' in which 'Scipionem' has been ingeniously altered by Estré to 'Caepionem,' the name of the person who suffered with Murena for a conspiracy against Augustus in B.C. 22. There is no reason, however, from any other authority, to suppose that the two were brothers. It may perhaps be doubted whether Horace's words necessarily imply that Proculeius had more than one brother: the plural generalizes. That he was the brother (or cousin, for this doubt always besets the words 'frater' and ἀδελφός) of Murena (Od. 3. 19. 11, Sat. 1. 5. 38), the 'Licinius' of Od. 2. 10, and the brother of Maecenas' wife Terentia, we know from Dion 54. 3. Proculeius was high in Augustus' favour; so much so, that he is named as one of the persons to whom at different times the emperor had thought of marrying his daughter Julia (Tac. Ann. 4. 40). Juvenal (7. 94) couples him with Maecenas as a patron of literature.

5. **vivet extento aevo**, 'shall live beyond the term of life.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 10. 468 'breve et irreparabile tempus Omnibus est vitae; sed famam extendere factis Hoc virtutis opus.'

6. **notus animi**, im. by Statius Theb. 2. 274 'noti operum.' The Greek gen. of relation avoids the awkwardness of a preposition, 'notus propter' or 'ob.' With 'in fratres paterni' cp. Od. 4. 4. 27 'paternus In pueros animus Nerones.' Cp. also Cic. Rosc. Am. 16 'animus patrius in liberos.'

7. **aget**, 'will carry on his way,' will not allow him to fail, as he 'volitat vivus per ora virum.' The weight of MS. testimony and Acr., though not Porph., are in favour of the future as against 'agit,' and it is preferable also as suiting better with 'vivet,' and as not implying, what there is no reason otherwise to suppose, that Proculeius was dead at this time.

**metuente solvi**, 'that dare not droop,' 'is shy of drooping.' Od. 3. 11. 10, 4. 5. 20. Virgil had the expression first, G. 1. 246 'Arctos metuentes aequore tingi.'

**solvi**, like Virgil's 'solvi membra,' λύεσθαι; or possibly, as Ritter suggests, with a remembrance of Icarus' fate, whose wings were fastened with wax and melted in the sun. Cp. in a similar metaphorical description of posthumous fame, 'Daedaleo notior Icaro,' Od. 2. 20. 13.

9. **latius regnes**. In the following stanzas Horace is thinking of the Stoic paradox, that the wise man is king. Cp. Sat. 1. 3. 125, 136, Epp. 1. 1. 107, &c., Sen. Thyest. 334 foll. 'Regem non faciunt opes,' &c.

10-12. 'Than if your property stretched into the far South and West, so as to unite in one sway Carthage and its Spanish colonies.' Gades was one of these: see Cic. pro Balbo 14, Liv. 28. 87. The expression should be compared with Od. 3. 16. 31, 41 'Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae,' 'Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei Campis continuem.' Horace is not speaking in either case of proconsulships, but of the 'latifundia' (see on Od. 1. 1. 9), which were one of the favourite means of investing and acquiring wealth. Seneca expands this as other Horatian metaphors, Epp. 89 'Hoc quoque parvum est nisi latifundiis vestris maria cinxistis: nisi trans Hadriam et Ionium Aegaeumque vester villicus regnet . . . sit fundus quod aliquando imperium vocabatur.' In both passages of Horace the metaphor of royalty is suggested by the context—here by 'latius regnes' and the allusion to Phraates, in 3. 16 by 'dominus splendidior' and 'vectigalia.'

Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
Serviat uni.
Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
Nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
Fugerit venis et aquosus albo
Corpore languor.
Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten
Dissidens plebi numero beatorum
Eximit Virtus, populumque falsis
Dedocet uti
Vocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
Deferens uni propriamque laurum,
Quisquis ingentes oculo inretorto
Spectat acervos.

11. **et**, 'and so.' Dill[r]. draws attention to the consecutive force of 'et,' as almost equal to 'ita ut.' Cp. 1. 3. 8, 4. 13. 10.

13. **indulgens sibi**, 'by indulging itself,' i.e. its own feverish thirst.

**hydrops**, 'the dropsy.' It is properly the subject of 'crescit,' but it is made also the subject of 'indulgens' and 'pellit,' the actions of the sick man being attributed to his malady.

14. **nec sitim .. languor**, 'drinking increases the disease; it cannot quench the thirst till the malady which causes the thirst is gone, and with it the other symptoms.' The application of the analogy is evident. Cp. 3. 16. 17 'Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam. Maiorumque fames.' Ovid reproduces the comparison, Fast. 1. 212 'quum possideant plurima plura petunt: Sic quibus intumuit suffusa venter ab unda Quo plus sunt potae plus sitiuntur aquae.'

**nisi .. venis**. They speak of drinking as though it immediately filled the veins, Sat. 2. 4. 25 'vacuis committere venis Nil nisi lene decet'; of thirst as though it were felt in the veins, Virg. G. 3. 482 'venis omnibus acta sitis.' So the meaning is, 'no pouring into the veins will cure the thirst; there is something that must be got rid of out of them—some inner malady in the recesses of the body.'

15. **aquosus languor**, 'the faintness caused by the water.'

17. **redditum Cyri solio**, cp. 3. 29. 27 'regnata Cyro Bactra.' It is the most distinct enunciation of that identity of the Parthian with the Persian monarchy which Horace assumes elsewhere. See on Od. 1. 2. 22. For the historical event referred to see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 8.

19. **Virtus**, the personified judgment of a virtuous man, as in Sat. 1. 3. 42. Horace is thinking, as so often, of the Stoic 'paradoxes,' that the wise man is king, and that only the wise man is rich. Epp. 1. 1. 106.

20. **dedocet**, 'would fain unteach the people to use names falsely.'

21, 22. **tutum, propriam**, predicative, a diadem and a laurel crown that cannot be taken away again. Cp. 3. 2. 17–20.

23. **oculo inretorto**, 'who can see huge treasure-heaps, and never turn to look again.'

24. **acervos**, more fully in Epp. 1. 2. 47 'aeris acervus et auri.'

# ODE III.

'LET the thought of death moderate both repining in trouble and exultation in prosperity. Enjoy yourself while you may, for death is at hand, for rich and noble as well as for poor and humbly born.'

Some little doubt hangs over the name of the person to whom these counsels of Epicureanism are addressed. The old Blandinian MS. gave it as 'Gellius.' Cruquius identifies him with L. Gellius Publicola, the brother (half brother through their mother Polla, or brother by adoption, according to different theories) of Messalla (Od. 3. 21. 7), and consul B.C. 36.

Dellius (as the other good MSS. and the MSS. of Acr. and Porph. write the name) would no doubt be Q. Dellius, who had changed sides so often that Messalla is said to have nicknamed him 'Desultor bellorum civilium.' Kiessling points out that Seneca (de Clem. 1. 10) ranks him with Sallustius as among the first to reconcile themselves to Augustus.

It is worth noting, as an illustration of Horace's way of placing his poems, that this Epicurean Ode follows the Stoicism of the preceding one, just as the Epp. 1. 16, in which he preaches Stoic morality, stands between 1. 15, in which he likens himself to the Epicurean Maenius, and 1. 17, in which he gives cynical advice to Scaeva. Cp. the sequence of the tenth and eleventh Odes of this book.

AEQUAM memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem, non secus in bonis
  Ab insolenti temperatam
    Laetitia, moriture Delli,
Seu maestus omni tempore vixeris,
Seu te in remoto gramine per dies
  Festos reclinatum bearis
    Interiore nota Falerni.

1. **aequam .. arduis.** There is probably some slight feeling of the verbal antithesis, 'when life's path is steep (ἀνάντης) let your mind at least be on a level.'

3. **insolenti,** a word of the schools: 'extravagant joy' was forbidden to a philosopher, Cic. Tusc. 5. 14. 42 'quem temperantia . . . insolenti alacritate gestire non sinat.'

5. **seu, seu,** depend on 'moriture,' 'for that thou must soon die, whether thy life has been sad or merry.' With the emphatic position of 'moriture' cp. Od. 1. 28. 6.

6. **remoto,** 'retired,' 'quiet'; cp. Epod. 2. 23–28.

**per dies festos,** 'per' might denote either 'through the entire day' as 'per brumam,' Epp. 1. 11. 19, or 'on each holiday,' as 'per exactos annos,' Od. 3. 22. 6. It is opposed to the life of unbroken sadness ('omni tempore'), and means 'miss no opportunity of merriment.'

8. **interiore nota,** the brand of the innermost, and so the earliest-filled bin. The 'amphora' itself was branded or a label was attached to it with the name of the wine and of the consul in whose year it was bottled; 'patriam titulumque,' Juv. S. 5. 33. Cp. 'nota Falerni,' Sat. 1. 10. 24.

Quo pinus ingens albaque populus
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant
Ramis? Quid obliquo laborat
Lympha fugax trepidare rivo?
Huc vina et unguenta et nimium breves
Flores amoenae ferre iube rosae,
Dum res et aetas et sororum
Fila trium patiuntur atra.
Cedes coëmptis saltibus et domo
Villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit,

9–11. **quo . . quid**, 'to what purpose? why?' 'to what purpose but that you may make merry in the shade?' For 'quo' the Edd. compare Virg. E. 6. 23 'Quo vincula nectitis?' For the change of conjunction Ov. Met. 13. 516 'Quo ferrea resto? quidve moror?' This is the reading of the best MSS., including V and B; but there are some signs of disturbance in the MSS., and there is not Horace's full point in the rhetorical questions. Relative local adverbs to match 'huc' in v. 13, are more what we should look for. A good many MSS. offer 'quo'—'quo,' which might be taken in that way, 'hither, to the spot whither the boughs stretch out and the stream hurries down.' The Schol. in the second clause read some word which they took to mean 'why?' for they annotate 'subaudiendum, si ea non utimur'; but they may have been interpreting 'quo,' and it may be the fact that 'quo' admitted of this interpretation which led to its corruption to 'quid.' But 'quo' is metrically indefensible, in spite of Epod. 5. 100, and 'quo et' the only possible alternative offered by MSS. has the air of an emendation.

9. **alba**, as 'candida populus,' Virg. E. 9. 41. The double contrast between the slighter poplar white in the wind and the gloom of the heavier pine is indicated, after Horace's manner, by one epithet with each of the pair of substantives, see on 3. 4. 46, 47, 3. 13. 7, 4. 4. 10. For his notice of colour cp. Od. 1. 21. 7, 8 'Nigris aut Erymanthi Silvis aut viridis Cragi'; 1. 25. 17, 18 'hedera virente . . pulla myrto.'

10. **hospitalem**, Virg. G. 4. 24 'Obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbos.'

**amant**, rather on account of the charm of the place or for the pleasure of shading the revellers, than (as Orelli takes it) as though the boughs themselves were lovers, after the image of 'lascivae hederae,' 1. 36. 20. 'Amare' is used by Horace and other Graecising Latin writers in imitation of φιλεῖν, but it rarely, if ever, attains the colourless or unconsciously idiomatic force of the original.

11. **laborat trepidare**, App. 2, § 1, 'frets in its haste to escape down its tortuous channel.' Contrast the water which (Epp. 1. 10. 21) 'per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum.'

13. **breves**, Od. 1. 36. 16 'breve lilium.' Here the epithet is in point, for the roses are types of the pleasures of life that must be snatched quickly, so that it has the force of 'ere they be withered.'

15. **res**, 'patrimonium,' Schol. Probably so, rather than with Orelli, 'tota vitae conditio.' There is no fear, Orelli says, that Dellius' fortune should prove inadequate. But he may lose it, and, at any rate, it is only his for a short time, 'Cedet coëmptis saltibus.'

**aetas**, Od. 1. 9. 17 'donec virenti canities abest Morosa.' The three conditions are summed up in 2. 11. 16 'dum licet.'

17. **coëmptis saltibus**, Epp. 2. 2. 177 'Calabris Saltibus adiecti Lucani.' They are pasture grounds; see on Od. 1. 31. 5, and cp. 2. 16. 33.

**domo**, the city house, opp. to 'villa,' the house in the country or suburbs.

18. **flavus**, the habitual epithet helps the sense of use and wont, 'you must leave all you know so well.'

**lavit**. Horace prefers this, the older form, in the Odes; cp. 3. 4. 61, 3. 12. 2,

Cedes et exstructis in altum
Divitiis potietur heres.
Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho,
Nil interest, an pauper et infima
De gente sub divo moreris,
Victima nil miserantis Orci.
Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
Versatur urna serius ocius
Sors exitura et nos in aeternum
Exilium impositura cumbae.

7, 4. 6. 26. In the Epp. and Sat. he uses also the first conj., as Sat. 1. 3. 137, Epp. 1. 6. 61.

19. **exstructis in altum**, 'piled up so high,' constr. as 'ad plenum,' Od. 1. 17. 15.

21. **Inacho.** This mythical king of Argos seems to have stood as a representative of the most remote antiquity, cp. 3. 19. 1 'Quantum distat ab Inacho Codrus.' So, of an ancient lineage, Juv. S. 8. 46 'Ast ego Cecropides.' 'It makes no difference whether you pass your little span of life as a man of wealth and mythical lineage or in poverty and humble station, seeing that you are the doomed victim of Orcus, who shows no pity to any.'

23. **sub divo**, *ὑπ' αἰθέρι*, Aesch. Eum. 373. Virgil's 'aura aetheria vesci.'

**moreris**, as though every year of life was a delaying of the natural departure.

24. **victima.** For a fuller carrying out of the metaphor see Od. 1. 28. 20 n.

25. **cogimur**, of gathering the flock to the fold, Virg. E. 3. 98, &c. Cp. Od. 1. 24. 18 'nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi.'

26. **urna**, Od. 3. 1. 16 'aequa lege Necessitas Sortitur insignes et imos; Omne capax movet urna nomen.'

28. **cumbae**, dative after 'impositura,' 'to place us on board the bark for the banishment from which none returns.' 'Cumba' is said to be the form preferred when the boat of Charon is meant.

# ODE IV.

'No need to blush, Xanthias, though you love a slave girl. Achilles had his Briseis, and Ajax his Tecmessa; even Agamemnon, the conqueror of Troy, could not withstand Cassandra. Who knows but Phyllis too is some born princess: one so constant and so indifferent to money can spring from no vulgar stock. Nay, don't suspect my praises, I am close on forty.'

We can hardly be wrong in supposing that, with the exception of her pretty face and figure, the praises of Phyllis are meant to be interpreted ironically. The mock heroic tone of the list of precedents (cp. Od. 1. 16, Introd., and Epod. 3), the 'regium certe,' and the contempt implied for her real birth, 'scelesta plebe,' might be merely playful; but considering the topics of praise, 'sic fidelem, sic lucro aversam,' there is hardly feeling enough in their expression, standing as they do between the levity of stanzas 4 and 6, to redeem the playfulness from the sting of irony.

And possibly the Ode refers to some real person, although the name be fictitious. The irony would be wasted on a shadow; and there is a definiteness both in the name of the 'Phocian' Xanthias and in the introduction of Horace's own personality (stanza 6), which is more dramatic than is usual in the purely imaginary Odes. It is undoubtedly Horace's way to add a local designation to fictitious characters: 'Cnidius Gyges,' Od. 2. 5. 20; 'Liparaei nitor Hebri,' 3. 12. 6. In some cases, as in 'Thurini Calais filius Ornyti,' 3. 9. 14, the appearance of complete identification is strongly in point, and in all the object probably was to give a greater semblance of reality. The purpose here is the less easy to imagine, from the fact that the name is addressed to Xanthias himself, not used by way of identifying him to others. If the lover of the Ode was a real person, there may of course be some play in the name, of which the point is lost to us. Orelli suggests that 'Xanthias' may be chosen to cover a Roman 'Flavius,' cp. Od. 3. 15. 11, where he thinks 'Nothus' may represent a real 'Spurius.' Ritter imagines a Greek resident in Rome, and, comparing Od. 1. 27. 10 'Megillae frater Opuntiae,' ingeniously suggests that the person there rallied is none other than Xanthias, and that the 'Phyllis' of this Ode is the 'Charybdis' of that.

The composition of the Ode is fixed by v. 24 to the end of Horace's fortieth year, B.C. 25.

NE sit ancillae tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoceu, prius insolentem

1. **Ne sit.** See on Od. 1. 33. 1.

2. **prius**, 'before you,' 'you are not the first.'

**insolentem**, according to the character assigned to him in A. P. 122 'Iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis,' so he was less likely to stoop to a slave girl. Notice the antithetical placing of the words throughout, 'insolentem serva,' 'captivae dominum,' 'fessis leviora,' 'Pergama Grais.'

Serva Briseis niveo colore
    Movit Achillem;
Movit Aiacem Telamone natum
Forma captivae dominum Tecmessae;
Arsit Atrides medio in triumpho
    Virgine rapta,
Barbarae postquam cecidere turmae
Thessalo victore et ademptus Hector
Tradidit fessis leviora tolli
    Pergama Grais.
Nescias, an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavae decorent parentes:
Regium certe genus et penates
    Maeret iniquos.
Crede non illam tibi de scelesta
Plebe dilectam, neque sic fidelem,

6. **Tecmessae.** Orelli recalls Soph. Aj. 211 *ἐπεί σε λέχος δουριάλωτον | στέρξας ἀνέχει θούριος Αἴας.* Tecmessa is unknown to Homer.

7. **arsit.** There seems to be a play in the word, 'He was fired by her as he had fired Troy'; cp. Epod. 14. 13 'si non pulchrior ignis Accendit obsessam Ilion.'

8. **rapta,** 'captive.' Hom. Il. 22. 62 *υἷάς τ' ὀλλυμένους ἑλκυσθείσας τε θύγατρας.* Compare the scene in Virg. Aen. 2. 403 foll. 'Ecce trahebatur passis Priameia Virgo Crinibus a templo Cassandra,' &c. There is an antithesis between 'medio in triumpho' and 'virgine rapta'; 'capta victorem cepit.' It is this feeling which gives its point to the next stanza. 'When the warriors had fallen and the citadel of Troy was an easy prey to its foes, then a captive maid vanquished the great conqueror.'

9. **Barbarae.** See on Epp. 1. 2. 7, and Epod. 9. 6.

10. **Thessalo,** as in Od. 1. 10. 15 'Thessalos ignes,' i.e. the watch-fires of Achilles.

**victore,** the abl. absol.; see on 1. 6. 1 and 2. 1. 12.

**ademptus Hector,** cp. 1. 37. 13 'minuit furorem Vix una sospes navis,' but the constr. which attributes the action more personally to Hector is intentionally chosen, as though by his death he was the very traitor who opened the walls of Troy to the foe. Cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 17 'Postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit.'

11. **leviora,** perhaps with a remembrance of Hom. Il. 22. 287 *καί κεν ἐλαφρότερος πόλεμος Τρώεσσι γένοιτο | σεῖο καταφθιμένοιο*: but 'leviora' and 'tolli' probably match and make one metaphor.

**fessis,** Virg. Aen. 2. 108 foll. It gives the sense of 'at last,' when the obstacles to victory had been overcome. The dative goes grammatically either with 'tradidit' or with 'leviora tolli,' in feeling with the latter; for the constr. 'leviora tolli,' see App. 2, § 2.

13. **nescias, an,** an extension of the common 'nescio an' in its Ciceronian sense, 'I am not sure, but nearly so.' 'You may be pretty sure auburn Phyllis has parents among the great,' &c.

15. **regium genus,** after 'maeret.' 'Her tears are surely for some royal ancestry and the unkindness of her home gods,' who suffered her to fall in the world.

17. **de plebe,** a tertiary predicate with 'dilectam.' 'Believe that in her thou hast not loved one from the rabble crowd.' Bentley interprets 'dilectam' as = 'selectam.' It is true that here, as often, though not always, 'diligere'

Sic lucro aversam potuisse nasci
Matre pudenda.
Bracchia et vultum teretesque suras
Integer laudo; fuge suspicari,
Cuius octavum trepidavit aetas
Claudere lustrum.

retains its force of 'to love pre-eminently,' 'to choose for love'; 'dilectam Cypron,' 'Cyprus of thy choice'; compare Od. 2. 5. 17.

21. **teretes**, 'well-turned,' 'shapely.'

23. **trepidavit**, the stream has run quickly; cp. 'curret aetas,' Od 2. 5. 13.

**octavum lustrum.** Horace's fortieth year ended on Dec. 8, B.C. 25. The 'lustrum' was properly the sacrifice performed by the censor after completing the quinquennial census. Horace recalls, but avoids the technical phrase 'condere lustrum,' Liv. 1. 44. For the inf. 'claudere' see Ap. 2, § 1.

---

## ODE V.

'LALAGE is not old enough for your advances. Let her be a child a little longer. Have patience, she will come to you by-and bye, and return the love greater than you ever gave to Pholoë or Chloris.'

'Incertum est quem alloquatur hac Ode utrum amicorum aliquem an se ipsum,' Acr. Even if it be a soliloquy, the poet may be addressing himself in an assumed character, as e.g. in Od. 3. 12. The Zürich MS. of the tenth century (τ) has the inscription 'Ad Gabinium.' The Ode has nothing either to gain or lose by being supposed to have had reference to any real persons.

The main image of the Ode is one, as Dill^r. says, 'in antiquitate usitata, a nostris moribus aliena.'

NONDUM subacta ferre iugum valet
Cervice, nondum munia comparis
Aequare nec tauri ruentis
In venerem tolerare pondus.
Circa virentes est animus tuae
Campos iuvencae, nunc fluviis gravem

2. **munia comparis aequare**, 'to match the labours of a yoke-fellow.' cp. 'ferre iugum pariter,' Od. 1. 35. 28.

5. **circa est**, 'is occupied with,' cp. the Greek phrases εἶναι περί τι, ἔχειν ἀμφί τι.

6. **fluviis**, Virg. Aen. 7. 494, 495.

Solantis aestum, nunc in udo
Ludere cum vitulis salicto
Praegestientis. Tolle cupidinem
Immitis uvae: iam tibi lividos
Distinguet Autumnus racemos
Purpureo varius colore.
Iam te sequetur: currit enim ferox
Aetas et illi, quos tibi dempserit,
Apponet annos; iam proterva
Fronte petet Lalage maritum:
Dilecta, quantum non Pholoë fugax,
Non Chloris albo sic humero nitens,

10. **immitis uvae**, *ὄμφακος*, according to the epigram (Brunck 3. 164) *ὄμφαξ οὐκ ἐπένευσας, ὅτ' ἦς σταφύλη παρεπέμψω.*

**lividos**, of the dull blue of the grapes just beginning to turn.

11, 12. **distinguet . . colore.** Is this merely the effect of Horace's collocation, 'streak the bunches with purple,' 'varius,' the epithet of autumn, 'the motley-coloured,' being placed between those words which most recall the character which the epithet expresses? or does he, while meaning 'distinguet purpureo colore,' allow 'purpureo colore' as a matter of grammar and primary sense, to go rather with 'varius' as a description of personified Autumn 'streaked with purple dyes,' like Epod. 2. 18 'decorum mitibus pomis caput Autumnus agris extulit'?

13. **ferox aetas.** 'Her time of life makes her shy, and time is flying.' To the rest of the sentence, 'aetas,' in its general sense, alone is the subj.; the epithet has no further relation to it. Cp. Od. 1. 21. 7, 8 'nigris aut Erymanthi silvis aut viridis Cragi,' and 3. 23. 15, where 'parvos' is the epithet of 'Deos,' so long as they are the obj. of 'coronantem,' not when they are the obj. of 'temptare.' Dill[r]., however, follows Mitsch. in taking 'ferox' of the flight of time, 'like an unbroken horse,' as Ov. Fast. 6. 772 'fugiunt freno non remorante dies.'

14. **dempserit, apponet**, a ground for not being impatient. 'If you are losing the years fast, she is gaining them as fast.' Each fresh year of life is a year added or a year taken away, according to our point of view. Compare the double phrase by which Horace expresses the lapse of time in Od. 3. 30. 5 'annorum series et fuga temporum.' So Seneca de Cons. ad Marc. 20 'Quo quisque primum lucem vidit iter mortis ingressus est, accessitque fato propior; et illi ipsi qui adiciebantur adolescentiae anni vita detrahebantur.' Cp. Soph. Aj. 475 *παρ' ἦμαρ ἡμέρα . . προσθεῖσα κἀναθεῖσα τοῦ γε κατθανεῖν.* To the impatient lover time seems to be robbing him of year after year, and to be making no difference to Lalage, to be 'galloping' with him while it 'crawls' or stands still with her, cp. Epp. 1. 1. 20 foll. Such expressions as A. P. 175 'anni venientes, recedentes' (cp. Od. 2. 11. 5), Soph. Trach. 547 *ὁρῶ μὲν ἥβην τὴν μὲν ἕρπουσαν πρόσω | τὴν δὲ φθίνουσαν* are not in point. They refer not to different ways of viewing the same time, but to different epochs of life. They suppose an *ἀκμή*, a definite point to which life ascends and from which it descends. Horace does not mean here to represent his lover as going down the hill of life.

15. **proterva fronte**, a return to the metaphor of stanzas 1, 2.

17. **dilecta**, sc. 'a te.' 'Lalage, whom you love with a passion you never felt for any other.' His preeminent love for Lalage is the measure both of the happiness for which he is bidden to wait and of the impatience with which he waits for it.

**Pholoë fugax**, see on Od. 1. 33. 6 'asperam Pholoën.' Her flight is one which attracts pursuit, 'fugit ad salices et se cupit ante videri.'

**non, non, ve**, cp. Od. 2. 9. 1–6 'non,' 'aut,' 'nec,' 'aut.'

Ut pura nocturno renidet
Luna mari, Cnidiusve Gyges,
Quem si puellarum insereres choro,
Mire sagaces falleret hospites
Discrimen obscurum solutis
Crinibus ambiguoque vultu.

19. **pura**, Od. 3. 29. 45 'sole puro,' free from mist or cloud.

**renidet**, in what is its first sense, 'shines again'; Od. 2. 18. 2 'aureum . . renidet lacunar'; Epod. 2. 66 'renidentes lares.'

32. **mire**, with 'falleret.'

**hospites**, strangers who came in.

---

# ODE VI.

'SEPTIMIUS, my dear friend who would accompany me to the ends of the earth, let me spend the end of my life at Tibur, or if not there, then at Tarentum. Let us go there together and live there till I die.'

Septimius has been naturally supposed to be the same person whom Horace introduces to Tiberius in Epp. 1. 9. He may also probably be the common friend of the poet and the emperor named in the letter of Augustus preserved in the Suetonian life of Horace. For the Scholiast's, probably wrong, identification of him with Titius, the Pindaric poet on Tiberius's staff, see on Epp. 1. 3. 9.

Some difficulty has always been felt as to the period in Horace's life in which he could with any propriety describe himself as 'tired of travelling and campaigning' (v. 7), and these words have been made a ground for placing the Ode at a date earlier than 31 B.C. (see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 2). Mr. A. Platt, in the Journal of Philology, No. 41, has made a suggestion which, on this and other grounds, seems very worthy of consideration. It has always been assumed that the opening of the Ode is an imitation of Catullus 11. 1 foll.

'Furi et Aureli comites Catulli
Sive in extremos penetrabit Indos
Litus ut longe resonante Eoa
Tunditur unda.'

where it will be seen that the parallelism goes to the end of the stanza. Mr. Platt points out that there are several difficulties in the way of this assumption. If it be true, it is the only instance in the Odes in which Horace imitates Catullus, whom

otherwise he markedly ignores. On the other hand, the Ode of Catullus, if naturally interpreted, has an ironical and sarcastic tone which is absent from Horace. He suggests as the solution that both Catullus and Horace are independently adapting to their own purposes a fresh original—probably a Sapphic Ode of Alcaeus. This is his explanation of 'Sit modus lasso,' &c. It is only playfully applied to Horace. It was not he but Alcaeus who sang and suffered 'dura navis, dura fugae mala, dura belli!'

SEPTIMI, Gades aditure mecum et
Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra et
Barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura semper
Aestuat unda;
Tibur Argeo positum colono
Sit meae sedes utinam senectae,
Sit modus lasso maris et viarum
Militiaeque!
Unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae,
Dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi
Flumen et regnata petam Laconi
Rura Phalantho.
Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
Angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto

1–3. **Gades .. Cantabrum .. Syrtes.** Dill^r. points out that the three places named represent distance ('remotis Gadibus,' 2. 2. 10) and danger, either of war or shipwreck. We may notice, perhaps, that they correspond also, though not in the same order, to the three things of which the poet professes to have had enough, 'maris, viarum, militiae.'

3. **barbaras Syrtes.** The coast is given a bad name not only for its dangers (see on Od. 1. 22. 6, where there is the same conjunction), but for the savageness of its inhabitants. Virg. Aen. 4. 41 'inhospita Syrtis.'

5. **Argeo,** Ἀργείῳ, as 'Lesbous' instead of the Latin form 'Lesbius,' Od. 1. 1. 34. For the historical reference see on Od. 1. 7. 13.

7. **maris et viarum,** Epp. 1. 11. 6 'odio maris atque viarum'; so 'viator' is opposed to 'navita,' Od. 3. 4. 32. The genitive seems to go both with 'lasso' (as Virg. Aen. 1. 178 'fessi rerum') and with 'modus,' see on Od. 1. 3. 6.

10. **pellitis,** Varro de R. R. 2. 2 explains this epithet, 'ovibus pellitis, quae propter lanae bonitatem ut sunt Tarentinae et Atticae pellibus integuntur, ne lana inquinetur.'

**ovibus,** dat. after 'dulce,' 'pleasant to the sheep.'

**Galaesi,** the 'niger Galaesus' of Virg. G. 4. 126, which flowed into the Gulf of Tarentum, a few miles from the city; see Liv. 25. 11.

11. **regnata,** Od. 3. 29. 27 'regnata Cyro Bactra'; Virg. Aen. 3. 14 'terra ... regnata Lycurgo.' The legend of Phalanthus, who headed the insurrection of the Partheniae, and after its failure was allowed to lead a colony of them to Italy, where he seized and ruled Tarentum, is gathered from Justin 3. 4, and Strabo 6. p. 278 foll.

13. **terrarum,** with 'angulus,' as 'angulus mundi,' Prop. 4. 9. 65. 'The corner of the world' gives the idea of retirement, 'secessus litus amoeni.'

14. **ridet, ubi.** For the lengthening of the short syllable see on Od. 1. 3. 36.

Mella decedunt viridique certat
Baca Venafro;
Ver ubi longum tepidasque praebet
Iuppiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
Invidet uvis.
Ille te mecum locus et beatae
Postulant arces; ibi tu calentem
Debita sparges lacrima favillam
Vatis amici.

15. **decedunt**, 'give way to,' 'are second to'; for a similar metaphor cp. Virg. G. 2. 97 'firmissima vina, Tmolus et assurgit quibus.' Cic. de Sen. 18. 63 enumerates the compliments paid to old age, 'salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi.' For the Tarentine honey cp. Od. 3. 16. 33 'Calabrae apes.'

**certat**, with the dat. as in Epod. 2. 20 'certantem uvam purpurae'; so 'pugnare,' Sat. 1. 2. 73; 'luctari,' Od. 1. 1. 15.

16. **baca**, Sat. 2. 4. 69 'Pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit olivae.' Venafrum was an inland city in the north of Campania, in the valley of the Vulturnus, and on the Via Latina. Cicero (pro Planc. 9. 22) speaks of the neighbourhood as very populous, 'tractus celeberrimus.' It is classed by Horace with Tarentum, as one of the places to which a Roman would go for a holiday, Od. 3. 5. 55.

17. **ver longum**, a mild winter and a cool summer: 'quas et mollis hyemps et frigida temperat aestas,' Stat. Silv. 3. 5. 83.

18. **amicus fertili Baccho**. This was clearly read by Statius, who writes, Silv. 1. 2, 'Qua Bromio dilectus ager collesque per altos Uritur et prelis non invidet uva Falernis.' Bentley is displeased at the epithet 'fertili,' and accepting the reading 'fertilis,' which is found in several good MSS., and in Servius, on Virg. Aen. 3. 553, alters 'amicus' to 'apricus.' But for 'fertili' = 'the giver of fertility,' cp. Ov. Met. 5. 642 'dea fertilis' of Ceres.

**Aulon**, 'felix vitibus Aulon,' Mart. 13. 125. 1; 'mons Calabriae,' Acr. The name, which is a common one, suggests rather a hollow between hills. It is perhaps preserved in the name 'Melone,' still given to a slope near the seashore, about eight miles south-east of Tarentum, Dict. Geog.

19. **minimum invidet**, 'invidet enim tantum qui inferior est,' Porph.

21. **beatae**, in the same sense as 'beata arva,' Epod. 16. 41, = 'fortunatae.'

22. **arces**, not (my friend, the Italian patriot and scholar, the late Sir James Lacaita impressed upon me) 'heights,' as Orelli and others, for the coast at Tarentum is flat; and in truth 'arx' is not used for 'a height' without a conscious reference to its use for defence. Here it is possibly of the towers of Tarentum, but in any case it is intended to suggest also the idea of a 'safe retreat,' a fortress that care cannot storm. Cp. his metaphor for his Sabine farm, 'ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,' Sat. 2. 6. 16, and possibly the same idea in 'igneae arces,' Od. 3. 3. 10. It was the occurrence of the word in this passage probably that suggested the false reading 'Aulonisque arces' for 'Caulonis' in Virg. Aen. 3. 553.

**ibi**, emphatic, repeating 'ille,' as 'tu . . . amici' repeats 'te mecum.' 'There *we* will live and there *I* will die.' 'Eleganti figura Septimium sibi superstitem fingit,' Porph.

**calentem . . . favillam**, of the solemn weeping at the pyre before the ashes were extinguished by the pouring of wine, 'adhuc vivente favilla,' Stat. Silv. 2. 1. 2. Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 212–218, 11. 184–194, especially v. 191, and Tib. 3. 3, especially v. 25.

# ODE VII.

'WHAT, Pompeius at home again safe in limb and rights! Pompeius who shared with me the dangers and the snatched pleasures of the campaign under Brutus. After Philippi we separated. Mercury carried me off in safety, you were swept back again into the war. Surely you owe Jove a feast of thanksgiving. My lawn shall be the scene of the revel. Who would think of sobriety when a lost friend is found?'

'Ad Pompeium Varum,' Acr.; and so the Ode is inscribed in the oldest MSS. Nothing is known of Pompeius. He has been by some editors wrongly identified with Pompeius Grosphus, the rich owner of pastures in Sicily, Epp. 1. 12. 21, Od. 2. 16.

At what point of the civil war Pompeius abandoned it and availed himself of an offered amnesty, or what interval had elapsed since then, there is no indication. Horace writes as if he had heard nothing of his old friend for some years, and he has by this time a lawn of his own on which he can entertain a guest. The name of Pompeius suggests that he may have followed, after the battle of Philippi, the fortunes of Sextus Pompeius, who maintained the war by sea against the Triumvirs till the year B.C. 35.

I have noticed (Introd. to Odes i–iii. § 13) that Horace chooses this place in the middle of the Book which is the least political for the reminiscence of his boyish indiscretion and for his tribute to a lost cause.

O SAEPE mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte Bruto militiae duce,
Quis te redonavit Quiritem
Dis patriis Italoque caelo,

1. **tempus in ultimum**, Catull. 64. 151 'supremum tempus'; 169 'extremum tempus,' 'utmost peril.' 'Tempus' = καιρός, a crisis, time of special import.

2. **deducte . . . duce**, perhaps (as Dill[r]. and Ritter think) with a slight play on the two words, as though that were the point to which Brutus' leadership led them.

3. **quis redonavit?** merely a question of wonder, 'how came you here?' not intended to be answered by 'Maecenas' or 'Augustus.' This wonder at seeing Pompeius safe again is the thought which gives its unity to the poem. 'A god saved me, but I saw you carried back again into the stormy sea: what can have rescued you? What limits can we set to our gratitude or to our rejoicing?' 'Redonare' is a word only found in Horace, see Od. 3. 3. 33.

**Quiritem**, 'a full Roman citizen'; 'capite non deminutum.' Dill[r]., Orell., Ritter. Conington in his Translation takes it as opp. to 'miles,' 'a man of peace,' supporting it by the story of Julius Caesar reducing the mutinous 10th legion to order by addressing them as 'Quirites,' the term implying that they were disbanded, Suet. Jul. 70.

Pompei meorum prime sodalium?
Cum quo morantem saepe diem mero
  Fregi coronatus nitentes
    Malobathro Syrio capillos.
Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi relicta non bene parmula,
  Cum fracta virtus et minaces
    Turpe solum tetigere mento.
Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
Denso paventem sustulit aëre;

5. **Pompei.** For the form cp. 'Voltei' (disyll.), Epp. 1. 7. 91.

**prime,** 'praecipue,' Acr. Ritter would interpret it 'earliest,' objecting that Pompeius would not be ranked before Varius, Virgil, Maecenas, &c.; but Horace is thinking only of the old days of their acquaintance in the camp, when Pompeius may well have been the 'chiefest of his companions.'

6. **morantem fregi,** see on 1. 1. 20. This can hardly have been during the actual campaign in Macedonia, but it is probable that Horace, while in Brutus' army, was in Asia; see Milman's Life of Horace, p. 17, and Introd. to Sat. 1. 7, and Epp. 1. 11.

7. **coronatus nitentes,** 'with a garland on my hair glistening with Syrian perfume.' 'Dat et Malobathron Syria, arborem folio convoluto arido colore: ex quo exprimitur oleum ad unguenta,' Plin. N. H. 12. 59.

10. **non bene;** there is the same irony in the dimin. 'parmula.' 'my poor little shield'; cp. Epod. 1. 16 'Imbellis ac firmus parum,' and contrast Epp. 1. 20. 23 'Me primis urbis belli placuisse domique.' That Horace should have been able playfully to impute cowardice to himself is enough, as Lessing pointed out, to prove that he had no fear that others would impute it to him. He is clearly thinking, as his Roman readers would have thought, of Alcaeus at Sigeum, Herod. 5. 95; see the lines of Alcaeus (Fr. 32 Bergk) conjecturally restored from Strabo 13. p. 600 *κᾶρυξ ἄγγειλον μὲν ἔμοις ἑτάροισιν ἐν οἴκῳ | σῶς Ἀλκαῖος Ἄρῃ, | ἔντεα δ' οὐκ ἀνένεικον ἃ δὴ κτέρας ἐς Γλαυκώπω | ἶρον ὀνεκρέμασαν | Ἀττικοι.* Similar self-accusations are quoted from Archilochus, Fr. 5, and Anacreon, Fr. 27.

11. **cum fracta virtus.** Of his own share in the campaign the poet professes to remember only the stolen holidays of carousing, the dropped shield and flight; but this gives greater force to the few words in which he speaks of the fall of the cause for which he fought. He seems to say, 'What could I do when Valour itself broke, and those who threatened so high bit the dust in defeat?' Horace heartily embraced the cause of Octavianus, and put his muse at his patron's service, but he was not expected to revile the party he had left, cp. 1. 12. 35. Orelli suggests that there is a reminiscence of Brutus' last words, *Ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε | ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν*, Dion 47. 49.

12. **turpe,** defeat is felt as disgrace, Od. 3. 2. 17 'repulsae sordidae.' From another point of view the poet may say 'dulce et decorum est,' 'non indecoro pulvere sordidos,' &c., but here he is only speaking of the contrast between the hopes and the event.

**tetigere mento,** probably the Homeric *πρηνέες ἐν κονίῃσιν ὀδὰξ λαζοίατο γαῖαν*, Il. 2. 418, &c. Orelli, however, takes it of suppliants throwing themselves at the conqueror's feet.

13. **sed me,** opp. 'tecum,' v. 9. The 'sed' contrasts the separation of Horace's lot from that of Pompeius in this stanza with their union in the last.

**Mercurius,** the poet is a 'Mercurialis vir,' 2. 17. 29. Mercury carries him safely through the foe as he led Priam through the camp of Troy's enemies, 1. 10. 13 foll. Horace is thinking of the escape of Paris, Il. 3. 380, of Aeneas, 5. 344.

Te rursus in bellum resorbens
Unda fretis tulit aestuosis.
Ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem
Longaque fessum militia latus
Depone sub lauru mea nec
Parce cadis tibi destinatis.
Oblivioso levia Massico
Ciboria exple; funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis. Quis udo
Deproperare apio coronas
Curatve myrto? quem Venus arbitrum
Dicet bibendi? Non ego sanius
Bacchabor Edonis: recepto
Dulce mihi furere est amico.

15. **resorbens unda,** the wave has thrown Horace high and dry, its down-draught carries back Pompeius into the deep water. See a similar image in Epp. 2. 2. 47 'Civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma.'

16. **fretis aestuosis** seems to be one of Horace's ablatives absolute, see on 2. 1. 12, 'in that boiling surf.'

17. **ergo,** 'now, then.' It draws the conclusion of the whole review, but specially refers to the reason for thankfulness just suggested in the 'freta aestuosa' in which he had been a second time immersed.

**obligatam,** properly 'obligari' is said of the person, as in the next Ode, v. 5.

18. **latus,** see on 3. 27. 26.

**lauru mea.** Probably with a certain play, '*my* bay tree,' the bay being the appurtenance of poets (Od. 3. 30. 16, cp. 3. 4. 18) as well as warriors (Od. 2. 2. 22). 'You haven't found the bay on the battle-field, come and look for it in the poet's peaceful garden.'

21. Horace fancies the banquet preparing, and issues orders to the servants, 'exple,' 'funde,' 'quis curat?' as in 2. 11. 18 foll., 3. 19. 22.

**levia,** Epp. 1. 5. 23 'cantharus et lanx Ostendant tibi te.' The eye as well as the palate is remembered in Horace's feast, the graceful shape of the cups, their shining surface, the glistening parsley.

22. **ciboria,** a large cup made to imitate the pod of the Egyptian bean (colocasium).

**exple . . . capacibus,** 'let there be plenty,' Epod. 9. 33 'Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos.'

24. **deproperare,** 'to make with speed,' transitively, as 'properare,' Od. 3. 24. 62, Epp. 1. 3. 28, Virg. G. 4. 171.

25. **curatve.** For the position of 've' see on Od. 1. 30. 6.

**Venus arbitrum dicet bibendi,** see on 1. 4. 18 'regna vini sortiere talis.' 'Venus' was the highest throw of the four 'tali,' μηδενὸς ἀστραγάλου πεσόντος ἴσῳ σχήματι (Lucian), as 'canis' (Prop. 4. 8. 45 'damnosi canes') was the worst, when all showed the same face. The 'tali,' originally knuckle-bones, marked only on four sides, are different from the six-sided dice ('tesserae,' κύβοι), of which three were used, the highest throw being three sixes, τρὶς ἕξ, Aesch. Agam. 33.

27. **Edonis.** He is thinking rather of the Thracian orgies ('bacchabor') than of their reputation for excessive drinking (1. 27. 1), though the two things were really one.

28. **furere,** Od. 3. 19. 18 'Insanire iuvat'; 4. 12. 28 'dulce est desipere in loco.' They are probably from the Pseudo-Anacreon 3 θέλω θέλω μανῆναι.

## ODE VIII.

'No, Barine, if you ever suffered in the least degree for forswearing yourself, I would believe your oaths now; but you thrive on it, and only become more beautiful and more popular. The gods who ought to punish you only laugh. Fresh lovers crowd to you, and the old ones, in spite of your faithlessness, will not forsake you.'

The effect of this Ode, as following the seventh, is the same as that which has been noticed in the sequence of Od. 1. 11, 12, 13; 1. 37, 38. See Introd. to Odes i–iii, § 12.

ULLA si iuris tibi peierati
Poena, Barine, nocuisset umquam,
Dente si nigro fieres vel uno
    Turpior ungui,
Crederem. Sed tu, simul obligasti
Perfidum votis caput, enitescis
Pulchrior multo iuvenumque prodis
    Publica cura.
Expedit matris cineres opertos
Fallere et toto taciturna noctis

1–5. Dill^r. points out the art which is expended in the collocation of this stanza. The point is the contrast between the *little* he demands, brought out by the emphatic position of 'ulla,' 'unquam,' 'dente,' 'uno,' 'ungui,' and the *large* offer which he makes, brought out by the single unqualified 'crederem,' the equivalent, in a single word, for the whole stanzaful of offered conditions. For a similarly balanced sentence, see 3. 3. 30–33.

1. **iuris peierati**, an expression apparently coined by Horace for a 'false or broken oath' to follow the analogy of 'ius-iurandum.' The Pseudo-Acron vouches for the phrase 'ius iuratum,' but it does not seem to be found anywhere.

3. **uno**, with 'dente' as well as with 'angui,' see on *1*. 2. 1.

4. **turpior**, in point of grammar, goes with both ablatives, in point of sense it has more duty to discharge to that to which it is attached, as 'dente' has its special kind of deformity named.

6. **caput.** From the habit of swearing by the head, Virg. Aen. 9. 300, &c. The 'vota' are imprecations on herself if her promises should not be kept.

7. **iuvenum publica cura**, 'to break the hearts of all our youth.'

**prodis**, 'go abroad' (Od. 3. 14. 6), to seek and win admiration.

9. **expedit**, sc. 'tibi,' not a generalization. 'It is positive gain to you.'

10. **fallere**, 'to swear falsely by,' as Virg. Aen. 6. 324 'Di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.' For such oaths the commentators compare Prop. 2. 20. 15 'Ossa tibi iuro per matris et ossa parentis; Si fallo, cinis heu sit mihi uterque gravis'; Virg. Aen. 6. 458 'per sidera iuro, Per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub ima est.'

**taciturna**, the epithet seems meant to suggest the awfulness of night,' Epod. 5. 52.

Signa cum caelo gelidaque divos
Morte carentes.
Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident
Simplices Nymphae, ferus et Cupido
Semper ardentes acuens sagittas
Cote cruenta.
Adde, quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
Servitus crescit nova, nec priores
Impiae tectum dominae relinquunt
Saepe minati.
Te suis matres metuunt iuvencis,
Te senes parci miseraeque nuper
Virgines nuptae, tua ne retardet
Aura maritos.

11. **gelida morte carentes**, sc. 'per deos immortales.' As they cannot die, it is dangerous to swear falsely by them.

13–16. The very goddess of love, from whom the injured lover might look for redress; the Nymphs, for all their own guilelessness; Cupid, usually so terribly in earnest in making lovers feel—all only laugh at Barine's faithlessness.

15. **ardentes**, **πυρφόρους**.

16. **cruenta**, either 'that makes them draw blood,' or 'reddened with the blood of former victims.'

17, 18. **servitus crescit nova** explains the **tibi crescit** of the first clause. 'All that grow to manhood, grow to manhood to become thy slaves.' This is separated into two clauses. 'Servitus' = 'servi.'

21–24. **iuvencis . . . aura**. Cp. Introd. to Od. 2. 5, and Virg. G. 3. 250. It is the same offensive metaphor.

## ODE IX.

'THE most continuous rains, the longest winters, end at last. Let not your grief for Mystes alone be unending, Valgius. Not even Nestor grieved inconsolably for the son of his old age, nor his parents and sisters for the blooming Troilus. 'Tis time to cease from wailings more womanly than theirs, and to sing of Caesar's triumphs.'

The Ode is addressed to C. Valgius Rufus, a poet whose elegies are referred to and quoted by Servius on Virg. E. 7. 22, and Aen. 11. 457. The scattered and doubtful hints which can be gleaned about him will be found in the Dict. Biog. He stands in Sat. 1. 10. 82 with Varius, Maecenas, Virgil, and the other select few for whose literary approbation Horace cares. The Scholiasts speak of him as a 'Consularis,' and the name occurs in the Consular Fasti, B.C. 12.

The date of this Ode should be fixed by vv. 18–24, but the references of these lines is a subject of controversy. They have been used as one of their chief arguments by those who put the publication of the Three Books as late as B.C. 19, being interpreted of the events of the year 20, when Augustus was himself in Asia and Tiberius under his orders advanced into Armenia (see Epp. 1. 12. 26–28).

The lines can hardly be disconnected from the passage in Virg. G. 3. 30 foll.:—

> 'Addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten,
> Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis,
> Et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea,
> Bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentes,'

which on this theory must have been inserted in the last year of Virgil's life. Mr. James Gow (Classical Rev. vol. 9, p. 302 foll.) has made out a strong case for referring both passages to the year 25. Augustus was then at Tarraco, in Spain, detained by illness; and during that time we are told (Mommsen, Res Gest. Div. Aug. p. 133, Orosius 6. 21. 19) an embassy from the Scythae (Geloni v. 23) came to him. He was offered by the senate a triumph for victory over the Cantabri and Salassi. Mr. Gow thinks that 'nova tropaea' refers to an actual monument of victory, such as the arch still standing at Aosta which Mommsen identifies with one named by Dion (53. 26) as having been erected at this time, or that which gives its name to Turbia over Nice. The double triumph over East and West so emphasized by Virgil, will mean the triumph over the Cantabrian as following the triumphs of 29 over enemies to the East of Rome.

> NON semper imbres nubibus hispidos
> Manant in agros aut mare Caspium
> Vexant inaequales procellae
> Usque, nec Armeniis in oris,

1. **hispidos**, predicative: of the roughened and tangled look of the country after rains, opp. to Virgil's 'nitentia culta.'

3. **inaequales**, 'gusty,' or, perhaps, 'roughening'; cp. 'inaequalis tonsor,' Epp. 1. 1. 94.

Amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
Menses per omnes aut Aquilonibus
  Querqueta Gargani laborant
    Et foliis viduantur orni:
Tu semper urges flebilibus modis
Mysten ademptum, nec tibi Vespero
  Surgente decedunt amores
    Nec rapidum fugiente Solem.
At non ter aevo functus amabilem
Ploravit omnes Antilochum senex
  Annos, nec impubem parentes
    Troïlon aut Phrygiae sorores
Flevere semper. Desine mollium
Tandem querellarum, et potius nova
  Cantemus Augusti tropaea
    Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten,

5. **stat**, we should rather say 'lies,' 'stands stiff and deep.'

**iners**, 1. 22. 17 'pigris campis.'

7. **Gargani**, a rocky promontory at the north-east corner of Apulia. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 202 'Garganum mugire putes nemus.'

9. **tu semper**. The absence of any adversative particle to mark the antithesis is supplied by the emphatic use of the pronoun and the repetition of 'semper' from v. 1, see on 4. 4. 17. Notice also the emphatic position of 'semper,' v. 1, 'usque,' v. 4, 'semper,' v. 17.

**urges**, Prop. 4. 11. 1 'Desine, Paule, meum lacrimis urgere sepulchrum.' 'Urgere' adds to some simple metaphor, such as 'prosequi,' the idea of perseverance.

11. **surgente**, used inaccurately of the stars coming into sight at night, as in Virg. Aen. 4. 352 'quotiens astra ignea surgunt.'

12. **rapidum**, 'striding,' helps the metaphor of 'fugiente.' Horace probably had in mind Virgil's 'Te veniente die te decedente canebat,' G. 4. 465.

13. **ter aevo functus**, 'who lived life three times over,' seems (like Cicero's 'tertiam [Nestor] iam aetatem hominum vivebat,' de Sen. 10) to be an exaggeration of the Homeric ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων ἐφθίατο . . . μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν, which means only that the other princes were the grandsons of Nestor's contemporaries. The old age of Nestor, which needed the support of a son, would have excused his grief, as would the 'loveable' character of his son. The story of Antilochus' death, as he was defending his father, is told in Pind. Pyth. 6. 28 foll.

15. **impubem**. His youth is meant to add to the pathos, 'Infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,' Virg. Aen. 1. 479.

16. **Troïlon**. His death does not occur within the period of the Iliad: it is just mentioned by Priam, Il. 24. 257. Virgil (Aen. 1. 474 foll.) makes it the subject of one of the paintings which Aeneas saw in Dido's hall.

**Phrygiae sorores**. This climax points to the exhortation which follows: If barbarian women dried their tears, perpetual lamentations may well be called 'molles' in one who may sing of the arms of Rome.

17. **desine querellarum**, after the model of the Greek genitive with παύεσθαι, λήγειν; so Virg. Aen. 10. 441 'desistere pugnae.' Horace similarly copies the genitive with ἀπέχεσθαι, Od. 3. 27. 69 'abstineto irarum,' and with φθονεῖν, Sat. 2. 6. 84 'Sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae.'

20. **rigidum Niphaten**, 'stiff frozen Niphates.' The later Roman poets took

Medumque flumen gentibus additum
Victis minores volvere vertices,
Intraque praescriptum Gelonos
Exiguis equitare campis.

it for a river: Lucan 3. 245 'volventem saxa Niphaten'; cp. Juv. 6. 409, Sil. 13. 765; and this is perhaps the most natural interpretation of Virgil's metaphor, 'pulsum Niphaten' (cp. Aen. 11. 405 'retro fugit Aufidus'). The geographers, however, recognize only a mountain of the name in Armenia. 'Niphaten' is, like 'tropaea,' the direct object of 'cantemus.' In the next stanza Horace passes to another constr., viz. an object clause in the accus. and infin.

21. **Medum flumen**, the Euphrates. The expressions are very parallel to Virg. Aen. 8. 726 'Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,' where also the Geloni and the Armenian Araxes appear.

23. **intra praescriptum**, 'within the bounds that we have set them.'

**Gelonos**, see Introd. to Books i–iii, 1. § 7.

24. **exiguis** is predicative, 'and find them all too narrow.'

---

# ODE X.

'THE wise sailor is neither tempted too far out to sea nor frightened on to rocks and shallows. One who has learnt to love the golden mean neither has a hovel with a roof falling in nor a palace that would attract the evil eye. The higher like seat the greater the fall. The wise man is prepared for fortune to change like everything else. Be brave and hopeful if things are against you, and so, too, do not spread all your sails because the wind chances to be favourable.'

Horace recommends moderation of life and manners. Professedly it is a *mean* that he praises; but it is clear throughout that it is excess that he deprecates; the danger of defect is not really before his mind. This is shown in the *first* part of the Ode by omission—the hypothesis would require a stanza corresponding to st. 3 to illustrate the danger of being too low, as that illustrates the danger of being too high,—in the *second* part by the stress laid on the alternative least contemplated, under cover of which the poet at last ventures to put plainly the lesson on which his heart is really set.

The person to whom the Ode is addressed is called in some good MSS. 'Licinius Murena,' and he has been generally identified with the 'augur Murena' of Od. 3. 19. 11 (see also Sat. 1. 5. 38). He again is taken to be the person variously called 'Lucius Murena' (Vell. Pat. 2. 91), 'Licinius Murena' (Dion 54. 3), 'Varro Murena' (Suet. Tib. 8), and said by Dion (l. c.) to have been the brother of Proculeius and of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas.

This Murena was accused in B.C. 22 εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς (Dion 54. 3), of a conspiracy with Fannius Caepio, and, in spite of the efforts of 'Proculeius, his brother (see on Od. 2. 2. 5), and Maecenas, his brother-in-law' (Dion l. c.), was put to death. In the character given of him (ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ

παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο, see Dion l. c., who tells a story of his boldness of speech towards Augustus himself) we may probably see the appropriateness of Horace's persuasive to moderation.

On the argument drawn from this Ode as to the date of the publication of the three Books, see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 2.

The history and relationships of Murena have been investigated with much care and acuteness by Dr. Verrall in his 'Studies in Horace.' He proves that he was a distinct person from A. Terentius Varro Murena usually identified with him, who stands in the Capitoline Fasti as one of the original Consuls in B.C. 23 (this would mean apparently that he died early in that year), and who is also probably the Murena who had been employed by Augustus in the subjugation of the Salassi (Val d'Aosta) in B.C. 25. He brings out very clearly the effects upon Roman society and upon the relations between Augustus and Maecenas of the conspiracy of B.C. 22, though we cannot all follow him in respect of the many cryptic allusions to it which he detects in Horace's Odes.

RECTIUS vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
    Litus iniquum.
Auream quisquis mediocritatem
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
    Sobrius aula.
Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus et celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres feriuntque summos
    Fulgura montes.

1. **neque . . . neque**, not one any more than the other.

**altum urgendo**, steering on and on into the open sea.

3. **nimium**, with 'premendo,' 'hugging too close the dangerous shore.'

5. **auream mediocritatem**, the *μέτριον, μέσον*, so much praised in Greek *γνῶμαι*, e.g. *παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὤπασεν*, Aesch. Eum. 529; *πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει εἶναι*, Phocyl. ap. Arist. Pol. 4. 11. It is here both the mean estate and the moderation of mind which is content with it.

6–8. In point of grammar, doubtless, 'tutus' belongs to the first clause, 'sobrius' to the second; 'he avoids the meanness of a ruinous hovel and is safe, is sober and avoids the palace that raises envy'; but in sense, 'sober and therefore safe' is the idea of the sentence, and neither adjective is confined to its own clause. The safety of moderation is dwelt on further in the next stanza, its prudence in the one following, which suggests the mutability of fortune.

6. For the conjunction **obsoleti sordibus**, cp. Cic. pro Sest. 28. 60 'alienis sordibus obsolescit.'

7. **invidenda**, as Od. 3. 1. 45 'invidendis postibus,' in the same connexion.

9–11. **ingens, celsae, summos**, all in emphatic positions, 'for their height.' Cp. Herod. 7. 10 *ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῷα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίζει· ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα.*

11, 12. Dr. Verrall recalls Seneca's quotation (Epist. 19) from the Prome-

Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
Alteram sortem bene praeparatum
Pectus. Informes hiemes reducit
Iuppiter, idem
Summovet. Non, si male nunc, et olim
Sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
Suscitat musam neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.
Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare; sapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimium secundo
Turgida vela.

theus of Maecenas, 'ipsa altitudo attonat summa,' which Seneca himself links to this Ode by quoting in the same connexion 'contrahes vela.'

13. **infestis, secundis**, ablatives absolute.

17. **male**, sc. 'est,' Od. 3. 16. 43, Epp. 1. 1. 89, 'bene est.'

18. **quondam**, 'sometimes.' 'Quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus,' Virg. Aen. 2. 367.

19. **arcum**, the bow with which he inflicts death, plague, etc., as in Hom. Il. 1. 49, 382, &c. Cp. Carm. Saec. 33 'Condito mitis placidusque telo.'

21. **angustis**, 'in straits of fortune.' This metaphor seems to suggest the return to the metaphor of the first stanza, good fortune being the *οὖρος* before which we run fast and free.

22. **appare**, 'show yourself.'

23. **nimium**, with 'secundo,' 'dangerously favourable,' *δυσούριστον*.

## ODE XI.

'Do not trouble yourself with foreign politics, Quinctius, nor with schemes of business. Life wants very little, and it is flying fast: spring flowers die and moons wane. Do not weary yourself over plans as if things remained for ever. Better crown with roses our hairs already whitening with age, and drink and play while we may.'

Nothing is known of Quinctius Hirpinus; possibly he is the same as the Quinctius to whom Epp. 1. 16 is addressed.

The nature of the name 'Hirpinus' is not certain. It is very probably a local name (as 'Marrucine Asini,' Catull. 12. 1), the Hirpini being a Samnite tribe, of which Beneventum was the capital.

QUID bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
Hirpine Quincti, cogitet Hadria
Divisus obiecto, remittas
Quaerere nec trepides in usum
Poscentis aevi pauca. Fugit retro
Levis iuventas et decor, arida
Pellente lascivos amores
Canitie facilemque somnum.
Non semper idem floribus est honor
Vernis neque uno Luna rubens nitet
Vultu: quid aeternis minorem
Consiliis animum fatigas?
Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
Pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
Canos odorati capillos,
Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo

1. **bellicosus**, Od. 2. 6. 2, 3. 8. 21, 4. 14. 41: cp. Virg. G. 3. 408 'impacatos Hiberos.' Notice that 'bellicosus' really applies to 'Scythes' also, and 'divisus Hadria' suggests a parallel 'divisus Tyrrheno mari' for the 'Cantaber.' See on Od. 2. 10. 6, 8, 2. 15. 18, 20.

2. **Hadria divisus**, a reason for not troubling ourselves about him, 'the broad barrier of Hadria is between us.'

3. **remittas**, with infinitive, 'forbear,' as 'mittere,' Od. 1. 38. 3; 'omittere,' 3. 29. 11.

4. **trepides in usum**, as Orelli interprets it, 'anxie provideas usui,' 'worry thyself about provision for life, which needs but little.' 'Trepidare' is used in the same sense in 3. 29. 31 'Ridetque si mortalis ultra Fas trepidat.' Orelli quotes Plat. Phaed. 68 C τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐπτοῆσθαι. There is no need with Dill^r. to join 'trepides aevi.' He compares Virg. Aen. 12. 589 'trepidae rerum.'

5. **fugit retro**, said of those who have passed the flower of youth, to whom its years are 'recedentes,' no longer 'venientes,' A. P. 175.

6. **levis**, opposed to 'rugosa,' 'arida' (v. 6), 'hispida' (4. 10. 5), which are epithets of 'senectus.' So 'levis Agyieu,' 4. 6. 28, of the ever-young Apollo.

9–12. 'Immortalia ne speres monet annus,' 4. 7. 7. 'Aeterna consilia' are plans for a life that is not to end. Compare the advice of 1. 11. 6 'spatio brevi Spem longam reseces.'

9. **honor**, pride of beauty. Epod. 17. 18.

10. **rubens nitet**. This phrase for the brightness of the moon, which is not common (though Propertius uses it 1. 10. 8 'Et mediis caelo Luna ruberet equis'), is helped by the metaphor of 'vultu.' 'It is not with one and the same blushing face that the moon shines on us.'

11. **minorem**, ἥττονα = 'imparem,' 'overtasked by them.'

12. **consiliis**. The ablative is constructed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with 'minorem' and 'fatigas.' See on 1. 3. 6.

13. **cur non . . . vel hac**, 'this very pine, without looking for another.'

14. **sic** = οὕτως, 'as we are.'

**temere**, εἰκῇ, 'with no preparation.' All express the *easiness* of the alternative which Horace proposes for Quinctius' anxious scheming.

14. **rosa odorati capillos** = 'rosis bene olentibus coronati.' The singular (see on 1. 5. 1) seems to be usual.

16. **dum licet**, 'while we may,' we shall soon be unable; 2. 3. 15 foll.

**Assyria**. There is no need to alter the gender. 'Nardus,' feminine, is the plant from which the oil was obtained, and is used for its produce as 'balanus,' 3. 29. 4; 'uva,' 1. 20. 10. 'Assyria,' probably = 'Syria'; see 3. 4. 32.

Potamus uncti? Dissipat Euius
Curas edaces. Quis puer ocius
Restinguet ardentis Falerni
Pocula praetereunte lympha?
Quis devium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden? Eburna, dic age, cum lyra
Maturet in comptum Lacaenae
More comas religata nodum.

18. **quis puer.** For the form of issuing orders cp. 2. 7. 23.

19. **restinguet,** 'put out the fire of the wine.'

21. **devium,** probably answers to 'maturet,' 'truant,' that does not come when she is wanted.

23. **in comptum.** Some good MSS. have 'incomptum.' The editors who have retained this reading seem generally to have constructed 'nodum' after 'maturet,' 'make quickly her simple knot'; cp. 3. 14. 21 'Dic et argutae properet Neaerae Murrheum nodo cohibere crinem'; but, as Bentley remarked, 'cum lyra' is an odd accompaniment to that action. He reads 'comam,' with some fair MS. authority to back him, 'incomptam' with one MS. of Torrentius, and 'nodo' ex mera coniectura. Munro, though he read 'incomptum,' put a comma at 'maturet,' constructing, I suppose, 'incomptum nodum' as a cognate accusative with 'religata.'

# ODE XII.

'No, Maecenas, my lyric style will not do for the great feats of Roman arms, any more than it would for the heroic myths. You will celebrate Caesar's glories far better in your prose history. I will content myself with singing the charms of your Licymnia and your love for her.'

With the Ode generally compare 1. 6.

The Scholiasts (on Sat. 1. 2. 64) give the tradition that Licymnia is a name invented by Horace to veil and yet to represent to the initiated that of Terentia, Maecenas' wife. (See Introd. to Ode 2. 10.) Many stories are told of her beauty and of her influence over Maecenas, as well as of the trouble she gave him. Horace reminds him of the day, perhaps, when he first saw her, dancing in Diana's temple. Bentley pointed out that the mention of the public dance in Diana's honour, implies that the person imagined is not merely a 'libertina.'

The third stanza seems clearly (though Orelli doubts it, taking 'tu' generally 'you' or 'any one') to imply a hope or a wish that Maecenas may write some memoirs of the reign of Augustus. Servius (on Virg. G. 2. 42) vouches for his having done so; but the only older authority that can be quoted is a doubtful expression of Pliny, N. H. 7. 46.

NOLIS longa ferae bella Numantiae
Nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
Aptari citharae modis,
Nec saevos Lapithas et nimium mero
Hylaeum domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris iuvenes, unde periculum
Fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni veteris; tuque pedestribus
Dices historiis proelia Caesaris,
Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias
Regum colla minacium.

1. **nolis**, either imperative, 'desire me not'; or, perhaps better, with Orelli, potential, 'you would not desire the old wars of Rome to be set to the lyre, any more than the fights of the Centaurs or the Titans.' The conclusion in either case is, 'no more ask me to set Augustus' exploits.'

**longa ferae.** The two adjectives answer to one another after Horace's manner; see on 1. 3. 10. Numantia was taken, after its long resistance, by Scipio Africanus Minor, in B.C. 133. Numantia, Hannibal, and the sea-fights of the First Punic War, stand for Roman wars generally.

2. **durum**, so the great majority of MSS. Bentley compares Virg. G. 3. 4 'Eurysthea durum,' and points out that there is a Horatian antithesis between it and the 'molles citharae modi.' The earlier editors alter it on very slight MS. authority to 'dirum,' the epithet of Hannibal in Od. 3. 6. 36, 4. 4. 42, quoting Quintil. 8. 2. 9 'proprie dictum id est quo nihil inveniri possit significantius ut Horatius "acrem tibiam," "Hannibalemque dirum".'

**Siculum mare.** This name, which is generally given to the sea to the east of Sicily, is used by Horace of the sea between its north coast and Italy; see 3. 4. 28 'Sicula Palinurus unda.' The chief victories referred to will be those of C. Duilius in B.C. 260 off Mylae, on the north coast near Messina, and of L. Lutatius Catulus in 242 off the Aegates Insulae, at the western extremity of the island.

5. **nimium mero**, 'overcharged with wine.' Cp. 'fiducia nimius,' Sall. Fr.; 'rebus secundis nimii,' Tac. Hist. 4. 23. Cp. Od. 1. 18. 8 'Centaurea . . . cum Lapithis rixa super mero Debellata.' Virgil names Hylaeus the Centaur 'Lapithis cratere minantem,' G. 2. 456.

7. **unde periculum**, 'the danger of whose onset.' For 'unde' used of persons see on 1. 12. 17.

8. **fulgens domus** = 'lucidae sedes,' 3. 3. 33; 'aetheria domus,' 1. 3. 29; the δώματα μαρμαίροντα of Homer.

**contremuit**, with accusative, as Virg. Aen. 3. 648 'sonitumque pedum vocemque tremisco.' For the implied comparison of Augustus and his enemies to Jupiter and the giants see Od. 3. 4. So the 'fulgens contremuit' has point as expressing the greatness, magnificence, of the interests threatened.

9. **tuque pedestribus.** This gives a second reason why Horace should not attempt the theme. It would not suit his 'iocosa lyra,' and Maecenas will treat it better in prose. For 'que' in such a case see on 1. 27. 16. Notice the emphatic position of the words which imply the double opposition between Horace and Maecenas, lyric poetry and prose. Orelli remarks that Horace is the first of extant Latin writers to translate the Greek πεζός (Arist. Fr. 713, Plat. Soph. p. 237 A πεζῇ τε καὶ κατὰ μέτρον).

11. **per vias**, 'through the streets of Rome,' i.e. in a triumph.

12. **colla**, cp. Prop. 2. 1. 33 (the whole poem presents parallels to this Ode) 'Aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis, Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra via.' So Epod. 7. 7 'Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet Sacra catenatus via.'

**minacium**, so V; and most of the

Me dulces dominae Musa Licymniae
Cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum
Fulgentes oculos et bene mutuis
Fidum pectus amoribus;
Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris
Nec certare ioco nec dare brachia
Ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro
Dianae celebris die.
Num tu, quae tenuit dives Achaemenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes
Permutare velis crine Licymniae,
Plenas aut Arabum domos,
Cum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
Cervicem aut facili saevitia negat,
Quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupet?

good MSS. have either this or, what is only a miswriting of it, 'minatium.' From this probably arose the corruption found in a few, 'minantium.' Cp. Od. 2. 7. 11, where 'minaces' is used in just the same contrast; 'that just now threatened so high.'

13. He praises Licymnia's sweet singing, bright eyes, and true heart.

**dominae**, 'your mistress.' 'Adolescentum more qui amatas "dominas" vocant,' Acr. Horace would hardly (as Ritter supposes) call Terentia (if it be she) 'my mistress' because he calls Maecenas (not 'dominus,' but) 'rexque paterque,' Epp. 1. 7. 32. For 'domina,' used of a wife, Orelli quotes Ov. Trist. 3. 3. 28.

**Licymniae.** The name occurs in Virg. Aen. 9. 564 'serva Licymnia.'

14. **lucidum fulgentes**, 1. 22. 23 'dulce ridentem.'

15. **bene.** Either 'wisely,' with 'fidum,' 'mutuis' giving the reason why her loyalty is wise; or only = 'valde,' as 'mentis bene sanae,' Sat. 1. 9. 44, a use which is found in Cicero, and to which Orelli traces the French 'bien.' In this case it may qualify 'fidum' or 'mutuis,' expressing the completeness either of her loyalty or of the reciprocity of their love. The former more likely, as from its position we want it rather to balance than to strengthen 'mutuis'; and also because the main topic is praise of Licymnia, not of Maecenas.

17–20. See Introd. 'Nec dedecuit' suggests rather the idea of condescension.

19. **nitidis**, in holiday dress.

**sacro Dianae celebris die**, 'the sacred day that fills Diana's temple.'

21. **Achaemenes**, the mythical founder of the Achaemenid family, and so standing for a Persian king; 3. 9. 4 'Persarum vigui rege beatior.' Horace uses the adjective 'Achaemenius' for 'Persian,' Od. 3. 1. 44, Epod. 13. 8.

22. **Mygdonias**, 'Mygdon's wealth in fat Phrygia.' Cp. Od. 3. 16. 41. Mygdon is a prince of the Phrygians in Hom. Il. 3. 186.

24. **Arabum**, see Od. 1. 29 Introd., 3. 24. 2, Epp. 1. 7. 36.

26. **facili**, that yields easily—an oxymoron.

27. **poscente magis**, 'more than you who ask for them.'

**gaudeat, occupet**, are subjunctive because they give the reason for the epithet 'facili saevitia.' Bentley would read 'occupat' with a minority of the MSS., returning to the construction of 'detorquet, negat.'

28. **rapere occupet**, 'be the first to snatch.' For the infinitive see App. 2, § 1.

# ODE XIII.

THE thoughts suggested by the fall of a tree on his Sabine farm from which Horace narrowly escaped. For other allusions to the incident see Od. 2. 17. 27, 3. 4. 27, 3. 8. 8; and on the date of all the Odes which refer to it see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 8.

The poem begins with a burst of indignation, at least half humorous (comp. Epod. 3), at the unlucky tree and the wretch that planted it. Then, from the mention (v. 12) of the accident that had so nearly overwhelmed him, rises the thought, 'How little we guess the quarter from which danger really threatens us. We fix our eyes on some one risk and fear that only, but death comes to all the world from the quarter they do not expect.' Next, suggested by the 'leti Vis rapuit rapietque,' comes the remembrance how very *near* to death he has been, 'how near eeing Proserpine and Aeacus on his seat of judgement and the separate abode of happy souls, among them' (here comes the last change) 'those whom the lyric poet would first look for, Sappho and Alcaeus. An admiring throng of shades is round both, but the larger and the more attentive round Alcaeus. What wonder if they listen, when even Cerberus is spell-bound, and Prometheus and Tantalus forget their pains, and Orion stays from his hunting to hear.'

ILLE et nefasto te posuit die,
Quicumque primum, et sacrilega manu
Produxit, arbos, in nepotum
Perniciem opprobriumque pagi:

1. **ille et . . . primum.** The object of Horace's indignation is the man that planted the tree, so that 'ille' stands fitly in the place of emphasis in both stanzas. 'Quicumque primum' has increased force for its parenthetical position;—'I don't know who he was or how long ago it was (the tree had fallen from its age), but I can tell for certain the character both of the man and of the day of his deed.' The alteration to 'illum' ('illum et,' Heins.; 'illum o,' Bentley; 'illum,' Buttm.), which makes the whole sentence down to 'pagi' relative with 'quicumque' for its subject, 'illum' only anticipating the next stanza, really weakens instead of strengthening. There is no MS. authority for any change.

**nefasto,** 'of ill omen.' 'Nefasti dies' were properly the opposite of 'fasti,' 'days on which the Praetor did not sit,' 'unlawful days.' All days on which the courts were closed were therefore equally 'nefasti'; but by an error which A. Gellius notices (Noct. Att. 4. 9), the epithet was vulgarly restricted to those which were interdicted for business as 'tristi omine infames.' In the poets and post-Aug. prose 'nefastus' came to be used as equivalent to 'nefarius,' as Hor. Od. 1. 35. 35.

2. **sacrilega,** generalized as often: 'impious.'

3. **produxit,** 'reared':—the verb is used of educating children in Juv. 14. 228:—or possibly merely 'gave existence to,' meaning the same really as 'posuit,' and only the vehicle for the second idea, which is to be looked for in 'sacrilega manu,' just as the verb is varied again in v. 10 to 'statuit,' which has to carry 'in meo agro.'

**in perniciem,** 'to be the destruction,' as 'iuvenescit . . . in mea vota,' 'to pay my vow,' 4. 2. 56; 'in classem cadit omne nemus,' 'to form the fleet,' Luc. 1. 306.

Illum et parentis crediderim sui
Fregisse cervicem et penetralia
Sparsisse nocturno cruore
Hospitis; ille venena Colcha
Et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas
Tractavit, agro qui statuit meo
Te triste lignum, te caducum
In domini caput immerentis.
Quid quisque vitet, numquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas: navita Bosporum
Poenus perhorrescit neque ultra
Caeca timet aliunde fata,
Miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum

5. **crediderim**, cp. Sat. 1. 5. 44 'contulerim.' The subjunctive of the futurum exactum (Madv. § 380) used in modest statements of possible things, 'I shall be likely to believe,' 'I could well believe.'

6. **fregisse cervicem**, Epod. 3. 1 'Parentis olim si quis impia manu Senile guttur fregerit'; Sall. Cat. 55 'Frangere gulam laqueo.'

8. **Colcha**, poisons such as Medea used, Epod. 3. 9, 17. 35. The good MSS. are divided between 'Colcha' and 'Colchica.' If we read the first it is the only instance of the collision of a short open vowel at the end of one Alcaic stanza and a vowel at the commencement of the next. If the latter, it is the only instance of synapheia between Alcaic stanzas. Horace more commonly prefers the gentile form to the possessive, 'Maura unda,' 'Italo caelo,' &c., see on 1. 1. 28.

10. **tractavit**, for the slight zeugma in 'tractare venena et nefas,' cp. 1. 15. 12 'aegida currumque et rabiem parat.'

11. **caducum**, 'ea natura ut caderes,' see on 3. 4. 44.

13. 'What special danger each should avoid, man is never forewarned from hour to hour as he had need be.'

15. **Poenus.** So the MSS. and the Schol. without exception; but it is difficult to see the special relation between 'Poenus' and 'Bosporum.' 'Aut Bosporum pro quolibet freto dixit aut Poenum pro quolibet nauta; multum enim divisus est Poenus a Bosporo,' Acr. The suggestion, endorsed by Orelli, that 'Poenus' can be used for 'Phoenician,' i.e. 'Tyrian,' requires proof. That the two words are etymologically identical is an argument, as Munro remarks, which would equally show that 'Yankees' might now be used convertibly with 'English,' of which it was originally an Indian corruption. Lachmann's correction 'Thynus' or 'Thoenus' is tempting. Bithynian commerce is often mentioned in Horace, Carthaginian never; and the Bithynian sailor's first difficulty would be the passage of the Bosporus.

**ultra caeca.** If he can once pass that stormy strait ('gemens,' Od. 2. 20. 14, 'insaniens,' 3. 4. 30) he does not fear dangers from any other quarter, which are not less real because he does not see them as plainly.

16. **timet aliunde**, for lengthening the short syllable see on Od. 1. 3. 36.

17. **sagittas et fugam.** The Roman soldier is said to fear just what the Parthian is said to trust to, Virg. G 3. 31 'Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis,' 'arrows of the swiftly flying Parthian.' Cp. Od. 1. 19. 11 'Versis animosum equis.'

18. **catenas et Italum robur**, 'the chains of an Italian prison-house.' 'Robur' was a name given to the 'Tullianum' or lower dungeon of the Mamertine prison by the Capitol, where greater criminals were confined before their execution (it is described in Sall. Cat. 55), and where Jugurtha was

Robur; sed improvisa leti
Vis rapuit rapietque gentes.
Quam paene furvae regna Proserpinae
Et iudicantem vidimus Aeacum
Sedesque discriptas piorum et
Aeoliis fidibus querentem
Sappho puellis de popularibus,
Et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcaee, plectro dura navis,
Dura fugae mala, dura belli!
Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbrae dicere; sed magis
Pugnas et exactos tyrannos
Densum umeris bibit aure vulgus.

starved to death (Plut. Marius 12). The conjunction 'catenas et robur' makes this meaning inevitable, as in Lucr. 5. 1030 'verbera, carnifices, robur, pix'; Tac. Ann. 4. 29 'robur et saxum minitari.' Dill^r. would take it in the simple sense of 'the strength of Italy.'

19. **improvisa**, predicative.

20. **rapuit rapietque**, Od. 4. 2. 38 'nihil maius donavere nec dabunt'; Epp. 1. 2. 43 'labitur et labetur'; 1. 7. 21 'tulit et feret.'

**gentes**, used for 'mankind' as in 1. 3. 28 'ignem gentibus intulit'; but specially appropriate here as Horace has been enumerating several nations who differ in their special fears, but all fall under this one sentence.

21. **furvae**, a word meaning apparently 'dark,' appropriated in use to the lower world and what belongs to it, the black victims sacrificed to the 'Di inferi,' &c., Fest. s.v., A. Gell. 1. 18.

**Proserpinae**. This is the only place, except Sen. Herc. Fur. 548, in which the first syllable is shortened. Horace has it long elsewhere, Od. 1. 28. 20, Sat. 2. 5. 110.

22. **Aeacum**, one of the three judges of Hades, Ov. Met. 13. 25, Plat. Gorg. p. 353.

23. **discriptas**. The MSS. vary between this reading, 'descriptas' and 'discretas.' The meaning is the same. Virg. Aen. 8. 670 'secretosque pios.'

24. **Aeoliis**, Od. 4. 9. 12 'Commissi calores Aeoliae fidibus puellae.'

25 foll. The lyric poet would look first in the shadow-world for Sappho and Alcaeus, as Socrates (Plat. Apol. p. 41) imagines himself looking for Palamedes and Ajax and other victims of unjust judgements.

**puellis de popularibus**, 'quod sibi non in amore responderent,' as in Sapph. Fr. 43, &c.

26. **sonantem**, with accusative: so it is used in the passive Epod. 17. 40 'sonari voles.'

**aureo plectro**. *Φόρμιγγ' Ἀπόλλων ἑπτάγλωσσον χρυσέῳ πλάκτρῳ διώκων*, Pind. N. 5. 24. For 'plectro' see on 2. 1. 40. The 'golden plectrum' is significant of the value of the poems. Cp. Quintil. 10. 1. 63 'Alcaeus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatus qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus confert,' &c. On the subjects of his poems see Od. 1. 32.

27. **dura navis**, 1. 32. 7 'Sive iactatam religarat udo Litore navim.'

28. **fugae**, *φυγῆς*, 'exile,' Aristotle Pol. 3. 9.

29. **sacro silentio**, i.e. of the silence with which divine rites are received. Cp. 3. 1. 2 'Favete linguis: carmina . . . Musarum sacerdos . . . canto.'

30. **magis**, placed first as the antithesis to 'utrumque,' and to be taken with the whole 'densum . . . vulgus': they crowd more thickly, and drink every word more greedily, where Alcaeus is singing.

31. **tyrannos**. Myrsilus, &c.

32. **densum umeris**, 'pressing shoulder to shoulder.' 'Haeret pede

Quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
Demittit atras belua centiceps
  Aures et intorti capillis
    Eumenidum recreantur angues?
Quin et Prometheus et Pelopis parens
Dulci laborem decipitur sono;
  Nec curat Orion leones
    Aut timidos agitare lyncas.

pes densusque viro vir,' Virg. Aen. 10. 361.

**bibit aure** = 'avide audit,' Acr. The sounds are poured, not as into a cup which receives passively, but as into the drinker's mouth.

33. **illis carminibus**, ablative with 'stupens,' as Sat. 1. 4. 28, 2. 2. 5. Sappho's singing is included as well as Alcaeus'. Compare with these stanzas Od. 3. 11. 13–24, Virg. G. 4. 481–484.

34. **demittit aures**, contrast Epod. 6. 7 'aure sublata,' of a hound on the scent.

**centiceps**, *possibly* to be explained by 3. 11. 16 'Cerberus, quamvis furiale *centum* Muniant *angues* caput eius,' since the expression 'ore trilingui' (cp. 2. 19. 31) in the same place seems to imply that there the picture is of three heads. Sophocles calls Cerberus *Ἅιδου τρίκρανον σκύλακα*, Trach. 1098, Hesiod *Ἀΐδεω κύνα χαλκεόφωνον πεντηκοντακάρηνον*, Theog. 312; Pindar, acc. to Interpr. Ven. on Hom. Il. 8. 368 *ἑκατοντακάρηνον*. These epithets may imply in the Greek poets real variety of imagination; but in a Roman poet they are echoes, and there is nothing therefore to prevent Horace giving Cerberus his Sophoclean form in one Ode and his Pindaric complement of heads in another, as Virgil speaks at one time with the Greek tragedians of 'agmina Eumenidum,' at another with the Alexandrines of Megaera, Allecto, and Tisiphone. For a still more pertinent instance see Conington on Virg. Aen. 6. 287 as compared with 10. 565, and 6. 605 compared with 12. 845.

35. Aesch. Cho. 1049 *πεπλεκτανημέναι πυκνοῖς δράκουσιν*, Virg. G. 4. 482 'implexae crinibus angues Eumenides.'

36. **recreantur**, 'take rest.'

37. **Prometheus.** This form of the legend, which makes Prometheus still undergo punishment in Tartarus (cp. Od. 2. 18. 35, Epod. 17. 67), is known to no other extant author.

**Pelopis parens.** Tantalus, joined with Prometheus in the two passages referred to. For the legend of him see Hom. Od. 11. 582.

38. **laborem.** The question between 'laborem' and 'laborum' is a doubtful one, and as old as the Schol., Porph. interpreting the former, Acr. the latter. Of the MSS., B has the acc., V (apparently) had the gen. Bentley pointed out that the mistaken constr. 'sono laborum' (which is found in Acr.) very possibly suggested the reading. In either case it is an attempt to put the usual 'decipere laborem' (Sat. 2. 2. 12 'studio fallente laborem') into the passive, either retaining its accusative, as in such phrases as 'suspensi tabulam loculosque lacerto,' or taking instead of it the Greek genitive of relation.

39. **Orion.** *Τὸν δὲ μετ' Ὠρίωνα πελώριον εἰσενόησα | θῆρας ὁμοῦ εἰλεῦντα κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα*, Hom. Od. 11. 572. Orion, like Sappho and Alcaeus, is engaged in the same pursuits as in life. Virg. Aen. 6. 654 'fuit vivis quae cura . . . eadem sequitur tellure repostos.'

40. Priscian, p. 689, quotes this line, remarking Horace's use of 'lyncas' as masc.; Virg. G. 3. 264 makes it fem. 'lynces Bacchi variae.'

# ODE XIV.

'The years are flying, Postumus; no prayers will stay them; not three hecatombs a day will turn the heart of Pluto the tearless, the almighty, who holds Geryon fast, despite his three bodies, and Tityos, behind the Styx, aye, the Styx, which we must all cross alike, rich and poor. You may avoid all common risks, yet you must die. The treasures that you have hoarded your wiser heir will squander.'

The burden is the same as that of Od. 2. 3 and 11, and of 4. 7 'Life is short, let us enjoy it while we may'; but there is more of sadness in this Ode than in the others. The usual moral is hinted in the passing epithet 'dignior' bestowed on the heir who is to waste our store of choice wine; but the feeling of the stanza is not so much for his wisdom as for the additional bitterness which it adds to our labours to know that they may be all undone as soon as we are dead. 'We must leave it unto a man that shall be after us, and who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool?' Eccles. 2. 19. There is no clue to the person addressed. It has been suggested that he may be the Postumus to whom Propertius writes his Elegy (3. 12).

EHEU fugaces, Postume, Postume,
Labuntur anni nec pietas moram
Rugis et instanti senectae
Afferet indomitaeque morti:
Non, si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies,
Amice, places illacrimabilem

1. **fugaces labuntur.** We must not try to harmonize the metaphor, although both 'fugax' (Od. 2. 3. 12) and 'labi' (Epp. 1. 2. 43) are used of running water: 'the fleeting years slide by.' Words are accumulated which convey the idea of rapid and continuous motion, but the mind does not dwell on the form long enough to gain a distinct picture of the metaphor by which in each case the idea is conveyed to it.

2. **pietas,** Od. 4. 7. 24. Cp. Ov. Am. 3. 9. 37 'Vive pius, moriere pius; cole sacra, colentem Mors gravis a templis in cava busta trahet.' 'Pietas' is exemplified in the next stanza.

3, 4. **instanti, indomitae,** the epithets which signify the *nearness* and the *certainty* of the end of our pleasures are divided between age and death.

5. **non si,** 'no, not if,' the negative referring back to the preceding sentence, as Virg. G. 2. 43 'Non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto; Non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum.'

**trecenis,** 'three hecatombs for every day that passes.' Ritter, offended at the hyperbole, would interpret 'trecenis' as a round number standing for the number of days in a year, 'three hundred bulls, one for each day that passes.' But 'three hundred' is a usual expression for an indefinitely large number, Od. 3. 4. 79, Sat. 1. 5. 12. Many of the best MSS. read, against the metre, 'tricenis.'

6. **places,** 'try to appease.'

**illacrimabilem,** 'that cannot be moved to tears.' It is used passively 4. 9. 26, see on 1. 3. 22.

Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi
Compescit unda, scilicet omnibus,
Quicumque terrae munere vescimur,
Enaviganda, sive reges
Sive inopes erimus coloni.
Frustra cruento Marte carebimus
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
Frustra per autumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuemus Austrum:
Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytos errans et Danai genus
Infame damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Aeolides laboris.
Linquenda tellus et domus et placens
Uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te praeter invisas cupressos
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.

7. **ter amplum**, τρισώματος, Aesch. Ag. 870; 'tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai,' Lucr. 5. 28; 'forma tricorporis umbrae,' Virg. Aen. 6. 289.

8. **Tityon**, 3. 4 77, 3. 11. 21, 4. 6. 2. For his offence and his punishment see Hom. Od. 11. 576, Virg. Aen. 6. 595 foll. The purpose of these instances is to signalize Pluto's *power*, as vv. 5, 6 signalize his inexorable sternness.

**tristi compescit unda**, 2. 20. 8. 'Stygia cohibebor unda,' Virg. Aen. 6. 438 'Fas obstat tristique palus inamabilis unda Alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet.'

10. Hom. Il. 6. 142 βροτῶν οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσι.

11. **enaviganda**. The preposition implies that the voyage must be complete and final. Cp. 2. 3. 27 'nos in aeternum Exilium impositura cumbae.'

**sive reges**, cp. ibid. 21 'Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho,' &c. For 'reges' = 'divites,' cp. 1. 4. 14; for 'coloni,' 1. 35. 6.

13. 'No avoidance of danger or care of health will save us from death.'

**carebimus**, cp. its use in 2. 10. 7, 3. 19. 8. It does not exclude effort to avoid.

14. **fractis**, Virg. Aen. 10. 291 'nec fracta remurmurat unda,' of waves breaking on rocks.

16. **Austrum**, Sat. 2. 6. 18 'plumbeus Auster, Autumnusque gravis Libitinae quaestus acerbae,' cp. Epp. 1. 7. 5. The dative 'corporibus' is governed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ by 'nocentem' and 'metuemus,' see on Od. 1. 3. 6.

17. **visendus**, notice the antithetical position of 'linquenda,' v. 21.

18. **Danai genus**, 3. 11. 25-32.

19. **damnatus laboris**. This genitive is not unknown in prose, as Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 11 'damnare octupli.' It follows perhaps the analogy of the genitive with verbs of estimating, and signifies the equivalent at which the crime is assessed.

20. **Sisyphus**, Hom. Od. 11. 593.

21. Compare Lucret. 3. 907 foll. 'Nam iam non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor Optima,' &c.

23. **cupressos**, 'funebres,' Epod. 5. 18; 'ferales,' Virg. Aen. 6. 216. They are used in the latter passage to ornament in some way the funeral pile. Orelli quotes Ovid, Met. 10. 141, where Apollo says to Cyparissus just changed into the tree that was to bear his name, 'Lugebere nobis, Lugebisque alios aderisque dolentibus.'

24. **brevem**, as 'breves flores rosae,' 2. 3. 13, 'master on a short tenure,' cp. Epp. 2. 2. 172.

Absumet heres Caecuba dignior
Servata centum clavibus et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbo,
Pontificum potiore cenis.

25. **Caecuba**, 1. 20. 9. The plural is of quantity, cp. 2. 1. 5.

**dignior**, worthier, apparently, because he makes a wiser use of it; but there is a certain bitterness in the epithet. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 122 'Filius aut etiam libertus ut ebibat heres . . . custodis.'

27. **tinget pavimentum**, Cic. Phil. 2. 41. 105, of the spilt wine of a profuse and drunken banquet, 'Natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes.'

**superbo**, 'lordly.' 'Pro "ipse superbus"; Hypallage figura,' Acr. Horace makes it the epithet of 'mero,' as though the wine itself showed lordliness—'generosity'—at once in its quality and in allowing itself to be so squandered. The asyndeton, 'superbo . . . potiore,' indicates, as Orelli says, that the second epithet justifies the first.

28. Od. 1. 37. 2 'Saliaribus dapibus'; Mart. 12. 48. 2 'Non Albana mihi sit comissatio tanti, Non Capitolinae Pontificumque dapes.'

---

# ODE XV.

'Our palaces and fish-ponds and ornamental gardens are supplanting the cultivation of corn and vines and olives. This is not the spirit of our sires. Their rule was private thrift, public magnificence; houses of turf, public buildings and temples of hewn stone.'

Compare the introduction to Ode 18. Both Odes (and to some extent 16 also) deal with evils which in iii. 1–6 and 24 the social and religious legislation of Augustus is set forth as about to remedy. Some similarities of expression show that Horace was conscious of this relation between the Odes. See notes on 3. 1. 36, 38, 45, 3. 24. 4.

With the special subject of this Ode compare the letter of Tiberius to the Senate in Tac. Ann. 3. 53 foll., esp. such sentences as 'Quod primum prohibere et priscum ad morem recidere aggrediar? villarumne infinita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri pondus? . . . At Hercule nemo refert quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum quotidie volvitur. Ac nisi provinciarum copiae et dominis et servitiis et agris subvenerint nostra nos scilicet nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur.' See Sall. Cat. 12 'Operae pretium est quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas

visere templa deorum quae nostri maiores religiosissimi mortales fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant;' and ib. 13 'a privatis pluribus subversos montes, maria constructa.'

IAM pauca aratro iugera regiae
Moles relinquent, undique latius
Extenta visentur Lucrino
Stagna lacu, platanusque caelebs
Evincet ulmos; tum violaria et
Myrtus et omnis copia narium
Spargent olivetis odorem
Fertilibus domino priori;
Tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
Excludet ictus. Non ita Romuli
Praescriptum et intonsi Catonis
Auspiciis veterumque norma.
Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum: nulla decempedis

1. **regiae**, royal in magnificence; cp. the 'villarum infinita spatia' of Tiberius, Tac. l. c.

2. **moles**, 'piles,' 3. 29. 10 'molem propinquam nubibus' of Maecenas' villa.

**latius extenta**, &c., 'fish-ponds of wider extent than the Lucrine lake' (A. P. 65, Virg. G. 2. 161). The elder Seneca (Controv. 4. 5) speaks of 'navigabilia piscinarum freta,' and Cicero ridicules those who spent much money on this luxury, by the name of 'piscinarii' (ad Att. 1. 19).

3. **visentur**, they will be sights to see.

4. **caelebs**, for the metaphor see Od. 4. 5. 30, Epod. 2. 10. Cp. Quintil. 8. 3. 8 (probably in allusion to this Ode) 'an ego fundum cultiorem putem in quo mihi quis ostenderit lilia, et violas, et anemonas, fontes surgentes, quam ubi plena messis aut graves fructu vites erunt? Sterilem platanum tonsasque myrtos quam maritam ulmum et uberes oleas praeoptaverim?'

5. **evincet**, 'drive from the field.'

6. **myrtus**, fourth declension, as in Virg. G. 2. 64 'Paphiae myrtus.'

**copia narium**; 'narium' may be explained either by itself, after the analogy of the Greek use of ὄμμα and ὀφθαλμός, 'the nostrils' = the fragrance perceived by them; or, together with 'copia,' the genitive signifying not that of which there is abundance, but that in respect of which, to the gratification of which, the abundance exists, 'all the fulness of the nostrils' = 'the fulness of all that pleases the nostrils.'

9. **laurea**, the feminine adjective is rarely used, as here, for the bay-tree (cp. Liv. 32. 1), though often for the bay crown, as Od. 4. 2. 9.

10. **ictus**, βολάς, 'radiorum ictum,' Lucr. 5. 612; so 'verbera,' 'tela,' &c. 'Fervidos' here supplies the place of a genitive, 'solis' or 'aestus'; cp. 3. 16. 11 'ictu fulmineo' = 'fulminis.'

11. **intonsi** = 'antiqui,' Od. 3. 21. 11 'prisci Catonis'; see on 1. 12. 41 'incomptis Curium capillis.' Compare, as Macleane suggests, Ov. Fast. 6. 263 'Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae' with Trist. 3. 1. 29 'Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.' Cicero uses 'barbatus' in the same sense, e.g. 'aliquem ex barbatis illis, exemplum imperii veteris, imaginem antiquitatis,' Sest. 8. 19. Cato the censor died B.C. 149.

12. **auspiciis** = 'ductu,' and so 'example.'

14. **commune** = τὸ κοινόν, here 'the common stock,' 'public treasury.'

**decempedis**, 'measuring-rods,' the exact measurement being sunk in the general idea; cp. Cic. Mil. 27. 74: 'privatis' agrees with 'decempedis.'

Metata privatis opacam
Porticus excipiebat Arcton,
Nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
Leges sinebant, oppida publico
Sumptu iubentes et deorum
Templa novo decorare saxo.

15. **metata**, passive, as in Sat. 2. 2. 114; see on Od. 1. 32. 5.

16. **porticus**, a colonnade facing north to avoid the sun and catch the cool wind in summer. Contrast the winter dining-room in Juv. 7. 183 'algentem rapiat cenatio solem.'

17. **fortuitum**, τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα, 'the chance-cut turf' for building; 'tuguri congestum caespite culmen,' Virg. E. 1. 69.

18–20. Public buildings and temples alike would be built 'publico sumptu,' and adorned 'novo saxo'; but in Horace's manner the qualifying words are divided between the two, see on 2. 10. 6, 2. 11. 1, 3. 4. 18, 4. 9. 29, Epod. 5. 37.

20. **novo saxo**, from its position, seems intended as an antithesis to 'fortuitum caespitem,' so that 'novo' must be almost equivalent to 'exquisito,' 'hewn on purpose.' Orelli compares, with the last two stanzas, Cic. pro Flacc. 12. 28 'Haec ratio ac magnitudo animorum in maioribus nostris fuit ut cum in privatis rebus suisque sumptibus contenti tenuissimo cultu viverent in imperio atque in publica dignitate omnia ad gloriam splendoremque revocarent.'

---

# ODE XVI.

'Rest is (at times at least) the prayer of all men, though they do not go the way to find it. Gold and purple will not buy it, Grosphus; neither wealth nor rank banish care; and meantime very little suffices for a happy life if the heart is free from fear and desire. Moderated desires, not hurrying from place to place, are the means to avoid care. Go where you will you cannot escape yourself. Care boards the best appointed trireme and keeps up with the fleetest horseman. Enjoy the present and don't think of the future. If troubles come, smile and be patient and they will be the lighter. Unmixed happiness is not to be looked for: Achilles had glory, but with it an early death; Tithonus a long life and the weariness of old age. What you lack I may perhaps have, as you have what I lack. You have flocks and herds and purple garments, and I have my little farm, my muse, and a heart to despise my critics.'

'Peace and happiness depend on ourselves, not on things outside of us.' 'Quod petis, hic est, Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus,' Epp. 1. 11. 29.

Grosphus is doubtless the person whom Horace commends to Iccius in Epp. 1. 12. 22–24:—

'Utere Pompeio Grospho, et, si quid petet, ultro
Defer; nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit et aequum.
Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid deest.'

We gather from this Ode that he was a man of wealth, and, from both Ode and Epistle, that his property was in Sicily.

OTIUM divos rogat in patenti
Prensus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes
Condidit lunam neque certa fulgent
Sidera nautis;
Otium bello furiosa Thrace,
Otium Medi pharetra decori,
Grosphe, non gemmis neque purpura ve-
nale neque auro.
Non enim gazae neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus
Mentis et curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes.
Vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
Splendet in mensa tenui salinum,

1. Cp. 1. 1. 15 foll. 'Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum Mercator metuens otium et oppidi Laudat rura sui; mox reficit rates,' &c. The application of the first six lines is allegorical, although by the construction of v. 7 it is purposely made to appear that the 'otium' for which the trader and the Thracian sigh is the same which is the true subject of the Ode. 'The trader prays for [bodily] rest, but it is only in the moment of storm; the Thracian, the Mede—but their hearts are in war; we too wish for rest [of mind], but spend our lives in the cares and hurry which banish it.'

2. **prensus**, *καταληφθείς*, apparently a technical word for 'caught in a storm,' as 'deprensus,' Virg. G. 4. 421.

3. **certa**, 'on which to rely,' not as though there were some stars 'certa,' others 'incerta'

5. **bello furiosa**, *Ἀρειμανής*, 'Mavortia tellus.' Virg. Aen. 3. 13.

6. **pharetra decori.** Their very adornment belies their prayer.

7. **Grosphe.** The personal address serves to point the separation of the allegory from its application: 'for rest, Grosphus,—rest, which gems, &c., will not buy.'

**non venale**, *οὐκ ὠνητόν*, Thuc. 3. 40, &c. For the division of the word between the two verses see Od. 1. 2. 20, 1. 25. 11.

10. **summovet**, the proper word of a lictor clearing the way for the consul, 'i, lictor, summove turbam,' Liv. 3. 48, &c. 'The tumults,' of the mind is a continuation of the metaphor.

11. Cares are represented as a flock of ill-omened birds or harpies that fly round and round under the panelled roof of the rich man's hall.

**laqueata**, 2. 18. 2.

13. **vivitur parvo bene, cui**, sc. 'ab illo cui,' 'A happy life is his, though his means be small, on whose modest board,' &c.; 'vivere parvo' occurs Sat. 2. 2. 1. The silver salt-cellar (Pers. S. 3. 25 'rure paterno Est tibi far modicum purum et sine labe salinum'), an heirloom of the house, is used as a test of respectable competence. 'Splendet'

Nec leves somnos timor aut cupido
Sordidus aufert.
Quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo
Multa? Quid terras alio calentes
Sole mutamus? Patriae quis exsul
Se quoque fugit?
Scandit aeratas vitiosa naves
Cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,
Ocior cervis et agente nimbos
Ocior Euro.
Laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est
Oderit curare et amara lento

is antithetical to 'tenui.' It is the 'one ornament of the modest board,' perhaps also like the epithets 'purum,' 'puri,' it implies cleanliness. 'Iamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex,' Epp. 1. 5. 7.

15. **leves somnos**, 'untroubled,' 3. 1. 21 foll.

**cupido**, masculine, as always in Horace where the gender is marked, Od. 3. 16. 39, 3. 24. 51, Sat. 1. 1. 61, Epp. 1. 1. 33.

17. **fortes**, like 'audax omnia perpeti,' 1. 3. 36; no trouble or disappointment daunts us. 'Brevi' answers to 'multa.' Life is too short for many aims; the metaphor of 'iaculamur' is that of the Gr. τοξεύειν, Soph. O. T. 1196, &c.

18, 19. Cp. Virg. G. 2. 512 'Exilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant Atque alio quaerunt patriam sub sole iacentem,' where Virgil uses 'muto' with the accusative of that which is surrendered; Horace uses it of that which is taken, but suppressing the other object of exchange. Compare the uses of ἀλλάττειν, as Soph. Ant. 944 οὐράνιον φῶς ('to quit'), Eur. Hec. 483 Ἀΐδα θαλάμους ('to enter').

19. **patriae exsul**, Greek genitive, as φυγὰς Ἄργεος, Theoc. 24. 127, imitated by Ovid, Met. 6. 189 'exsul erat mundi,' 9. 409 'exsul mentisque domusque.' For the sentiment cp. Lucr. 3. 1060–1070, Hor. S. 2. 7. 113 foll., Epp. 1. 11. 27 'Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt,' 1. 14. 15 'In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam.'

21–24. Cp. 3. 1. 37 foll. 'timor et minae Scandunt eodem quo dominus, neque Decedit aerata triremi et Post equitem sedet atra cura.' The image of the ship grows naturally in both passages out of what precedes. 'It is of no use running away to other lands (in 3. 1, to your seaside villa); care goes on board with you.' 'Aeratas naves,' 'Aerata triremi,' seem to hint that care might have been expected to stand in awe of a rich man's well-appointed trireme (cp. Epp. 1. 1. 93 'conducto navigio aeque Nauseat ac locuples quem ducit priva triremis'). The same additional idea is probably contained in the 'turmas equitum,' into which the simpler 'equitem' of 3. 1. 40 is expanded in this Ode. Horace probably had in mind Lucretius' account (2. 46) of the bold front with which 'curae . . . sequaces . . . Nec metuunt sonitus armorum nec fera tela, Audacterque inter reges rerumque potentes Versantur.' At the end of the stanza both images have merged in the general idea of the impossibility of flying from care which is fleeter than a stag or a storm-wind.

21. **vitiosa**, 'morbid.' The adjective rather interferes with the personification, but it is Horace's manner, see on 1. 35. 21 'Spes et albo *rara* Fides colit Velata panno.'

25. 'When happy in the present let the heart shun all care for what is beyond; when the cup is bitter, sweeten it with the smile of patience.'

**quod ultra est**, τὰ πόρρω, the 'future.'

26. **lento risu**, Cic. de Or. 2. 190 'lente ferre'; Tac. Ann. 3. 70. 3 'lentus in suo dolore esset.'

Temperet risu; nihil est ab omni
Parte beatum.
Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,
Longa Tithonum minuit senectus,
Et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit,
Porriget hora.
Te greges centum Siculaeque circum
Mugiunt vaccae, tibi tollit hinnitum
Apta quadrigis equa, te bis Afro
Murice tinctae
Vestiunt lanae: mihi parva rura et
Spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae

29. Achilles had his choice; cp. Hom. Il. 9. 412 Εἰ μέν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι, | ὤλετο μέν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται· | εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, | ὤλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν | ἔσσεται.

30. **longa**, antith. to 'cita,' v. 29. Mimnermus 4 (ed. Bergk) Τιθωνῷ μὲν ἔδωκεν ἔχειν κακὸν ἄφθιτον ὁ Ζεύς, | γῆρας, ὃ καὶ θανάτου ῥίγιον ἀργαλέου.

32. **hora**. Time in its course, one hour if not another; cp. 4. 7. 8. Ritter takes 'tibi quod negarit' of life, as though it meant 'I may perhaps survive you.' But a more general sentiment is a better introduction to the next two stanzas; and it is the broad equality of men's lots that is in point, so that 'mihi porriget tibi quod negarit' would seem naturally to imply the converse also, that Grosphus will have what Horace has not.

33. Grosphus has large pastures in Sicily. For this form of wealth see on 1. 31. 5. Cp. Epod. 1. 27, Epp. 2. 2. 177.

33, 34. **greges . . . mugiunt**. If 'greges' is to be distinguished from 'vaccae,' according to the common opposition of 'greges et armenta,' 'flocks and herds,' there is an easy zeugma in the use of 'mugiunt.' Possibly, however, 'greges vaccaeque' = 'greges vaccarum' (cp. Epod. 2. 11 'mugientium greges'), the two being separated in order to give more emphasis to the numeral and adjective.

34. For the elision cp. 4. 2. 22, Carm. S. 47.

35. **bis tinctae**, διβαφα, Epod. 12. 21 'Muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae.'

**Afro**, Epp. 2. 2. 181 'vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas.'

38. **spiritum Camenae**, equivalent, as the commentators say, to the ἴσα πνεῖν Μούσαις of the epigram on Sappho (Anal. Brunck. p. 449) save that 'spirare' and 'spiritus' have a special reference, which we do not know in πνεῖν, to the 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn' of poetry. Cp. Od. 4. 3. 24 'Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est,' 4. 6. 29 'Spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem Carminis nomenque dedit poetae.' See also Sat. 1. 4. 42–47, where the name of poet is limited to the man, 'Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os Magna sonaturum,' and it is doubted whether comedy can claim to be poetry, 'quod acer spiritus ac vis Nec verbis nec rebus inest.'

**tenuem** has no doubt a close relation to 'Graiae,' and describes the polish and refinement of taste which Horace missed in the earlier Roman literature. Cp. A. P. 323, where there is the same antithesis as that hinted here between the delicacy of literary taste and the coarser Roman life with its love of wealth, 'Grais ingenium,' &c. It is difficult to say how much feeling of the metaphor remains in either 'spiritum' or 'tenuem.' If this passage stood alone we should have no difficulty in interpreting 'tenuem' of the fineness and delicacy of the air, but 'tenuis,' like the Gr. λεπτός and corresponding words in many languages, is used widely of nicety of judgement or taste or expression. Horace gives it in this sense another metaphorical connexion, Epp.

Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
Spernere vulgus.

2. 1. 225 'tenui deducta poemato filo.' The rival interpretation of 'tenuem spiritum' as = 'particulam aliquam exiguam spiritus' is not so good. Horace's farm is 'small,' but we do not want to continue the depreciation of his lot, but to enforce the doctrine of the fair balancing of fortune by contrasting his modest external means with the richness of his mental gifts.

**Camenae**, used without scruple of the Greek **Μοῦσαι**. Cp. 'Pindaricae Camenae,' Od. 4. 9. 8.

39. **non mendax dedit**, Carm. S. 25 'veraces cecinisse Parcae.' 'Fate assigned to me that lot in days gone by, and she has kept her word.'

**malignum spernere vulgus**, either the same as Od. 3. 2. 23 '[Virtus] Coetusque vulgares et udam Spernit humum fugiente penna'; 'malignum' being = 'profanum' in 3. 1. 1, or more likely referring to the envy which his fortune and his rising fame brought with them, see on Od. 2. 20. 4–7.

---

# ODE XVII.

'KILL me not, Maecenas, with your dismal forebodings. If you are going to die, I die too; so the gods will, and so I will. For *myself*, I could not survive the one half of myself: I have sworn, and will be true to my oath of fealty; where you go I will go, if the Chimaera or Gyas were to rise to prevent it. And *the gods* will it too. I know not whether I was born under a good star or a bad one, but my horoscope tallies wonderfully with yours. You recovered from dangerous illness just when I escaped the falling tree. Let us remember it, and in our several ways thank the gods.'

Maecenas was an invalid (Plin. N. H. 7. 54 'Quibusdam perpetua febris est sicut C. Maecenati. Eidem triennio supremo nullo horae momento contigit somnus'), and one that clung passionately to life, if we may trust his own lines preserved by Seneca, Epp. 101 :—

'Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxa,
Tuber adstrue gibberum,
Lubricos quate dentes;
Vita dum superest, bene est!
Hanc mihi vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine.'

He has been complaining of his health to Horace, and the poet would coax him out of his hypochondriacal fears by the expressions of affection, by the professions of his own strong belief that Maecenas' life is as good as his own, by recalling

his previous recovery from illness and his flattering reception in the theatre, as memories likely to strengthen his confidence in his destiny and in himself.

The astrological part of the Ode is only an adaptation of the language of a popular superstition which Horace condemns in Od. 1. 11. Orelli points out that the language of stanza 5, 'seu Libra seu,' &c., forbids the idea that Horace had confidence in any calculation of his own horoscope. He tells us, Sat. 1. 6. 114, that he was fond of standing and listening to the astrologers of the circus. With the poet's professions of his resolution not to survive Maecenas cp. Epod. 1; on Maecenas' reception in the theatre, Od. 1. 20; and on Horace's own escape from the falling tree, Od. 2. 13.

Maecenas actually died in B.C. 8, a few months before Horace.

CUR me querellis exanimas tuis?
Nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius
Obire, Maecenas, mearum
Grande decus columenque rerum.
A! te meae si partem animae rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus aeque nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus,
Utcumque praecedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.
Me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae
Nec, si resurgat, centimanus Gyas

2. **amicum est**, φίλον ἐστί.

**prius**, sc. 'quam me.'

4. Od. 1. 1. 2 'praesidium et dulce decus meum.' Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 103, Virg. G. 2. 40.

5. **partem animae**, Od. 1. 3. 8 'animae dimidium meae.'

7. **nec carus aeque**, sc. 'mihi ipsi,' as Epp. 1. 3. 29 'Si patriae volumus si nobis vivere cari.' 'I shall not love myself as well as before: it will not be my whole self that will be alive.' Cp. Epod. 1. 5. 6.

8. **utramque ducet ruinam**, i.e. will cause both to fall at once. Virg. always uses 'trahere ruinam' of the thing which falls.

**non perfidum dixi**, sc. 'I have taken a soldier's oath, and will not break it.' 'Dicere sacramentum' was the technical phrase, Caes. B. C. 1. 23. 5.

10. **ibimus**. Horace speaks in the plural, keeping up the idea of soldiers swearing to their general.

11. **utcumque**, 'whensoever,' see on Od. 1. 17. 10, 3. 4. 29, Epod. 17. 52.

**supremum iter**, τὰν νεάταν ὁδόν, Soph. Ant. 807; 'via leti,' Od. 1. 28. 16.

13. **Chimaerae**, 'triformi Chimaera,' Od. 1. 27. 24; cp. Hom. Il. 6. 179 foll. Orelli recalls the shadowy forms which Virgil places in Aeneas' way at the entrance of Hades, 'variarum monstra ferarum . . . Et centumgeminus Briareus . . . flammisque armata Chimaera,' Aen. 6. 285.

14. **si resurgat**, 'if he were free to rise,' for he lies, according to Horace (Od. 3. 4. 69), buried in Tartarus.

**Gyas**. The MSS. in 3. 4. 69 read 'gigas'; in this place they are divided between 'gigas' and 'gygas,' Cruquius' MSS. all having the latter. 'Gigas' was read by Porph., Acr. (who inter-

Divellet unquam: sic potenti
Iustitiae placitumque Parcis.
Seu Libra seu me Scorpios aspicit
Formidolosus, pars violentior
Natalis horae, seu tyrannus
Hesperiae Capricornus undae,
Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
Consentit astrum. Te Iovis impio
Tutela Saturno refulgens
Eripuit volucrisque Fati

prets it by 'Briareus de quo Virgilius Aen. 10. 564'), and Priscian (17. 152). In Ovid, however, the name of the hundred-handed giant occurs in three places where the metre excludes the proper case of 'gigas,' Trist. 4. 7, Amor. 2. 1. 12, Fast. 4. 593. In the first of these passages the MSS. vary between 'Gygen,' 'Gyam,' and 'Gian.' In Hesiod, Theog. 149, 714, 734, where three brothers are named Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης θ' ὑπερήφανα τέκνα, the MSS. vary between Γύγης and Γύης. Apollodorus, the mythologist, gives the name as Γύης. Against the form Γύγης must be counted the fact that both in Greek (see Archilochus, Fr. 21 οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει) and in Latin (Hor. Od. 2. 5. 20, 3. 7. 5) its penultima is lengthened. On this evidence Keller writes here, and in Od. 3. 4. 69, 'Gyas.' In itself a proper name is more likely than the general 'gigas.'

15, 16. 'Hoc et iustum est et decretum a Parcis,' Ritter. Δίκη is sister to the Μοῖραι in Hes. Theog. 902. For the position of 'que' see on Od. 1. 30. 6.

17. **seu . . . seu . . . seu**, see Introd. to the Ode. Compare with the whole passage Persius' imitation, Sat. 5. 45 foll. 'Non equidem hoc dubites, amborum foedere certo Consentire dies et ab uno sidere duci: Nostra vel aequali suspendit tempora Libra Parca tenax veri, seu nata fidelibus hora Dividit in Geminos concordia fata duorum, Saturnumque gravem nostro Iove frangimus una: Nescio quid, certe est, quod me tibi temperat astrum.' Compare also for the influence attributed to some of the planets and signs of the Zodiac here named, Propert. 5. 1. 83 foll. 'Felicesque Iovis stellas Martisque rapacis, Et grave Saturni sidus in omne caput; Quid moveant Pisces, animosaque signa Leonis, Lotus et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua.' Each planet had a special relation to some sign of the Zodiac; Venus to Libra, Mars to Scorpio, Saturn to Capricornus.

**aspicit**, the present tense, as the influence of the star which was in the critical position at the moment of the child's birth continues through his life.

18. **pars violentior**, 'more stormy influence in the hour of birth'; Manil. 4. 217 foll. 'Scorpios armatae metuendus cuspide caudae . . . In bellum ardentes animos et Martia corda Efficit et multo gaudentem sanguine Syllam.'

19. **tyrannus Hesperiae undae**, cp. Propert. l. c. Horace probably gives this title (cp. 'arbiter Hadriae,' 1. 3. 15) to Capricorn as the mid-winter sign. Cic. Nat. D. 2. 44 (from Aratus) 'Tum gelidum valido de pectore frigus anhelans Corpore semifero magno Capricornus in orbe: Quem cum perpetuo vestivit lumine Titan Brumali flectens contorquet tempore currum.' The 'western waters,' as in Od. 1. 28. 26. Lord Lytton thinks that in suggesting Capricorn for their horoscope Horace is thinking of his narrow escape from shipwreck, Od. 3. 4. 28.

22. **impio** connects the crimes of the mythological Saturn with the bad influence of the planet which bears his name. Orelli shows from Manil. 2. 434 and 4. 698 that 'tutela' was a technical term.

23. **Saturno.** Orelli and Dill[r]. seem right in thinking that the dative feels the government both of 'eripuit' and of 'refulgens' in the sense of 'shining in the face of,' so as to counteract his influence.

Tardavit alas, cum populus frequens
Laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum:
Me truncus illapsus cerebro
Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
Dextra levasset, Mercurialium
Custos virorum. Reddere victimas
Aedemque votivam memento:
Nos humilem feriemus agnam.

26. **ter**, indefinite, of several rounds of applause. The plural 'theatris' generalizes, 'the people in crowded theatres'; in Od. 1. 20. 3, where he refers to the event more particularly, he uses the singular. We need not press the fact that there was at the time apparently only one theatre in Rome. Ritter thinks it necessary to join 'laetum theatris' = 'quo gaudent theatra.' For the phrase 'crepuit sonum' cp. Propert. 4. 10. 4 'manibus faustos ter crepuere sonos.'

27. **truncus**, Od. 2. 13 passim, 3. 4. 27, 3. 8. 8.

28. **sustulerat.** The indicative is a rhetorical exaggeration, 'I was dead, had not Faunus stayed the blow,' cp. Od. 3. 16. 3 'munierant . . . si non risissent'; Virg. G. 2. 133, Aen. 2. 55; see Madv. § 348 c.

**Faunus**, cp. 1. 17. 2, 13, the god of the country, here probably as there identified with Pan, for Pan was the son of Hermes which may explain the connexion of 'Mercurialium.' Horace attributes his escape in 3. 8. 7 to Bacchus: the constant part in all his references to it is its ground, 'Dis pietas mea *Et musa* cordi est.'

29. **Mercurialium.** 'Mercuriales' was the name of a 'collegium mercatorum' at Rome, which was associated with the 'cultus' of Mercurius, the god of traffic, Cic. ad Quint. Fr. 2. 5, Liv. 2. 21, 27: the word was thus familiar to people's ears as meaning 'favourites of Mercury.' Horace applies it in Sat. 2. 3. 25 to Damasippus, the connoisseur who could buy everything so as to make a profit, from old bronzes to estates; and here (Mercury being identified with the Greek Hermes) to himself, as under the special protection of the god who was 'curvae lyrae parens,' Od. 1. 10. 6, 3. 11. 1, Epod. 13. 9, &c. Cp. also Od. 2. 7. 13.

# ODE XVIII.

'I HAVE no ivory couches nor gilded ceiling nor rare marbles nor palace nor crowd of retainers. Yet I have honour and wit and the respect of those richer than myself, and I am contented. You lay house to house as if you were to live for ever. The land is not large enough, you must build in the sea. Nay, you must pluck up your neighbour's landmark and drive out your own client to misery. Yet more surely than any house that you are building the grave awaits you. Think of that limit—the grave, where you and your poor neighbours, oppressor and oppressed, are on an equality.'

Horace opposes two pictures: one, of himself, contented and happy with his farm and his poetry; the other, of some rich man so full of plans for building and increasing his property as to forget death and to commit wrong and robbery. Ode 15 complained of the great growth of the villas of the wealthy on the ground of the waste of land which was wanted for agriculture. This Ode touches on another evil incidental to this passion, the unjust and cruel ejection of small owners from their ancestral properties. It is this which gives the special colour to the usual satire on the folly of leaving death out of our calculations. Death is not only more certain than all our plans, he is the great equalizer and redresser of wrongs.

With the picture of the grasping proprietor compare Sallust's expressions where he is tracing that alienation of classes which led to the civil wars, Jug. 41 'populus militia atque inopia urgebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant; interea parentes aut parvi liberi militum ut quisque potentiori confinis erat sedibus pellebantur.'

The early part of the Ode is not unlike in expression a fragment (28) of Bacchylides:—

*οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ', οὔτε χρυσός, οὔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες, ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενὴς Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα καὶ Βοιωτίοισιν ἐν σκύφοισιν οἶνος ἡδύς.*

Compare also Virg. G. 2. 461 foll., and Hor. Od. 1. 31, 2. 16. 33-40.

Metre—*Hipponacteum*. See Index of Metres, 9.

NON ebur neque aureum
Mea renidet in domo lacunar,

1. **ebur**, used for furniture, as in Sat. 2. 6. 103 'lectos eburnos.' The Schol., however, are possibly right in taking the words as = 'non eburnum neque aureum lacunar.' Cp. Cic. Parad. 1. 4 'marmorea tecta ebore et auro fulgentia.'

2. **renidet**, 2. 5. 19; cp. Lucr. 2. 27 'Nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet.'

**lacunar**, the panels of a ceiling, 2. 16. 11.

Non trabes Hymettiae
  Premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa, neque Attali
  Ignotus heres regiam occupavi,
Nec Laconicas mihi
  Trahunt honestae purpuras clientae:
At fides et ingeni
  Benigna vena est, pauperemque dives
Me petit; nihil supra
  Deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
Largiora flagito,
  Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.
Truditur dies die,
  Novaeque pergunt interire lunae.

3. **trabes Hymettiae premunt, &c.**, probably slabs of white marble from Mount Hymettus in Attica, used for the architrave, to rest on columns of the 'giallo antico,' which was found in Numidia, 'flavis Nomadum metallis,' Stat. Silv. 1. 5. 36.

5. **Attali ... occupavi.** This seems only to mean 'nor has some rich stranger left me a palace'; 'the palace of an Attalus' being a way of saying 'a palace of enormous wealth,' see on Od. 1. 1. 12 'Attalicis conditionibus.' It is possible that the expression carried with it also the memory that the last Attalus, in default of natural heirs, had left his property to the Roman people.

7. **Laconicas**, Pliny N. H. 9. 60 names the coast of Laconia as the chief place in Europe for the shell-fish that gave the purple dye.

8. **trahunt**, 'spin,' Juv. 2. 54 'vos lanam trahitis,' or perhaps rather 'weave.'

**honestae**, well born.

**clientae**, a Plautine word, Mil. Glor. 3. 1. 193, &c. The two verses seem to couple two proofs of wealth, the 'maior turba clientium' of 3. 1. 13 with the 'purpurarum usus' of ib. 42. Kiessling recalls the way in which Verres (Cic. Verr. 2. 4. 26. 59) made the wealthy ladies in Sicily perform this office for him: 'Nulla domus in Sicilia locuples fuit ubi iste non textrinum instituerit,' &c.

9. **fides**, 'honesty.'

10. **benigna vena**, A. P. 409 'divite vena': the metaphor is from mining.

11. **me petit**, 'seeks my friendship.'

14. **unicis Sabinis**, 'my single Sabine farm'; Haupt (Opusc. 3. 578), referring to Lachmann as having explained it to him, points out that the Latin usage, in speaking of an estate when the subst. 'fundus' or 'praedium' is omitted, is to use the name of the people in the plural. He quotes Od. 3. 4. 21 'in arduos tollor Sabinos.' See also Mayor's note on Pliny, Epp. 3. 4 'cum in Tuscos excucurrissem.' With the 'satis beatus' cp. Epod. 1. 31 'Satis superque me benignitas tua Ditavit.' Orelli observes that a Sabine farm did not rank very high in value, quoting Catull. 44. 1 'O funde noster, seu Sabine, seu Tiburs: Nam te esse Tiburtem autumant quibus non est Cordi Catullum laedere: at quibus cordi est Quovis Sabinum pignore esse contendunt.'

15. **truditur dies die**, 'day treads on the heel of day,' Epod. 17. 25 'urget diem nox et dies noctem'; Ter. Andr. 4. 4. 40 'fallacia alia aliam trudit.' Conington suggests that this thought refers back to what precedes as well as on to what follows. The flight of time and the nearness of death is that which gives its point to the comparison of the two pictures.

16. **pergunt interire**, as soon as they are new they begin to wane; the infinitive after 'pergo' is found in prose.

Tu secanda marmora
  Locas sub ipsum funus et sepulcri
Immemor struis domos
  Marisque Bais obstrepentis urges
Summovere litora,
  Parum locuples continente ripa.
Quid, quod usque proximos
  Revellis agri terminos et ultra
Limites clientium
  Salis avarus? Pellitur paternos
In sinu ferens deos
  Et uxor et vir sordidosque natos.
Nulla certior tamen
  Rapacis Orci fine destinata

17. **tu.** He singles out an imaginary subject for the second picture, and addresses him (using the second person as he has used the first for the sake of vividness, though he is describing a class) as though his crimes were acting before our eyes. Cp. 3. 24. 1–8.

**secanda**, probably of cutting the marble into slabs for the pavement, walls, &c. This was looked upon as a great invention of luxury, see Plin. N. H. 36. 6 'Primum marmoreos parietes habuit scena M. Scauri aedilis, non facile dixerim sectos an solidis glebis positos: nondum enim secti marmoris vestigia in Italia. Sed quisquis primum invenit secare luxuriamque dividere importuni ingenii fuit.'

18. **locas**, enter into contracts with the redemptor, Od. 3. 1. 35, Epp. 2. 2. 72.

20. **urges**, for the common accusative, such as 'opus,' Hor. substitutes the infinitive, of the work which is pressed on with this perseverance.

21. **summovere litora**, to thrust the shore back, bid it move further on.

22. 'Not rich enough to thy taste in the possession of the shore of the mainland.' Horace is speaking of the practice of building out into the sea as in Od. 3. 1. 33 foll., 3. 24. 3. The foundations of such building are still to be seen along the coast at Baiae.

**continente** is also taken as 'adjoining.' Orelli supports the present use by Liv. 44. 28 'continenti litore.'

**ripa**, of the seashore, as in 3. 27. 23.

23. **quid quod**, used always to introduce some stronger argument or charge. Here it is equivalent to 'Nay, worse!'

**usque proximos**, τοὺς ἀεὶ ὁμόρους.

24. **revellis**, Fest. in v. Terminus 'Numa Pompilius statuit eum qui terminum exararet et ipsum et boves sacrum esse.'

25. **clientium.** Virgil places among the blackest crimes punished in Tartarus 'fraus innexa clienti,' Aen. 6. 609. Cp. the law of the Twelve Tables, 'Patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit sacer esto.'

26. **salis**, of the levity with which the crime is committed, as if the client's right was no obstacle at all. Compare the use of 'transilire,' 1. 3. 24, 1. 18. 7.

**pellitur**, the construction of the singular is to be classed with those collected on 1. 3. 10.

27, 28. **deos . . . natos.** It is all that is left to them. 'Paternos' gives the additional aggravation that the home they are driven from is where their fathers dwelt before them. 'Sordidos' makes the case harder by noting their poverty.

29. 'Yet no mansion more certainly awaits the wealthy master than that one traced out for him by the limit of Orcus greedy as himself.' 'Destinata' agrees with an ablative 'aula,' understood. Conington points out that the phraseology, 'aula,' 'destinata,' 'rapacis,' is chosen so as to suggest a comparison between Death and the 'dives erus' himself (see on 3. 24. 5), 'Meantime

Aula divitem manet
  Erum. Quid ultra tendis? Aequa tellus
Pauperi recluditur
  Regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci
Callidum Promethea
  Revexit auro captus. Hic superbum
Tantalum atque Tantali
  Genus coërcet, hic levare functum
Pauperem laboribus
  Vocatus atque non vocatus audit.

Death more punctual than any contractor, more greedy than any encroaching proprietor, has planned with his measuring-line a mansion of a different kind, which will infallibly be ready when the day arrives.'

**Orci fine.** Ritter takes this as a local ablative = 'in finibus Orci,' quoting for the singular, Od. 1. 34. 11 'Atlanteus finis.' It is more probably instrumental, 'by the limit of Orcus' being equivalent to 'by Orcus, who sets a limit to all things.' 'Mors ultima linea rerum,' Epp. 1. 16. 79. There may be a remembrance of the Gr. *τέλος θανάτοιο*. That it should interfere to some extent with the personification would not, in interpreting Horace, be a fatal objection (see on 1. 35. 21, 2. 16. 21), but perhaps the limit which Death sets to life and its plans may be allowed to stand for the measuring-rod with which he traces the place and bounds of the mansion which he prepares for the living. 'Destinare' is especially used of tracing out the site for a building. Bentley quotes the Culex 391 'Conformare locum capit impiger hunc et in orbem Destinat.'

Other ways of taking the lines are: (1) to make 'destinata' agree with 'fine' in the sense of 'than the end of Orcus already traced for him'; (2) to take 'destinata' as a nominative with 'aula,' 'no house that he has planned awaits him more surely than the end of Orcus'; (3) with Bentley to understand 'certior' of the comparative certainty of death to the rich and the poor. 'Nulla certior (h. e. non certior) aula manet divitem erum [quam pauperem clientem] designata et descripta termino ipsius Orci (h. e. aeque spatiosa ac ipse Orcus).' All these sacrifice a good deal of the personification of Orcus, which seems to be implied in the remainder of the Ode, Bentley's most of all, so much so that he wishes to read 'capacis.' It is to be observed that his interpretation really necessitates this change, and this necessity is fatal to it. Death must, on his view, be represented as a *boon*, otherwise the sentence should have run 'non certior manet pauperem quam divitem.'

32. **quid ultra tendis** recalls the 'fine,' 'Death has set the limit, why do you try to overpass it?'

32–end. 'Nothing excludes and nothing exempts.' The equality is enforced in the first clause by the opposition, 'the pauper and the prince'; in the second by the accumulation of the qualities that might be expected to make a difference, 'no wit, no wealth'; in the third and fourth by the double contrast (which has a direct application to the oppressor) between proud Tantalus and his mythic race who would escape death if they could, and the poor man who looks to it as the end of his toils. The matter is clenched by the suggestion of the last line that even for the poor man it is no matter of choice.

35. **Promethea,** see on 2. 13. 37. We seem to have a fresh point added to the legend here. The 'satelles Orci' is Charon, as appears from the verb 'revexit.'

36. **hic,** Orcus. 'Vocatus,' &c., would hardly suit Charon.

38. **levare,** after 'vocatus.'

40. The form is like Thucyd. 1. 118 *αὐτὸς* (Apollo) *ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος*. Halm (in the third edition of Orelli) suggests that Horace was thinking of Aesop's fable of the old man and Death, though the point there is different.

# ODE XIX.

THE poet imagines himself (vv. 1–4) to have come, while wandering in the hills, on Bacchus amidst the Nymphs and Satyrs. He describes dramatically (as though he felt them at the moment) the effects of the sight: the fresh terror (χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς, Hom. Il. 20. 131), the rush of inspiration; delightful, yet half painful, from its tumultuous excitement. Then he finds the way of relief. He may sing the praises of Bacchus; of his power to bless those whom he loved and destroy his enemies; his power over inanimate nature, over noxious beasts, over the giants, over the monsters of Hades.

Compare Od. 3. 25. They both seem to be attempts to catch something of the inspiration of a Greek dithyramb. That Ode has a purpose; the present one is a mere study. There is no reason to believe that it is a reproduction of any single original. The art of its composition, the climax through which the celebration of Bacchus' triumph rises, and the studiedly quiet conclusion after the abrupt bursts of the beginning, as though the strained mind had found relief and the 'turbida laetitia' run itself clear, are Horatian rather than Greek.

Dill^r. suggests that Horace had been lately reading Euripides' Bacchae. That he had read it is pretty certain.

BACCHUM in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem—credite posteri—
Nymphasque discentes et aures
Capripedum Satyrorum acutas.
Euoe, recenti mens trepidat metu
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
Laetatur. Euoe, parce Liber,
Parce, gravi metuende thyrso!
Fas pervicaces est mihi Thyiadas
Vinique fontem, lactis et uberes

1. **remotis**, absolute, 'far away from the ways of men.'

**rupibus**: he is a mountain god, Soph. O. T. 1105.

2. **credite posteri**, cp. Epod. 9. 11 'posteri negabitis.'

3. **aures acutas.** The epithet is for the eye; 'the sharp-pointed ears.' That the Satyrs were listening is implied in the selection of their ears as the part which the poet saw. For the Nymphs and Satyrs in this conjunction see 1. 1. 31 'Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori.'

6. **turbidum laetatur.** Meineke compares an expression of Pherecrates, Fr. 2 γελῶντα καὶ χαίροντα καὶ τεθολωμένον.

7. **parce Liber.** He prays the god to moderate the violence of the overmastering ἐνθουσιασμός, not to strike him with the terrible thyrsus, the blows of which inspired the Bacchic frenzy.

9. **fas . . . est.** Bentley was dissatisfied with the boldness of this assertion following on the 'trepidat' and 'parce,' and wished to read 'sit.' But see what has been said in the Introduction to the

Cantare rivos, atque truncis
Lapsa cavis iterare mella ;
Fas et beatae coniugis additum
Stellis honorem tectaque Penthei
Disiecta non leni ruina,
Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.
Tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum,
Tu separatis uvidus in iugis
Nodo coërces viperino
Bistonidum sine fraude crines :
Tu, cum parentis regna per arduum
Cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,
Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
Unguibus horribilique mala ;
Quamquam choreis aptior et iocis
Ludoque dictus non sat idoneus

Ode. It is the expression of joy at finding a vent for his overwrought feelings.

**pervicaces**, 'untiring.'

**Thyiadas** (from *θύειν*), a name of the Bacchantes.

Cp. Eur. Bacch. 706 foll. *῎Αλλη δὲ νάρθηκ' ἐς πέδον καθῆκε γῆς, | καὶ τῇδε κρήνην ἐξανῆκ' οἴνου θεός· | ὅσαις δὲ λευκοῦ πώματος πόθος παρῆν, | ἄκροισι δακτύλοισι διαμῶσαι χθόνα | γάλακτος ἐσμοὺς εἶχον· ἐκ δὲ κισσίνων | θύρσων γλυκεῖαι μέλιτος ἔσταζον ῥοαί.* See also ib. 142.

11. **truncis cavis.** The resemblance to the passage just quoted from Eur. Bacch. makes it very probable that 'trunci' is used here of the hollow thyrsus. If it is of the trunks of trees, compare the golden age in Virg. E. 4. 30, when 'durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.'

13. **beatae**, predicative. The song is to be of Ariadne's apotheosis, as well as of the transformation of her crown into a star.

14. **honorem**, her ornament, her crown. the 'Gnosia ardentis stella coronae,' Virg. G. 1. 222. See the story in Ov. Met. 8. 176. For the use of 'honos' cp. Virg. Aen. 7. 814 'regius ostro Velet honos umeros.'

**tecta Penthei**, Eur. Bacch. 633 *δώματ' ἔρρηξεν χαμᾶζε· συντεθράνωται δ' ἅπαν.*

16. **Lycurgi**, Hom. Il. 6. 130 foll., Soph. Ant. 955.

17. This refers to his conquest of India. The powers of nature aided him in the enterprise; the Orontes and Hydaspes turned their streams at the touch of his thyrsus that he might cross them, and the sea grew calm before him. Nonnus Dionysiaca 13. 123.

**flectis** can only be used of 'mare' by a zeugma.

**barbarum**, sc. 'Rubrum vel Indicum.'

18. **separatis**, as 'remotis,' v. 1.

**uvidus**, opposed to 'siccus,' 4. 5. 39; *βεβρεγμένος, μέθῃ βρεχθείς*, Eur. El. 326.

20. **Bistonidum.** The Bistones (fem. Bistonis, plur. Bistonides) were a tribe of Thrace, a chief home of the Dionysiac cultus. Bacchus is represented as twisting vipers in their hair without injury to himself or them ('sine fraude,' cp. Carm. S. 41). Cp. Eur. Bacch. 101 foll.

23. **Rhoetum**, 3. 4. 55. Nauck thinks that Rhoetus owes his selection to the assonance 'Rhoetum retorsisti.'

**leonis**, actually in the form of a lion. See Hom. Hymn. 6. 44, Eur. Bacch. 1019 *φάνηθι . . . πυριφλέγων ὁρᾶσθαι λέων.*

25. **quamquam**, qualifying what precedes, 'and yet.' 'Sed' is again adversative to this concession.

Pugnae ferebaris: sed idem
Pacis eras mediusque belli.
Te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
Cornu decorum, leniter atterens
Caudam, et recedentis trilingui
Ore pedes tetigitque crura.

28. **mediusque.** The 'que' misplaced, as in v. 32; see on 1. 30. 6. It is a question whether 'idem' or 'medius' is the main predicate. In the former case the verse will mean, 'Thou wast the same (i. e. equally vigorous and successful) in the midst of peace and in the midst of war.' In the latter we must interpret with Orelli, 'medius' = 'midway between peace and war,' meaning 'equally adapted for peace and war.' No real parallel has been quoted for the expression; the sense is the same as Virgil's 'pacisque bonas bellique ministras,' Aen. 11. 658, quoted by Orelli.

29. **insons,** without attempting to harm you. **aureo cornu,** as Bacchus is represented on the stage, Eur. Bacch. 920–922. Cp. ib. 100.

30. **atterens,** wagging his tail, moving it from side to side on the ground—*σαίνων*—in pleased recognition at Bacchus' approach; or = 'atterens tibi,' of a dog rubbing itself against a master or friend. It is not the same action as Virgil's 'caudamque remulcens subiecit pavitantem utero' (Aen. 11. 812) of a wolf slinking away in terror.

31. **trilingui ore,** probably the tongue of each of his three mouths, as Virgil's 'latratu trifauci,' Aen. 6. 417. See on 2. 13. 33. For the intentional dullness of this stanza see Introd. and cp. the end of 3. 5.

---

## ODE XX.

'HORACE will stay no longer on earth; he will mount into the clear air of heaven and laugh at his detractors. He whom the envious world despises, but whom Maecenas loves, will not die the common death of men. Already he feels himself changing to a swan. All the world shall see him and hear his music: funeral rites have no meaning for him.'

I accept the suggestion of Plüss (Horaz Studien, p. 179 f.) that Horace speaks as from his funeral pyre, his friends standing round and Maecenas as chief mourner. This gives a better sense than any yet proposed to v. 6, it softens any grotesqueness in the supposed metamorphosis, and it gives full force to the last stanza.

The point taken is then exactly the same as in Ennius' epitaph on himself which is clearly in Horace's mind:

'Nemo me lacrimis decoret, neque funera fletu
Faxit. Cur? volito vivus per ora virum.'

Compare Virgil's imitation of the same (G. 3. 8):

'Temptanda via est qua me quoque possim
Tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora.'

The Ode doubtless owes its place at the end of a Book to its general reference to

Horace and his poetic fame; but it hardly looks as if it had been written for such a purpose, as Od. 3. 30, Epp. 1. 20. Its feeling seems really to lie in vv. 4–8.

He has not risen to feel his humble origin itself a distinction as in 3. 30.

NON usitata nec tenui ferar
Penna biformis per liquidum aethera
Vates, neque in terris morabor
Longius, invidiaque maior
Urbes relinquam. Non ego, pauperum
Sanguis parentum, non ego, quem vocas,
Dilecte Maecenas, obibo
Nec Stygia cohibebor unda.
Iam iam residunt cruribus asperae
Pelles, et album mutor in alitem
Superne, nascunturque leves
Per digitos umerosque plumae.
Iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
Visam gementis litora Bospori

1. **non usitata**, 'quia primus Romanae fidicen lyrae,' Orelli.

2. **biformis**, a poet and yet a swan.

**liquidum**, 'clear,' opposed to the damp and heavy atmosphere of earth. Cp. 'udam spernit humum,' 3. 2. 24.

4. **invidiaque maior**, above the range of envy. For the use of 'que' after a negative clause see on 1. 27. 16, 2. 12. 9.

5. **urbes** = the haunts of men.

**pauperum sanguis parentum**, the very words of the 'invidi,' as Sat. 1. 6. 46 'Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum, Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum.' 'Sanguis,' as 'regius sanguis,' 3. 27. 65; 'sanguis deorum,' 4. 2. 13.

6. **quem vocas**. In the interpretation adopted of the Ode these words refer to the solemn calling on the dead, 'voce vocare,' Virg. Aen. 3. 68, 6. 506, &c. This alone gives a substantial meaning to 'vocas' used absolutely. The attempts to make it = 'ad te vocas,' as used of the living, always end in bathos. The alternatives are (1) to take it with 'dilecte,' separating that from 'Maecenas,' 'whom thou callest "dear friend."' To the name given him by the envious crowd, he opposes that given him by the one whose judgement he most values. This is the interpretation of the Scholiast, and of recent editors it has Munro's support. Cp. (with Ritter) Maecenas' expression of affection for Horace in the epigram preserved in the Suetonian life of the poet: 'Ni te visceribus meis Horati Plus iam diligo,' &c. It must be confessed that the separation of 'dilecte' from 'Maecenas' is harsh; and that such passages as Ov. Am. 1. 7. 19 'Quis mihi non "demens," quis non mihi "barbare" dixit?' do not reach the boldness of the vocative in this place. (2) to adopt Bentley's conj. 'quem vocant'—'I, as they call me,' the 'non ego' being repeated with something of the tone in the repetition of Sat. 1. 6. 46.

8. **cohibebor**, 2. 14. 9.

9. 'The skin roughens and shrinks to my legs, as they also shrink into the legs of a bird;' 'pelles,' proleptically, as it is the word for the skin of the swan, not of the human subject: see on Epod. 17. 22. Notice the antithetical 'asperae . . . leves': see on 1. 36. 16.

11. **superne**. The *e* is short, as in Lucr. 6. 543 and 596: see Wagner's Plaut. Aulul. Introd. p. xxiii.

13. **notior**, so Keller edits, with the larger number of good MSS., including B and A (though 'corrected' in the latter by a second hand to 'otior'). Others have 'ocior.' The hiatus in that case must be defended by the same considerations as 'periret' in 3. 5. 17; the caesura separates two parts

Syrtesque Gaetulas canorus
Ales Hyperboreosque campos.
Me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum
Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi
Noscent Geloni, me peritus
Discet Hiber Rhodanique potor.
Absint inani funere neniae
Luctusque turpes et querimoniae;
Compesce clamorem ac sepulcri
Mitte supervacuos honores.

of an asynartete verse. Bentley proposed 'tutior,' and Lachmann follows him, not to avoid the hiatus, but on the ground that Horace would have felt the bare comparison of his flight to that of Icarus to be ill-omened. Cp. 4. 2. 2 foll. But it is not here as there an effort of his genius, which might be unsuccessful, of which he is speaking. He says that by his poetic fame he will be known to further regions (or that he will travel faster) than if he had the wings of Icarus. The fate of Icarus is not in question. 'Daedaleo,' not a needless patronymic; but i. q. 'ope Daedalea,' 4. 2. 2, 'Icarus, who had Daedalus to make wings for him.'

14. **gementis**, 2. 13. 14, 3. 4. 30. The names seem to be selected, as Dill[r]. remarks, in stanza 4 as those of strange and barbarous peoples, in stanza 5 for distance—east, north, west.

15. **canorus ales.** The 'white' (v. 10) and 'tuneful' bird is not named, but is clearly the swan. Cp. 4. 3. 19 'O mutis quoque piscibus Donatura cycni si libeat sonum'; ib. 2. 25 'Dircaeum cycnum'; Virg. E. 9. 27.

17. **qui dissimulat**, fears, though he tries to hide his fear.

19. **peritus.** Ritter rightly thinks there is a distinction drawn between the Spaniard and Gaul as already 'periti,' and the barbarous Colchian, &c. Kiessling points out that the climax 'noscent,' 'discet' favours this.

20. **Rhodani potor.** For the form of expression see on 3. 10. 1: cp. 4. 15. 21.

21. **inani funere**, there must be no dirge, for there is none to bury.

24. **supervacuos**, 'unmeaning.' The word is not found before Horace; Cicero uses 'supervacaneus.'

# LIBER TERTIUS.

## ODE I.

'HEAR the teaching of the Muses, ye that are fit to receive it. All human greatness is bounded. Kings are above us, but Jove is above kings; men may differ in wealth and rank, but Death makes no distinction. To one who has the sword of Damocles above his head no feasts will taste sweet, no music bring sleep; yet sleep may be had in peasants' cots or on a shady river bank. Moderate your desires. It is not the desire for what is enough for life that puts the trader's happiness at the mercy of a stormy sea, or the farmer's at the mercy of the weather. The rich proprietor, weary of the sameness of the dry land, builds houses out into the sea; but fear and conscience and care are not to be escaped; marbles and purple and costly wines can't take away a pang. Don't ask me, then, to change my happy Sabine valley for a palace that will only bring on me envy, and wealth that only increases trouble.'

The exordium suits the beginning of a Book, and also indicates that the Ode or Odes which follow have some special dignity. The sequence of six Odes in the same metre, and dealing with the same general subject, is by itself sufficiently different from the poet's usual practice to attract remark. Diomedes, in his account of Horace's metres, treats them as one continuous poem, numbering Ode 7 as 2; and both MSS. and Scholiasts are inclined to press, beyond the bounds of probability, the connexion between one Ode and another (see Introd. to Ode 3, and note on 4. 1). The unity, however, of general purpose is obvious. The ends social, moral, religious, political, which a good government would set before itself in Rome are reviewed, and it is more than once promised that Caesar's *régime* is to compass them.

This need not, however, imply that the Odes were all composed at the same time, and consciously as a series. The invocation of the Muse at the beginning of the fourth is more natural in an independent Ode. The sixth seems to be earlier than the rest. The references of vv. 13–16 are more easily explained if the 'bellum Actiacum' was still recent, and the tone is more pessimistic than that of the other five. It dwells on the evils without foreseeing the remedy as they do. On the other hand, the indications of date in the fourth (vv. 33–38) lead us rather to Augustus' campaign in Spain B.C. 25.

ODI profanum vulgus et arceo;
Favete linguis: carmina non prius
  Audita Musarum sacerdos
    Virginibus puerisque canto.
Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis
  Clari Giganteo triumpho,
    Cuncta supercilio moventis.
Est, ut viro vir latius ordinet
Arbusta sulcis, hic generosior

1–4. 'The crowd of men and women are beyond my teaching; listen to me, maidens and boys.' This idea is partly clothed in the language of a hierophant bidding the uninitiate avaunt at the commencement of mysteries. We must not, however, look for the metaphor in every word of the stanza. It is the epithet 'profanum' that seems first to suggest it. As the mysteries are those of the Muses, the vehicle of their proclamation will be 'carmina.' The audience are to be 'virgines puerique,' not because the chorus that sang hymns in honour of a god (Carm. S. 6) must be so composed, for this would be to introduce a second metaphor; but because it was to the young and simple that the poet would address his precepts of moderate living, of courage, justice and piety. We seem to have an echo, and an interpretation, of the imagery of this place in Epp. I. 19. 32 foll. 'Hunc [sc. Alcaeum] ego non alio dictum prius ore Latinus Vulgavi fidicen; iuvat immemorata ferentem Ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.' Verses 1, 2 contain the two proclamations customary at solemn rites, the first to warn away improper hearers, *ἑκὰς ἑκὰς ὅστις ἀλιτρός*, Callim. H. in Apoll. 2, 'Procul O procul este profani,' Virg. Aen. 6. 258; the second enjoining a sacred silence on those that remained, Arist. Thesm. 39 *εὔφημος πᾶς ἔστω λεώς, στόμα συγκλείσας*, Tibull. 2. 2. 1 'Dicamus bona verba... Quisquis ades lingua vir mulierque fave,' Virg. Aen. 5. 71 'Ore favete omnes.' Cp. especially Arist. Ran. 353 foll. *Εὐφημεῖν χρὴ κἀξίστασθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροισι χοροῖσιν | ὅστις ἄπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων, ἢ γνώμῃ μὴ καθαρεύει, | ἢ γενναίων ὄργια Μουσῶν μήτ' εἶδεν μήτ' ἐχόρευσεν κ.τ.λ.*

2. **non prius audita.** The initiated are to receive a new revelation. The metaphor, if we are to interpret it, would seem to include the two ideas, that the Odes which follow are to be of a higher mood than their predecessors, and that the wisdom which they convey is strange to the age.

3. **Musarum sacerdos**, a natural description of a poet. Theoc. 16. 29 *Μουσάων ἱεροὺς ὑποφήτας*, Virg. G. 2. 175 'Musae quarum sacra fero.'

5. **proprios**, each over his own flock; i. e. his sway is limited.

**greges**, because kings are *ποιμένες λαῶν*. For the construction 'imperium est in greges' cp. 4. 4. 2 'regnum in aves.' Orelli quotes Plaut. Men. 5. 7. 11 'Si quod imperi est in te mihi.'

7, 8. 'Of Jove, whose glory and power dwarf those of the greatest kings.'

8. **supercilio**, after Hom. Il. 1. 528 *ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων ... μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον*, Virg. Aen. 10. 115.

9–14. 'Men may differ in fortune during life. One possesses broad acres; another, if he is a candidate for office, can offer high birth; a third is a "novus homo," but has higher personal reputation; a fourth has a larger number of clients on whose votes he can reckon.'

9. **est ut**, 'it may be that,' as 'non est ut,' Epp. 1. 12. 2. It is needless with Bentley to alter to 'esto.' The concessions are balanced in the apodosis 'aequa lege,' &c.

**viro vir**, 'man than man,' but they do not thereby rise above the conditions of humanity. Cp. the same emphasis on *ἀνήρ* in Soph. O. T. 498 foll. *ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς ὅ τ' Ἀπόλλων ξυνετοὶ καὶ τὰ βροτῶν | εἰδότες· ἀνδρῶν δ' ὅτι μάντις*

Descendat in Campum petitor,
Moribus hic meliorque fama
Contendat, illi turba clientium
Sit maior: aequa lege Necessitas
Sortitur insignes et imos;
Omne capax movet urna nomen.
Destrictus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet, non Siculae dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non avium citharaeque cantus
Somnum reducent. Somnus agrestium
Lenis virorum non humiles domos
Fastidit umbrosamque ripam,
Non Zephyris agitata Tempe.
Desiderantem quod satis est neque
Tumultuosum sollicitat mare,

*πλέον ἢ 'γὼ φέρεται | κρίσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθής· σοφίᾳ δ' ἂν σοφίαν | παραμείψειεν ἀνήρ.*

**latius**, i. e. 'per ampliorem fundum.'

10. **arbusta**, the trees on which vines are to be trained. **ordinet sulcis** describes the usual mode of planting them. 'Pone ordine vites,' Virg. E. 1. 74, 'plantas deposuit sulcis,' G. 2. 24.

11. **descendat**, an habitual word with a Roman of rank for going from his own house, which would be on one of the heights, to the forum, the Campus Martius, &c. Cic. Phil. 2. 6 'Hodie non descendit Antonius.' Probably, also, with some feeling of the idiomatic use of 'descendere,' as *καθήκειν*, *κατελθεῖν*, 'in aciem,' 'in dimicationem,' 'apud Actium descendenti in aciem,' Suet. Oct. 96.

14. **Necessitas**, 1. 35. 17, 3. 24. 6.

15. **sortitur**, 'casts lots about,' 'decides their fate by lot.' Virg. Aen. 3. 376 'sortitur fata deum rex.'

16. **capax urna**, 2. 3. 25 foll.

17. **super impia cervice**, see on 1. 15. 19 'adulteros crines.' The wicked man has, in his conscience, as it were a sword of Damocles hanging over his head which spoils all pleasure to him. The reference is to the acted parable by which, according to Cic. Tusc. 5. 21, Dionysius proved to his flatterer Damocles 'nihil esse ei beatum cui semper aliquis terror impendeat.'

18. **Siculae dapes**, 'a banquet such as was set before Damocles': 'conquisitissimae epulae,' Cic. l. c. Sicilian banquets were famed, Plat. Rep. 3, p. 404 D *Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν καὶ Σικελικὴν ποικιλίαν ὄψου.*

**non elaborabunt**, for all the labour spent on them, they will not procure him the taste of sweetness.

20. **avium**, of the aviaries of singing birds, a luxury of Roman houses. See Plin. N. H. 10. 72, 17. 6.

21. **reducent**; as if sleep had fled from him and refused to return.

**agrestium virorum**, the genitive seems, as Orelli says, to be constructed *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* with 'somnus' and 'domos.' See on 1. 3. 5.

22. **humiles**, 'low-roofed,' as, 'humiles casas,' Virg. E. 2. 29.

24. **Tempe**, for any valley, as, in a similar connexion, Virg. G. 2. 469 'At frigida Tempe, Mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni.'

25–28. 'Nature wants little. He who limits his desires to that will not have ships on every sea, so that every storm should disquiet him; nor large vineyards and farms, so that hail or drought should ruin him.'

26. Epod. 2. 6 'neque horret iratum mare.'

Nec saevus Arcturi cadentis
Impetus aut orientis Haedi,
Non verberatae grandine vineae
Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros
Sidera, nunc hiemes iniquas.
Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
Iactis in altum molibus; huc frequens
Caementa demittit redemptor
Cum famulis dominusque terrae
Fastidiosus. Sed Timor et Minae
Scandunt eodem, quo dominus, neque
Decedit aerata triremi et
Post equitem sedet atra Cura.
Quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
Nec purpurarum sidere clarior

27. **Arcturi impetus.** Virg. G. 1. 204 joins him with the Haedi, as marking a stormy time of year; 'IV Kal. Nov. Arcturus vespere occidit: ventosus dies,' Columel. 11. 2.

28. **Haedi,** Virg. Aen. 9. 668 'Quantus ab occasu veniens pluvialibus Haedis Verberat imber humum.'

29–32. Cp. Epp. 1. 8. 5 foll. 'Haud quia grando Contuderit vites oleamque momorderit aestus,' &c. The farm has broken its promise of yield (cp. Epp. 1. 7. 87 'spem mentita seges,' and contrast Od. 3. 16. 30 'segetis certa fides'), and the fruit-trees are represented as always able ('nunc,' 'nunc,' 'nunc') to excuse themselves, and throw the blame on the weather.

32. **sidera,** the heat attributed to the Dogstar. Epod. 16. 61 'nullius astri Gregem aestuosa torret impotentia.'

33. **contracta pisces,** &c. Variously taken of the 'piscinae marinae' in which the fish find themselves enclosed, and of the sea at large, which is represented as narrowed by the number of villas built into it. The latter is more probable, and the hyperbole is not greater than 3. 24. 1.

34. **iactis molibus;** cp. the description of the process in Virg. Aen. 9. 710 foll. 'Qualis in Euboico Cumarum litore quondam Saxea pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante Constructam pelago iaciunt,' &c.

**huc,** into the space enclosed by the masses of masonry that have been let down into the water.

35. **caementa** are the rough stones and rubble used for filling the cavities of walls in the foundations of buildings. Horace represents the builder ('redemptor'), with a large staff of assistants ('frequens'), the servants of the owner ('famulis'), and the owner himself, as all engaged in hurrying on the work.

36. **terrae fastidiosus,** like 'parum locuples continente ripa,' 2. 18. 22, except that here it is the sense of weariness, there of greed, that is prominent.

37. **Minae,** the forebodings of his own imagination.

38. **scandunt,** they can clamber into the villa built out in the water, by the same entrance as the master.

**neque decedit,** &c., the marine villa is lost in the general idea of the impossibility of flying from care. With the whole stanza cp. 2. 16. 21 foll. and see note there. The reminiscence of Lucretius (2. 47 foll.) is more evident in this place than in that. 'Timor et Minae' recalls 'metus hominum, curaeque sequaces,' and in the following stanza we may hear the echo of 'neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro, Nec clarum vestis splendorem purpureai.'

41. **quodsi,** &c. The application of the moral professedly to himself, really to those whose desires are not as moderate.

**dolentem,** in body or mind. Cp.

Delenit usus nec Falerna
Vitis Achaemeniumque costum,
Cur invidendis postibus et novo
Sublime ritu moliar atrium?
Cur valle permutem Sabina
Divitias operosiores?

Epp. 1. 2. 46 foll. 'Quod satis est cui contingit nihil amplius optet. Non domus et fundus non aeris acervus et auri Aegroto domini deduxit corpore febres Non animo curas.'

**Phrygius lapis**, a famous marble, white with red spots, brought from Synnada in Phrygia. Cp. esp. Stat. Silv. 1. 5. 37.

43. **usus**, like other expressions of the Ode, seems to be due to Virg. G. 2. 466 'Nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi.' Conington (in loc.) points out that the two constructions are not exactly parallel. The 'wearing of purple' is the subject of 'delenit' in sense as well as grammar; but the hypallage which makes 'sidere clarior' agree with 'usus' rather than with 'purpurarum' (cp. 3. 21. 19 'iratos regum apices,' and Epod. 10. 12 and 14), is the same as that by which Virgil attributes to the 'usus olivi' the adulteration which happened to the oil itself.

44. **Achaemenium**, Persian. See on 2. 12. 21.

45. **invidendis**, 2. 10. 7 'caret invidenda Sobrius aula.'

**novo ritu**, 'after the modern fashion.' Cp. Od. 2. 15. 10–20, 2. 18. 1–5. The 'atrium' was the reception-room of a great house (cp. Epp. 1. 5. 31 'Atria servantem postico falle clientem'), and the chief care was spent on its adornment; so that the ideas of the two lines will be exactly parallel to Virg. G. 2. 461–463 'Si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis Mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam, Nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postes.'

47. **permutem**, for construction see on 1. 17. 2 'Lucretilem mutat Lycaeo.'

# ODE II.

A PICTURE of the old Roman character for the imitation of the young. Compare with it Od. 4. 9. 34 to end. 'Hardness, to be learnt early in the school of actual warfare—courage—virtue, self-involved and independent of popular rewards—the power of silence.'

ANGUSTAM amice pauperiem pati
Robustus acri militia puer
Condiscat et Parthos feroces
Vexet eques metuendus hasta
Vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat
In rebus. Illum ex moenibus hosticis
Matrona bellantis tyranni
Prospiciens et adulta virgo
Suspiret, eheu, ne rudis agminum
Sponsus lacessat regius asperum
Tactu leonem, quem cruenta
Per medias rapit ira caedes.
Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori:
Mors et fugacem persequitur virum,

1. **amice pati.** An extension of the more common 'lente ferre,' 'clementer ferre,' Cic. 'Amice' is the reading of all the oldest MSS., including V. The words of Acron, 'Hanc oden ad amicos generaliter scribit' would not necessarily imply that he read 'amici,' but that he took 'amice' for a vocative, and as an address not to a special friend, but to any that should read the Ode.

2. **robustus**, predicative, so that it = 'ita ut robustus fiat,' and the epithets 'robustus,' 'acri' answer to one another in Horace's manner. 'A boy should learn to bear and welcome the restraints of poverty, and grow hardy in the sharp school of warfare.'

4. **vexet**, 4. 14. 23 'impiger hostium vexare turmas.'

6. **hosticis**, for the form see on 2. 1. 1 'civicum.' For the picture of the wife and daughter looking from the wall on the combat cp. Hom. Il. 3. 154 foll., 22. 462 foll., Virg. Aen. 11. 475.

8. **adulta**, sc. 'nubilis.'

9. **eheu**, her sigh as she breathes the prayer 'ne,' &c.

10. **sponsus regius**, 'accipiendum de alius regis foederati filio, ut Coroebus (Virg. Aen. 2. 341) propter Cassandram Troiam venerat,' Orell.

**asperum tactu**, 'dangerous to rouse,' 'aspera tigris,' 1. 23. 9.

11. **cruenta**, that makes its way in blood.

13. Tyrt. 7. 1 *Τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα | ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.*

14. **mors**, taking up the last word 'mori.' *Death* the coward cannot escape, though he may refuse 'the death for his country which is sweet and beautiful.' The verse seems like a translation of Simonides (§ 65. ed. Bergk) *ὁ δ' αὖ θάνατος κίχε καὶ τὸν φυγόμαχον.*

**virum**, used apparently with no emphasis, as 'agrestium virorum,' 3. 1. 21.

Nec parcit imbellis iuventae
Poplitibus timidoque tergo.
Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae
Intaminatis fulget honoribus,
Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis aurae.
Virtus recludens immeritis mori
Caelum negata temptat iter via,
Coetusque vulgares et udam
Spernit humum fugiente penna.
Est et fideli tuta silentio
Merces: vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum

16. **timido tergo**, see on 1. 15. 19.

17–20. 'The virtuous man cannot know the disgrace of defeat; not merely he cannot be disgraced, he cannot be defeated. And the honours (high offices) which he gains have no stain on them as is the case with those gained in the Comitia.' These two paradoxes are explained by a third, 'the consulship which he fills is neither taken up nor resigned in accordance with the shifting wind of popular favour.' In the same strain Horace tells Lollius that his soul is 'Consul non unius anni Sed quotiens bonus atque fidus Iudex honestum praetulit utili,' 4. 9. 39. He has clothed in Roman language the Stoic paradox that the wise man is always a king, cp. Epp. 1. 1. 107, Sat. 1. 3. 136, and see on Od. 2. 2. 9. Compare the exposition of it in Cicero, Acad. Quaest. 4. 44, and the anecdote which he tells, 'Albinum qui tum praetor esset, cum Carneades et Stoicus Diogenes ad Senatum in Capitolio starent, iocantem Carneadi dixisse: Ego tibi praetor esse non videor quia sapiens non sum . . . tum ille, Huic Stoico non videris.'

17. **repulsae**, the technical word for losing an election.

18. **intaminatis**, a few MSS. read 'incontaminatis,' which Bentley is inclined to support. 'Intaminatus' is an ἅπαξ λεγ., but formed naturally from the obsolete 'tamino' (Fest. s. v.), found in 'contamino,' 'attamino.'

**fulget**, cp. 3. 16. 31 'Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae.'

20. **popularis aurae**, a common metaphor; 'ventus popularis,' Cic. Clu. 47, 'aura favoris popularis,' Liv. 22. 26. In Virgil's 'gaudens popularibus auris,' Aen. 6. 817, the idea is of a favouring wind, here it is of the changeableness of the wind. Compare the uses of πνεῦμα and πνοή.

21. Compare the epigram of Simonides on those that fell with Leonidas (§ 98. ed. Bergk) Οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεί σφ' ἀρετὴ καθύπερθε | κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ 'Αΐδεω, Virg. Aen. 9. 641 'Macte nova virtute, puer; sic itur ad astra,' 6. 130 'ardens evexit ad aethera virtus' (with Conington's note). It is here at least only an immortality of fame that is promised. Cp. 3. 30. 6 'Non omnis moriar,' 4. 8. 28 'Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori: Caelo Musa beat,' with the verses before and after.

22. **negata**, 'pennis non homini datis,' 1. 3. 35. There is no way, but Virtue makes one. Ovid, probably imitating this, Met. 14. 113 'Invia virtuti nulla est via.'

**temptat iter**, probably from Virg. G. 3. 8 'Temptanda via est qua me quoque possim Tollere humo,' as that is from Ennius.

23. **udam**, opp. to 'liquidum aethera,' 2. 20. 2, &c.

25. The self-restraint that can keep a secret is praised as one of the old Roman virtues. Compare 1. 18. 16 'arcani Fides prodiga,' Sat. 1. 4. 84 'commissa tacere Qui nequit, hic niger et,' &c. and Vulteius over Philippus' wine, 'dicenda tacenda locutus,' Epp. 1. 7. 72. The wording is apparently from the verse of Simonides (§ 66) ἔστι καὶ σιγᾶς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας, which Plutarch (Apophth. Reg. et Imp., Aug. 7)

Vulgarit arcanae, sub isdem
Sit trabibus fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaselon; saepe Diespiter
Neglectus incesto addidit integrum:
Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede Poena claudo.

mentions Augustus as quoting. The mysteries of Ceres are used merely as an illustration.

27–30. Cp. Aesch. S. c. T. 602 foll. Ἠ γὰρ ξυνεσβὰς πλοῖον εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ | ναύταισι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργίᾳ τινὶ | ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει, and the same idea in Soph. Ant. 372, Eur. El. 1354, Xen. Cyrop. 8. 1. 9.

29. **Diespiter**, see on 1. 34. 5. The archaic name is said to be specially appropriate here as having been used in solemn formulae, as when Ζεὺς ὅρκιος was called to witness treaties or vows.

30. **incesto**, 1. 12. 59 'parum castis,' Carm. S. 42 'castus,' of impurity contracted whether by ceremonial or moral faults.

32. **deseruit**, 'has given up the pursuit.'

**pede claudo.** Retribution is ὑστερόποινος, ὑστεροφθόρος, in the Greek poets. Her 'halting foot' seems to be Horace's own; possibly he had in his eyes Homer's description of the λιταί who limp after the steps of Ἄτη, Il. 9. 503.

---

## ODE III.

'*De Iustitia et Constantia.*' *Firmness of purpose* is characterized in vv. 1–8. It is the virtue by which Pollux and Hercules, and Augustus and Bacchus, rose to heaven, by which Romulus overcame the opposition of Juno, and won immortality for himself and world-wide empire for Rome. *Justice* is not absent from the early stanzas of the Ode, for it is a just as well as a firm purpose which is glorified in them; but it is the keynote of Juno's speech, vv. 18–68. She yields to the persevering purpose of Romulus and of Rome. Her wrath was against the 'periura Priami domus,' the 'unjust judge,' v. 19, the promise-breaker, v. 22, the violator of the laws of hospitality and of marriage, v. 25. They have been punished, and she is satisfied. As long as beasts of the field hide their whelps on the tombs of Priam and Paris, the Capitol may stand in its glory. Rome may extend her sway over the world, only let her leave gold in the mine, send her citizens to the world's end in search of empire, not of treasure. And let her beware above all things of the dream of rebuilding the doomed city of Troy. Troy rebuilt, Juno's wrath will revive, and the second fall shall be as bad as the first.

For the meaning of this last warning see the note at the end of the Ode.

Several MSS., including V and A (B omits the Odes 2–6), wrote this Ode continuously with the Second, and Porphyrion, noticing the question, decides that they 'manifeste cohaerent.'

IUSTUM et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava iubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida neque Auster,
Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
Nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis;
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae.
Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
Enisus arces attigit igneas,
Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar.

3. **vultus**, as *τὸ σὸν δείσας πρόσωπον*, Soph. O. T. 448.

4. **mente** is the ablative of the part affected.

**solida**, 'rock-like'; the metaphor is interpreted in Sen. de Consol. Sap. 3 'Quemadmodum proiecti in altum scopuli mare frangunt ita sapientis animus solidus est.' Simonides' *τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου*, which the commentators, including Orelli, quote, is not in point, for it refers to the perfection, not as this does to the firmness, of the wise man's mind.

5. **dux**, as 'arbiter Hadriae,' 1. 3. 15.

**turbidus**, the captain is as disorderly as his crew.

7. **orbis** seems to mean 'the round sky'; cp. 1. 16. 11 'nec saevus ignis, nec tremendo Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu,' Theogn. 869 *ἔν μοι ἔπειτα πέσοι μέγας οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν*, Lucan 2. 290, in the same connexion as this, 'Sidera quis mundumque velit spectare cadentem Expers ipse metus? quis cum ruit arduus aether . . . Complosas tenuisse manus?'

9-15. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 5-12 'Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux,' &c., where Augustus is ranked with the same mythological benefactors of mankind, but distinguished from them as having received his apotheosis in his lifetime, while theirs was delayed by envy till after their death. See also the comments passed (Tac. Ann. 4. 38) on Tiberius' refusal to accept divine honours, 'Optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere; sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos.'

9. **arte**, cp. 'veteres artes,' 4. 15. 12.

**vagus**, *πολύπλαγκτος*, Virg. Aen. 6. 801 'Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,' where note that the travels of Hercules and Bacchus are mentioned to be compared with the progress of Augustus in the East.

10. **enisus**, so the best MSS. (including V) against 'innisus.' It is the usual word for struggling upwards, as Virg. G. 2. 360, of the climbing vine.

**arces igneas**, for the meaning of 'arces' see on 2. 6. 22: 'igneas,' 'starry,' as Horace calls the stars 'ignes,' Od. 1. 12. 47; Ovid's 'siderea arx,' Am. 3. 10. 21.

**attigit**, see on 1. 3. 10.

12. **purpureo ore**, as 'roseo ore' of Venus, Virg. Aen. 2. 593, though attributed to only one feature, it implies the halo of rosy light which surrounds the beatified Augustus. 'Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi,' Virg. E. 5. 56, of the apotheosis of Daphnis.

**bibit**, al. 'bibet.' The MSS. are fairly divided. Of the Scholiasts, Acr. interprets the future. Porph., though his lemma has the present, does not indicate the tense in his interpretation. Either reading is intelligible. If we accept 'bibet,' Horace will represent a place as already prepared at the banquet of the gods and waiting for Augustus, as Virgil, G. 1. 24 foll. 'Tuque adeo quem mox quae sint habitura deorum Concilia incertum est,' &c. Virgil's 'mox' (see Conington in loc.) and 'Iampridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar, Invidet,' G. 1, 503, may answer the objection raised to the future by Orelli, that the mention of death, even under the form of a promise of immortality,

Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae
Vexere tigres indocili iugum
  Collo trahentes; hac Quirinus
    Martis equis Acheronta fugit,
Gratum elocuta consiliantibus
Iunone divis: Ilion, Ilion
  Fatalis incestusque iudex
    Et mulier peregrina vertit
In pulverem, ex quo destituit deos
Mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi

would not be a pleasing compliment. The stress is laid on the deification; death, as a necessary preliminary, is lost to sight. 'Bibit,' however, which makes Augustus a 'praesens deus,' already living on earth the life of a god, is more in accordance with Horace's usual language; see especially Od. 4. 5. 31–36, and the passage already quoted from Epp. 2. 1. 15 foll. 'Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores Iurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras.' It is more likely also to have been altered, as the more extravagant, especially to ears familiar with the Christian conception of life after death. But Horace's own transfiguration in Od. 2. 20, and the beatification given by the Muse to Romulus and Hercules and the Dioscuri in 4. 8 are metaphors of fame, not forms of a future life.

14. **vexere**, evidently, from the context, in his triumphal ascent to heaven. Compare Propertius' account (3. 17. 8) of the apotheosis of Ariadne, 'Lyncibus in caelum vecta Ariadna tuis.' The tamed tigers are not only an ornamental appendage, they are emblems of the civilizing labours, his 'just purpose firmly kept,' whereby he merited deification. These are recognized also probably in the 'pater,' although this was a common address to the Roman gods. Cp. Od. 1. 18. 6, Epod. 2. 22, Epp. 1. 16. 59, 2. 1. 5, and see Conington on Virg. G. 2. 4.

15. **Quirinus**. For the story of his translation see Ovid, Fast. 2. 481 foll.

17. The gods are represented as sitting in council on the question whether Romulus shall be admitted to their number. Juno, to the pleasure of all, assents.

18. **Ilion, Ilion**, 'It was Troy that I hated, and Troy is destroyed.'

19. **fatalis** (cp. Δύσπαρις—Αἰνόπαρις), 'doom-fraught.' The two epithets are meant to have a close connexion.

**iudex**, 'manet alta mente repostum Iudicium Paridis,' Virg. Aen. 1. 26. The epithet 'incestus' is fitly applied to him as 'iudex,' inasmuch as his judgement was determined by Venus' promise, τὴν δ' ᾔνησ' ἥ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν, Hom. Il. 24. 30.

20. **mulier peregrina**. There is a scornful emphasis in the manner in which Juno refuses to name Helen or Paris.

**vertit in pulverem**, reduced to dust, Gr. ἀμαθύνειν, as Hom. Il. 9. 593.

21. **ex quo**, construct 'damnatum ex quo,' &c. The sentence was passed at the time of Laomedon's fraud; it was executed in Priam's time; so the 'dux' of v. 24 must be Laomedon. For the story of his cheating Apollo and Neptune of their bargained wages for building the walls of Troy see Hom. Il. 23. 442 foll.

22. **mercede pacta**, an abl. absol., 'promised them wages and then failed them'; or it may be as Forc. takes it, after the analogy of the ablative with 'fraudare,' e.g. 'praeda,' Liv. 2. 42.

**mihi damnatum** = 'addictum,' given over for punishment, as Virg. Aen. 4. 699 'Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.' Bentley wished to read 'damnatam' against the MSS., as 'obsessam Ilion' is found in Epod. 14. 14, and he is followed by Lachmann and Ritter. But we have 'Ilio relicto' in Od. 1. 10. 14, and 'Ilion' is a nom. in Ov. Met. 6. 95.

Castaeque damnatum Minervae
Cum populo et duce fraudulento.
Iam nec Lacaenae splendet adulterae
Famosus hospes nec Priami domus
Periura pugnaces Achivos
Hectoreis opibus refringit,
Nostrisque ductum seditionibus
Bellum resedit. Protinus et graves
Iras et invisum nepotem,
Troica quem peperit sacerdos,
Marti redonabo; illum ego lucidas
Inire sedes, ducere nectaris
Sucos, et adscribi quietis
Ordinibus patiar deorum.

23. **castae,** 'bene autem "castae," quia "incestus iudex" dixerat,' Acr.

24. **fraudulento,** the epithet is meant for people and prince alike. 'Laomedonteae periuria Troiae,' Virg. G. 1. 502, cp. Aen. 4. 541.

25–28. Paris, the cause of the war, and Hector, the bulwark of Troy, are dead.

25. **adulterae,** probably the dative with 'splendet,' 'adorns himself for the eyes of'; 1. 5. 4 'cui religas comam.' With 'splendet' cp. Hom. Il. 3. 392 κάλλεΐ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν.

26. **famosus,** 'infamous,' as in Sat. 1. 4. 5.

**hospes,** the relation that gave its chief infamy to Paris' crime, ᾔσχυνε ξενίαν τράπεζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός, Aesch. Ag. 401.

28. **refringit,** breaks their onset, turns. 'Danai . . . decimum quos distulit Hector in annum,' Virg. Aen. 9. 154.

29. **ductum,** as 'trahere bellum,' Sall. Jug. 64; 'prolonged by our quarrels,' 'seditio' in the sense of στάσις.

30. **protinus,** 'this moment, and from henceforth.'

31. **nepotem,** Romulus is the grandson of Juno as the son of Mars; his birth is a fresh grievance besides the 'graves irae' against his Trojan ancestry.

32. Juno will not name Rea Silvia; see on vv. 19, 20. There is probably additional scorn in the close conjunction of 'peperit'—'sacerdos' (= 'a vestal,' as in Virg. Aen. 1. 273 'regina sacerdos Marte gravis'), and in the epithet 'Troica,' as if it meant not merely 'of Trojan blood,' but 'a true Trojan.'

33. **Marti** occupies the place of emphasis as stating in one word the consideration which induces her to forego the resentment which had such full grounds. Compare the balancing of the sentence in 2. 8. 1–5 with note.

**redonabo,** a word only found in Horace, Od. 2. 7. 3. It is here used in the same sense as 'condonare' in Caesar, Bell. Gall. 1. 20 'Dumnorigem Divitiaco fratri se condonare dicit,' i. e. Dumnorigi ignoscere propter fratrem.

**illum ego,** both emphatic. It would not be strange that any other of the gods should consent to the admission of Romulus, nor that Juno should consent to the admission of any but one of that hateful parentage.

34. **ducere,** the variation of reading between 'ducere' and 'discere' is as old as the Pseudo-Acr. and Porph., the former of whom interprets 'propinare—potare,' the latter 'assuescere saporibus nectaris.' A slight preponderance of MSS. is in favour of 'discere,' B omitting the Ode, and no testimony existing to the reading of V. 'Ducere' is the simpler; it is a common Horatian word, as with 'pocula,' Od. 1. 17. 22, 'Liberum,' 4. 12. 14, &c.

35. **adscribi ordinibus,** 'ascribere civitati.' Cic. pro Arch., 'urbanae militiae,' Tac. Hist. 2. 94. It may be doubted how far any distinct metaphor is felt in

Dum longus inter saeviat Ilion
Romamque pontus, qualibet exules
In parte regnanto beati;
Dum Priami Paridisque busto
Insultet armentum et catulos ferae
Celent inultae, stet Capitolium
Fulgens triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare iura Medis.
Horrenda late nomen in ultimas
Extendat oras. qua medius liquor
Secernit Europen ab Afro,
Qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus,
Aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm,
Cum terra celat, spernere fortior

'ordinibus,' whether a muster-roll, or the seats of the Council-hall.

**quietis**, a touch of the Epicurean doctrine of Sat. 1. 5. 101; cp. 'ea cura quietos sollicitat,' Virg. Aen. 4. 379.

37. **longus, saeviat**, imply that the sea which flows between them must be 'dissociabilis.'

38. **exules**, the banished Trojans, and provided they do not break their banishment. 'Dictum sane videtur cum leni quadam despicientia,' Orell. The emphasis is really on the one thing that she cares for, viz. that Troy and Troy's manners should have an end. This is brought out equally by the half contemptuous way in which she speaks of the fate of the 'exiles' in comparison with that of their old home, and by the grandeur of the destiny which she is willing to allow them if this one proviso is attended to.

40. **Priami . . . busto.** The Commentators remind us that according to Virgil, Aen. 2. 567, Priam did not actually receive sepulture.

41. **insultet**, ἐπισκιρτᾷ, ἐπιθρώσκει. Although the word is used in its proper sense, there is still a feeling of its tropical sense; to 'leap upon' a grave being a mode of 'insulting' the memory of its tenant, Hom. Il. 4. 177 τύμβῳ ἐπιθρῴσκων Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο. Compare with Juno's words the actual description of the Troad in Lucan 9. 966 foll.

42. **Capitolium**, the pledge and emblem of Rome's eternity, 1. 37. 6, 3. 5. 12, 3. 30. 8.

43. **fulgens**, with 'stet.' It seems to be opposed to the waste grass-grown ruins of Troy. Cp. Virg. 8. 348 'Capitolia . . . Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.'

**triumphatis**, Virg. G. 3. 33 'triumphatas gentes,' Aen. 6. 837.

**possit**, 'be mighty to.' Orelli quotes Tibull. 1. 7. 3 'Aquitanas qui posset fundere gentes.' It exalts the greatness of the feat.

44. **ferox**, as it were, 'at the sword's point'; but the two epithets 'triumphatis,' 'ferox,' are antithetical, contrasting the attitude of the two peoples. Cp. 'Latium ferox,' 1. 35. 10.

**Medis**, the peoples of the East, 2. 1. 31, but with special thought of the Parthians; see on 1. 2. 22.

45. **late**, with 'horrenda,' as 'late tyrannus,' 3. 17. 9, 'populum late regem,' Virg. Aen. 1. 21.

46. **medius liquor**, 'the intervening water,' 'venit medio vi pontus,' Virg. Aen. 3. 417; the Straits of Gibraltar are meant. They stand for the West as the Nile for the East.

49–52. 'Only the gold unfound, and so the better placed, let her fortitude be shown in spurning rather than in gathering with a hand that snatches for mortal uses all that is sacred.'

50. **fortior** = 'dum fortior sit.' It is a question whether this condition grammatically qualifies the 'extendat' of the

Quam cogere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.
Quicumque mundo terminus obstitit,
Hunc tanget armis, visere gestiens,
Qua parte debacchentur ignes,
Qua nebulae pluviique rores.
Sed bellicosis fata Quiritibus
Hac lege dico, ne nimium pii
Rebusque fidentes avitae
Tecta velint reparare Troiae.
Troiae renascens alite lugubri
Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
Ducente victrices catervas
Coniuge me Iovis et sorore.

preceding stanza, or the 'tanget' of the following one. It is better, perhaps, to take it with the former, as the latter matches more closely with the condition laid down in v. 57 foll. 'Let her name be known in all shores from East to West, only as the despiser of gold, not as the greedy searcher for it. She shall go to the world's end, to the tropics and the pole, only not to Troy.' This stanza seems to confirm the view that Horace, under the talk of Troy, is thinking of real moral dangers of his country.

51. **humanos in usus** must be taken with 'rapiente,' as it is antithetical to 'sacrum,' 'cogere' to 'spernere.'

53–56. 'Whatever bounds have been set to the world she shall reach them with her arms, and rejoice to see with her own eyes in what quarter fiery heat revels unchecked, in what quarter the mists and dews of rain.' The great majority of MSS. read 'tanget' as against 'tangat'; and there is some force in Juno's grudging assent passing into a distinct prophecy (cp. 'fata dico,' v. 57) of Rome's greatness, provided only as before that her condition is observed.

54. **visere**, of seeing as a sight. Cp. Od. 2. 15. 3.

55. **debacchentur**, see on 'decertantem,' 1. 3. 13. For the description of the torrid and frigid zones cp. 1. 22. 17 foll., and Virg. G. 1. 234–236 'una corusco Semper sole rubens et torrida semper ab igni, Quam circum extremae dextra laevaque trahuntur Caeruleа glacie concretae atque imbribus atris.'

57. **bellicosis**, 'they will seek empire by arms; the destiny which I have announced is theirs on this condition.'

58. **pii . . . fidentes**, two motives may induce them to forget her warning: filial feeling towards their *μητρόπολις*, overweening confidence in their own powers.

61. **alite lugubri** = 'malis auspiciis'; 1. 15. 5 'mala avi,' 4. 6. 23 'potiore alite.'

62. **iterabitur**, 'the fortunes of Troy, if in an evil hour it is called to life again, shall be repeated in an overthrow as sad as before.' The hypallage whereby 'renascens' is made to agree with Troy's fortunes rather than with Troy, helps in point of *feeling* to make it more clear that any new life of the city would be but the old life repeated, and would end in the same catastrophe; in point of *grammar* it leaves 'iterabitur' without any proper subject, for it is the past destiny which can properly be said to be repeated, not the one which is reopened.

63. **victrices**, victorious before and to be victorious again.

64. Virg. Aen. 1. 46 'Iovis . . . Et soror et coniux,' Hom. Il. 16. 432. Her pre-eminent dignity is a second assurance that the armament will not be led in vain.

Ter si resurgat murus aëneus
Auctore Phoebo, ter pereat meis
Excisus Argivis, ter uxor
Capta virum puerosque ploret.
Non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae:
Quo, Musa, tendis? Desine pervicax
Referre sermones deorum et
Magna modis tenuare parvis.

65. **ter . . . ter**, Virg. G. 1. 281, 283. **aëneus**, almost a proverbial phrase for great strength, Epp. 1. 1. 60, Aesch. in Ctes. § 84 *χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν*.

66. **auctore Phoebo.** A few MSS. read 'ductore,' which might be paralleled by 'potiore ductos Alite muros,' 4. 6. 23, but the vulg. is amply supported by Virg. G. 3. 36 'Troiae Cynthius auctor.' The expression might have been used to mean merely 'with the advice of Phoebus,' but it doubtless refers to the legend that Apollo himself built the walls of Troy; cp. Propert. 4. 6. 43 'murorum Romulus auctor.'

**meis Argivis**, Argos being a chief seat of Juno's worship, 1. 7. 8.

67. **uxor . . . virum pueros**, the men slain, the women sold to slavery.

69. **conveniet**, the future suits the following 'Quo, Musa, tendis?' Horace would suggest that there is something left unsaid. With the end of the Ode cp. that of 2. 1.

72. **tenuare**, as 'deterere,' 1. 6. 12.

---

## ADDITIONAL NOTE

### ON THE PURPOSE OF VERSES 17–68.

It may be taken for granted that some serious purpose, germane to the general subject of the six Odes, underlies the denunciation of Troy and of its rebuilding, which forms such a large part of this Ode. It is like the myth of a Pindaric Ode, never unconnected with the personal occasion or with the gnomic introduction, and it is evidently parallel to the 'gigantomachia' of Ode 4 and to the Regulus-story of Ode 5, both of which have a bearing on the subject which none can mistake. What the purpose is in this case cannot be explained as certainly.

Many editors have recalled the story preserved by Suetonius (Jul. 79) that among the causes of the Dictator's unpopularity was a rumour 'migraturum Alexandriam vel Ilium translatis simul opibus imperii, exhaustaque Italia delectibus, et procuratione urbium amicis permissa.' Mommsen lends the weight of his authority to the view that Horace is referring, not indeed to any such specific rumour, but to a feeling, already in the air [1], that the extension and consolidation of the empire would lead, as it actually led in the end, to the transference of the centre of gravity to the eastern end of the Mediterranean. He is expressing the mind of Augustus

[1] He sees a confirmation of this in the curious story upon which, writing about the same time, Livy dwells (5. 24) that it was proposed in the time of Camillus to remove the seat of government to Veii.

in reassuring Roman patriots on this point: the revival and glorification of Rome, not its displacement, is the idea of the empire. It will be seen that apart from this Ode the evidence is very slight that any such political idea was practically before men's minds: and when we read the Ode itself the theory fails to account for all the facts. It does not explain the emphasis laid throughout on the moral characteristics of Troy, nor give the connexion which there should be between the story and the earlier part of the Ode.

It had been already pointed out that one key to the Episode is found in the fact mentioned by Dion (53. 16), Suetonius (Oct. 7), and Florus (2. 34), that when Octavianus took the title of Augustus it had been in contemplation (according to some accounts it had been his own desire) that he should be called Romulus, as the second Founder of the Roman state. This must certainly be in Horace's mind. It explains why Romulus is (v. 15) the climax of the instances of immortality won by labours in the cause of civilization: 'Yes,' he says, 'Augustus is a second Romulus, only the second Founder will remember the lesson set to the first Founder—Rome was to be Rome, not a second Troy.'

Plüss and those who follow him see in this warning an allegorical picture of the danger of returning, 'nimium pii,' to the political ideals of the Republic. It may be doubted whether Horace or his master would have wished to draw such a sharp line as this implies between the constitution before and after the beginning of the principate. Augustus is set forth in these Odes as the restorer of the old rather than as the founder of a new order of things. But probably the dangers of which the poet speaks are not, primarily, political. It must be remembered that the words are put into Juno's mouth not in the middle, but at the commencement of Roman history. They are the imagined charter of its greatness—recalled now, doubtless for a special reason, because there was or had been a special risk of its infringement. The resemblance cannot be accidental between this Ode and the stanzas of the Carmen Saeculare in which (vv. 37–48) the same close relation and essential difference between Troy and Rome are dwelt upon: Rome represents not the whole of Troy, but the 'remnant,' the descendants and imitators of the 'castus Aeneas, patriae superstes.' Rome, Horace would say, has had its long career of greatness because the condition has been complied with: the old vices, 'Laomedonteae periuria Troiae,' Asiatic perfidy, luxury, greed of treasure, have not broken out again. Why does he say so at this moment? The most likely answer seems to be that he is thinking, in part at any rate, of the rival *régime* from which Augustus has saved them. It is a thought on which we know that he dwelt, the *orientalizing* of the Roman empire which was threatened if the victory at Actium had fallen to Antony and the 'mulier peregrina [1]'. The six Odes would fail to set out all the grounds on which Horace accepted the rule of Augustus and recommended it to his countrymen if this one was altogether omitted.

[1] Mommsen allows that in this and other phrases of vv. 20–26 Horace is glancing at Cleopatra and her paramour.

# ODE IV.

'CALLIOPE, aid me in my song. Is it a delusion, or am I already among the Muses, hearing and seeing them? I am their favourite. In my childhood the wood-pigeons covered me with leaves when I was asleep on the hillside, and through life the Muses have given me a special protection. For their love I escaped Philippi, and the falling tree, and shipwreck off Palinurus. And they are Caesar's solace and refreshment too. They give him gentle counsels, and he accepts them. We all know how Jove's bolt swept away the brutal Titans; for all their strength of arm, and piled mountains and uprooted trees, they could not stand against Pallas and the gods who ranged themselves around her. Force without mind falls of its own weight; force, under control, the gods advance and protect. The giants are in Tartarus, and will never be released. Lawless lust is punished with endless chains.'

This Ode deals with the side of the imperial *régime* which probably did most to attract and hold fast such adherents as Horace himself. The Muses themselves 'gave gentle counsels to Caesar.' It was the *régime* of moderation, of refinement, of literary culture. Those who still continued to conspire against this gentle rule were as the giants trying to overthrow the Olympian gods, and restore the dominion of insensate force and lawless lust. But force without wisdom was powerless.

DESCENDE caelo et dic age tibia
Regina longum Calliope melos,
Seu voce nunc mavis acuta,
Seu fidibus citharave Phoebi.

1. **descende caelo**, for the Muses were Ὀλυμπιάδες, Hom. Il. 2. 491: not, as the Scholiast thought, with reference to the last Ode and the 'sermones deorum.'

**dic . . . melos**, see on 1: 32. 3.

**tibia . . . seu voce acuta . . . seu fidibus.** The construction is not quite perfect. There are not three choices offered, as might appear, the pipe, or the voice, or the stringed instruments, but (as Ritter points out) two. The voice will be used in any case; the alternative is between two tones of the voice and two several accompaniments which suit them. Horace asks first that the melody shall be on the pipe; he corrects this, and laying the emphasis on 'longum,' leaves it to Calliope (so long as in this respect it is such as he asks for) to decide whether it shall be 'voce acuta' (and so accompanied by the pipe) or 'voce gravi' (and so accompanied by the stringed instrument). There is the same choice given to Clio (1. 12. 1), 'lyra vel acri (cp. 'acuta voce') Tibia'; and the two kinds of accompaniment for lyric poetry are common in Horace, as in Od. 1. 1. 32, where they are assigned respectively to Polyhymnia and Euterpe. Cp. also 4. 1. 22.

2. **longum**, 'sustained.' He is preparing for a longer effort than usual; 'maius opus movet.'

**Calliope**, see on 1. 1. 32, she is called 'regina' as a goddess, as ἄνασσα, πότνια in Greek. The repetition of the vocative, and the separation which gives greater emphasis to each utterance of it, are intended to mark the earnestness of his appeal.

4. **fidibus citharave.** If, with the great majority of the MSS., we retain 've,' we must take 'fidibus' of the lyra. Such expressions as λύρῃ κιθαρίζειν

Auditis, an me ludit amabilis
Insania? Audire et videor pios
Errare per lucos, amoenae
Quos et aquae subeunt et aurae.
Me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
Nutricis extra limen Apuliae

(Hom. Hymn. ad Merc. 473), show that in early times the two names belonged to the same instrument, but they were subsequently distinguished. The 'cithara,' whose invention was ascribed to Apollo, was like a modern guitar, its strings stretched over the sounding body; the 'lyra,' which remained the property of Hermes (Epod. 13. 9 'fide Cyllenea'), had its strings open on both sides like a harp. Bentley, and most subsequent editors, have altered 've' to 'que,' so that 'fidibus citharaque' will be = 'fidibus citharae.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 120 'Threïcia cithara fidibusque canoris.'

5. 'Is it a real sound that others too can hear, or am I the subject of a "fine frenzy"?'

**amabilis insania**, an oxymoron; madness, but one of which I should not wish to be cured. Horace claims the ἐνθουσιασμός, μανία (Plat. Phaedr. p. 245 A) of a poet.

6. **pios lucos**, not, as Acron interpreted it, of Elysium, but of the woods which the Muses haunt: **Μουσῶν νάπαι**, Plat. Ion, p. 534 A. Cp. Od. 1. 1. 30, 3. 25. 2, 4. 2. 30, 4. 3. 10. 'Pios' either = 'sacros,' 'haunted by gods,' or because the 'profanum vulgus' is excluded from them, 3. 1. 1 foll.

9. **me fabulosae**. The emphasis on 'me' points out the connexion with the preceding stanzas, 'no wonder that I should hear the Muses' voice, though you do not. I have been their favourite from my babyhood.'

**fabulosae**, 'legendary.' 'De quibus fabulantur poetae.' They are the birds of Venus that draw her car; they carry ambrosia to Zeus himself (Hom. Od. 12. 62). The suggestion is that their action in covering the child-poet in leaves was, like their actions of which legends tell, 'non sine Dis'; and, as Conington remarks, the emphatic conjunction 'me fabulosae,' &c. is as much as to say, 'I, too, like other poets (as Stesichorus, Pindar, Aeschylus), have a legend of my infancy.'

**Vulture** (see footnote on p. 15), now Monte Vulture, a mountain, originally volcanic, 4363 feet high, near the point where Apulia, Samnium, and Lucania join. As it is some ten miles to the west of Venusia, we are to imagine Horace as, at the time of the incident, in 'villeggiatura' in the hills, perhaps at his nurse's cottage.

10. **nutricis**, so Keller, with the oldest MSS.; but it is hard to account for the variant 'altricis,' which divides the authorities with it.

**extra limen Apuliae**. This is the reading of the great number of MSS., and apparently was found by Acr. and Porph. It is usually interpreted of part of M[t]. Vultur, just beyond the border line. Horace dwells on the character of the neighbourhood as 'debateable land' on the frontier of the two provinces, Sat. 2. 1. 34 'Lucanus an Apulus anceps,' &c. There is, however, some reason for suspecting that this reading was an early corruption. The minuteness of the local description and its paradoxical form have no special point; and the instances quoted from other poets of variation of the quantity in such names as Italus, Italia; Priamus, Priamides; Sicanus, &c. are hardly parallel to the inversion of the quantity of two syllables in the same word, in the same part of two consecutive lines. It is doubtful, besides, whether the Roman poets ever shortened the first syllable of Apulia. The only instance alleged is the 'mare Apulicum' of 3. 24. 4, where the reading is at least as doubtful as the present one. Meanwhile, of the oldest MSS. (we have no testimony with respect to V) the Berne and the Paris A, in its first reading, have 'limina Pullie,' and the Scholiast on γ reads the same, and explains it as the proper name of the nurse. Acr. and Porph. seem to have read 'Apuliae,' but, oddly, to have interpreted it in the same way: 'Fabulosam nutricem appellavit quod hae fere alumnis suis narrare fabulas solent. Extra limen fabulosae Apuliae meae

Ludo fatigatumque somno
Fronde nova puerum palumbes
Texere, mirum quod foret omnibus,
Quicumque celsae nidum Acherontiae
Saltusque Bantinos et arvum
Pingue tenent humilis Forenti,
Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
Dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra
Lauroque collataque myrto,
Non sine dis animosus infans.
Vester, Camenae, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos, seu mihi frigidum
Praeneste seu Tibur supinum
Seu liquidae placuere Baiae.

nutricis. Provinciae nomen posuit pro nutricis,' Acr. So also on v. 19, Acr. 'extra casae limen.' 'Pollia' or 'Pullia' is a name that occurs in several inscriptions. It is barely possible then that we have here the name of Horace's nurse, although it cannot be thought likely that none of his readers and imitators in antiquity should have preserved her memory. It is possible, again, that the word which completed the verse may have been lost early, the copyist's eye being caught by the conclusion of the preceding verse; and it may have been some adjective such as 'sedulae' (Bentl.) agreeing with 'nutricis.' It is possible, Ritter thinks, that 'Apuliae' was a gloss to explain some other name of the district, such as 'Dauniae.'

11. Hom. Il. 10. 98 καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ. For the position of 'que' see on 1. 30. 5.

13. **mirum quod foret.** The subjunctive expresses, if not a purpose, at least a result foreseen at the time of the action: 'to be the marvel of all that,' &c. Cp. Virg. E. 9. 48 'processit . . . Astrum quo segetes gauderent frugibus.'

14. **nidum Acherontiae**, of a town nestling, where you would not look for it, on a ledge of a hill. So Cic. de Orat. 1. 44 'Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis tanquam nidulum affixam.' Acerenza retains the name and site of the ancient town. 'It is built on a hill of considerable elevation, precipitous on three sides, and affording only a very steep approach on the fourth.'

15. **Bantinos**, on the borders of Lucania and Apulia, for Pliny speaks of it as belonging to the former, Livy to the latter. The name is preserved in the convent of S[ta]. Maria di Banzi.

16. **Forenti.** The name (Forenza) still remains in the locality, but is at present applied to a village on a hill. Acr. speaks of the ancient village having been deserted in his time, 'nunc sine habitatore est.'

17. **ut . . . ut**, explaining the subject of their wonder, 'how it could be that I slept,' &c. Horace has 'mirabimur ut' in Epod. 16. 53.

18. **sacra**, the bay to Apollo, the myrtle to Venus; and so they are emblematic both of the future poet and specially of the poet of love. 'Collata,' like 'sacra,' is intended to cover both substantives. See 2. 15. 18–20 n.

20. **non sine dis**, οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ, οὐκ ἀθεεί (Hom. Od. 18. 353). This is their explanation of the marvel: 'such bravery in a babe must come from the gods, and must be under their special protection.' 'And so it was,' Horace continues, 'I was under the Muses' care, and have been all my life.'

22. **tollor**, the Muses take him, as a god snatches a hero from the fight in Homer, and carry him up 'in montes et in arcem ex urbe' (Sat. 2. 6. 16). Cp. Od. 2. 7. 13.

**Sabinos.** My Sabine estate. See on Od. 2. 18. 14.

**seu . . . seu . . . seu.** An apodosis must be applied to each supposi-

Vestris amicum fontibus et choris
Non me Philippis versa acies retro,
  Devota non exstinxit arbos,
    Nec Sicula Palinurus unda.
Utcumque mecum vos eritis, libens
Insanientem navita Bosporum
  Temptabo et urentes harenas
    Litoris Assyrii viator;
Visam Britannos hospitibus feros
Et laetum equino sanguine Concanum,
  Visam pharetratos Gelonos
    Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.
Vos Caesarem altum, militia simul
Fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis,

tion, 'or if Praeneste be my choice, or Tibur, or Baiae,' 'ibi vester sum,' 'eo vester feror.' The epithets contrast the situations: the breezy hill-top (Praeneste is 2100 feet above the sea), the sloping hill-side ('supinum' must refer to the S. W. side of Tibur, where the hill slopes gently towards the Campagna), and the sea-shore.

25. **amicum**, the welcome guest in the haunts of the Muses. 1. 26. 1 'Musis amicus.'

**fontibus et choris**, 1. 26. 6; Hes. Theog. 3 (of the Muses) καί τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ' ἁπαλοῖσιν | ὀρχεῦνται.

26. 'Not the rout at Philippi,' 2. 7. 13.

27. **devota**, sc. 'dis inferis,' and so 'accursed.' Epod. 16. 9.

**arbos**, 2. 13 passim, 2. 17. 27, 3. 8. 7.

28. **Palinurus**, the southern promontory of the gulf of Velia, on the west coast of Lucania. Virg. Aen. 5. 833 foll., 6. 381. It is still 'Punta di Palinuro.' There is no other allusion in Horace's poems to this escape from shipwreck, unless his remembrance of it is the source of the images of Od. 1. 28; see also on 4. 4. 44 and Introd. to Epod. 1. For 'Sicula unda' see on 2. 12. 2.

29. **utcumque**, 'whensoever.' See on Od. 1. 17. 10.

30. **insanientem**, Virg. E. 9. 43 'insani feriant sine litora fluctus.'

**Bosporum**, 2. 13. 4, 2. 20. 14.

32. **litoris Assyrii**, probably of the Syrian desert, Assyrius being used loosely for 'Syrius' by the poets. See Od. 2. 11. 16, and cp. Virg. G. 2. 465.

**viator**, opposed to 'navita,' as 'viae' to 'mare,' 2. 6. 7.

33. **Britannos**, Catull. 11. 11 (if that be the right reading) 'horribilem insulam ultimosque Britannos.' Tac. Ann. 14. 30 accuses the Druids of human sacrifices.

34. **Concanum**, a tribe of the Cantabri. Virgil attributes the mixing of milk with horse's blood to the Geloni (G. 3. 463), Statius to the Massagetae (Ach. 1. 307). Silius (3. 360) joins the Massagetae and the Concani.

35. **pharetratos**, Virg. Aen. 8. 725 'sagittiferosque Gelonos.' All the localities have epithets to express the savagery of the inhabitants except 'Scythicum amnem,' where 'inviolatus' has the same effect by implying that others could not visit the Tanais with equal safety.

37. **vos** supplies the connexion with the preceding stanzas, as if it were 'vos eaedem.' The same Muses who protect the poet are the solace of Caesar, glad to have done with war and to listen to their gentle counsels.

**altum**, Sat. 2. 5. 62 'ab alto Demissum genus Aenea,' Virg. Aen. 10. 875 'altus Apollo.' Cp. Od. 1. 6. 11 'egregii Caesaris.'

**simul** = 'simulac.'

38. **abdidit**; this is the reading of A, and is the only one which has dis-

Finire quaerentem labores
Pierio recreatis antro.
Vos lene consilium et datis et dato
Gaudetis, almae. Scimus, ut impios
Titanas immanemque turmam
Fulmine sustulerit caduco,
Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, et urbes regnaque tristia

tinct support from a Scholiast, Acron interpreting it by 'interius recondidit.' Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 5 of the retired gladiator, 'latet abditus agro.' Orelli, following B, had 'addidit,' which is used in the same connexion, as if it were the technical word, in Tac. Ann. 13. 31 'Coloniae Capua atque Nuceria additis veteranis firmatae sunt.' Bentley supports 'reddidit' (which also has respectable MS. authority) by Tac. Ann. 1. 17 'praetorias cohortes quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddidit.' In point of sense, 'abdidit' or 'reddidit' are preferable to 'addidit,' as helping the general idea that the war is over. It is the soldiers, not the towns, that Horace is thinking of. 'Addidit' would view the action from the side of the towns. The two occasions in the life of Augustus, before B.C. 23, on which we have record of his settling veterans on purchased land or in colonies, are after the bellum Actiacum in B.C. 30 (Dion, 51. 4), and in B.C. 25 or 24 (Dion, 53. 25) at the close of his Spanish campaign. See Mommsen, R. G. Div. Aug. 3. 22–28.

41. **consilium**, a trisyllable, the penult. being lengthened before l, and the semiconsonantal i = y. So in 3. 6. 6 'Hinc omne principium.' Cp. Virgil's use of 'tenuia,' G. 1. 397; 'fluviorum,' ib. 482, &c.

**dato gaudetis almae.** They not only give gentle counsels, but when they have given them they rejoice to further them; for in respect to them, as in all other respects, they are 'almae.' This epithet stands last, as summing up the beneficent character of the Muses, which has been the theme of the first half of the Ode, and as leading us by the association of contrast to the impersonations of brute and insensate force, whose vain efforts and doom are the subject of the latter half.

42. **scimus ut**, 'we all know how.' The preceding stanzas have been professedly addressed to the Muses. 'Scimus' reminds us that it is really a homily addressed to Horace's contemporaries, who had witnessed, so he hints, a repetition of the Gigantomachia. The same comparison is hinted in Od. 2. 12. 6–10.

43. **immanemque**, the 'que' adding only another designation of the same object.

If we must go by a mere majority of older MSS. we must read 'turbam' here, and 'turmas' in v. 47.

44. **caduco**, καταιβάτης κεραυνός, Aesch. P. V. 358. Here, as in 2. 13. 11, the adjective has something of that sense of 'proneness to fall,' which Bentley (ad loc.) rightly holds to be proper to it. The bolt hung ready to fall: a touch launched it. The adjective heightens our feeling of the ease with which the Titans were swept away. Bentley condemns it here, as merely equivalent to 'cadente,' and would therefore alter it to 'corusco,' which would hardly be an epithet of sufficient point to occupy the emphatic place.

45–48. The universality of Jove's rule is indicated not only by the nouns 'terram,' 'mare,' &c. which describe his triple empire in earth, in Hades, in heaven, but also by the triple contrast of the epithets expressed or implied: the 'dull earth' ('bruta,' 1. 34. 9) and the 'sea stirred by every wind,' 'the [busy] cities of the living and the sad realm of the shades,' 'the ['quieti ordines' of the] gods and the turmoil of mortal men.' However much they differ in all else, they are all alike subject to his sway. For Horace's manner of marking a contrast by giving an epithet to one only of the two things contrasted see on 2. 3. 9, 3. 13. 7, 4. 4. 10. Note also that the epithets actually given are

Divosque mortalesque turbas
Imperio regit unus aequo.
Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Iovi
Fidens iuventus horrida bracchiis,
Fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympo.
Sed quid Typhoeus et validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrion statu,
Quid Rhoetus evulsisque truncis
Enceladus iaculator audax

all such as imply some difficulty or unlikelihood in the way of his rule. He can sway the earth, however insensate it be; the sea, however stormy; the sad shadow-world, as well as the world of men; the turmoil of earth, as well as the quiet gods.

48. **unus**, for all their variety they have one ruler.

**aequo**, calm and just. It is the key-note of the stanza; it heightens our idea of his power, and describes its nature. The construction is, 'qui temperat terram et mare, et regit urbes regnaque,' &c.

49. Newman criticizes, not without justice, the inconsistency between this stanza and the last. 'Magnum illa terrorem intulerat' mars the effect of the picture of imperial calm. Jove, it would seem, was frightened; the ultimate victory was due to other gods. Horace almost seems to forget that he has localized the *majesty* of heaven in Jupiter. His object now is to exalt Pallas, the representative of *mind*. The *power* of heaven was cowed, but the *mind* was unshaken.

50. **fidens bracchiis**, χείρεσσι πεποιθότες, Hom. Il. 12. 135; but Horace intends, by the collocation of 'horrida,' to give the force of 'fidens bracchiis quibus horrebat.' It is of the hundred-handed giant and his fellows that he is thinking.

51. **fratres**, Otus and Ephialtes. Hom. Od. 11. 307 foll.

**tendentes imposuisse.** This is quoted by Madv. (L. G. § 407, obs. 2) with Virg. Aen. 6. 77 'si pectore possit Excussisse deum,' for the poetical use ('like the Greek aorist') of the perf. inf. for the pres. inf.; but they both seem to come under the regular use (which he distinguishes in his Opusc. Academ. 2. 119), in cases where there is definite reference to a completed action. The object in view was not only to place Pelion on Olympus, but to leave it standing there. This reference is clear in the old use of the perf. inf. after 'volo' in prohibitions ('ne quis habuisse velit,' Sctum de Bacch. So Horace, 'Ne quis humasse velit,' S. 2. 3. 187; it is analogous to the perf. conj. in direct prohibition. This, and not any aoristic use, seems to be the explanation of 'ne libeat iacuisse,' in Virg. G. 3. 436). So also in the use after 'nolo,' Sat. 1. 2. 28; 'malo,' S. 2. 8. 79; 'curo,' Epp. 1. 17. 5, 1. 18. 59; 'caveo,' A. P. 168. So, again, in 'veraces cecinisse,' C. S. 25; 'licet dixisse,' Od. 3. 29. 43; 'gaudet pepulisse,' 3. 18. 15; 'gaudet posuisse,' 1. 34. 16; 'iuvat collegisse,' 1. 1. 4.

**opaco Olympo**, 'frondosum Olympum,' Virg. G. 1. 282; Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, Hom. Od. 11. 304. Horace has returned to the Homeric arrangement of the mountains (omitting Ossa), which Virgil had inverted. But in so doing he has left the epithet with what, in his arrangement, is the least appropriate substantive. In Homer and Virgil, the 'nodding woods' on the top add to the picture.

52. The labouring rhythm of the line is probably meant to be imitative.

53. **Typhoeus**, Pind. P. 1, Virg. Aen. 9. 715.

**Mimas**, Eur. Ion 214.

54. **Porphyrion**, Pind. P. 8. 17 βασιλεὺς γιγάντων.

**statu**, of the attitude of one offering fight.

55. **Rhoetus**, Hor. Od. 2. 19. 23.

56. **Enceladus**, Virg. Aen. 3. 578.

Contra sonantem Palladis aegida
Possent ruentes? Hinc avidus stetit
Vulcanus, hinc matrona Iuno et
Nunquam umeris positurus arcum,
Qui rore puro Castaliae lavit
Crines solutos, qui Lyciae tenet
Dumeta natalemque silvam,
Delius et Patareus Apollo.
Vis consili expers mole ruit sua:
Vim temperatam di quoque provehunt
In maius; idem odere vires
Omne nefas animo moventes.
Testis mearum centimanus Gyas
Sententiarum, notus et integrae
Temptator Orion Dianae,
Virginea domitus sagitta.
Iniecta monstris Terra dolet suis
Maeretque partus fulmine luridum
Missos ad Orcum; nec peredit
Impositam celer ignis Aetnam,

57. **Palladis**, see note on v. 49. The goddess of wisdom is the central figure. By her side ('hinc ... hinc') are ranged all the other gods; but of the three named to represent them if one is characterized by fiery zeal, the other two suggest queenly dignity and poetic grace.

58. **avidus**, absol. as in Tac. Ann. 1. 51 'avidae legiones'; more usually with a genitive, as 'avidus pugnae,' Virg. Aen. 12. 430. Homer's λιλαιόμενος πολέμοιο.

60. 'Whom they could never hope to find unarmed and unprepared for battle.' The following stanza is intended to accumulate images of Apollo, his grace of form and his pursuits, which contrast with the 'uncouth and brutal Titans,' his haunts by streams and woodland, the fount of the Muses, the long hair of youth and of the bard (see on 4. 6. 26). We may note, also, in illustration of vv. 63, 64, that when Virgil would express Aeneas' beauty and grace of movement, he compares him to Apollo leading the dance in Delos, when he revisits it from Lycia (Aen. 4. 144).

61. **lavit**. For the form see on 2. 3. 18.

63. **natalem silvam**, Virg. l. c. 'maternam Delon.' For other notices of Apollo's migration between Patara and Delos see Herod. 1. 82, Pind. P. 1. 39.

65. Eur. Fr. Temen. 11 ῥώμη δέ γ' ἀμαθὴς πολλάκις τίκτει βλάβην.

66. **temperatam**, 'under control'; possibly, as Conington suggests, with a reference to the use of 'temperare vinum'; 'tempered,' 'softened,' by the admixture of mind. Orelli points out how the repetition of 'vis,' 'vim,' 'vires,' marks the application of the preceding stanzas.

69. **testis mearum sententiarum.** It is rather a rough and prosaic turn for Horace; but he is probably trying to be Pindaric. See on 4. 4. 18. On the variance of the MSS. between Gyas and Gigas see on 2. 17. 14.

70. **integrae**, i. q. 'intactae,' τῆς ἀεὶ παρθένου.

71. **temptator**, ἅπαξ λεγ. from the Greek πειραστής.

73. **dolet**, is still in pain.

**suis**, i. e. 'se natis.'

75. **peredit**, has eaten a way through, so as to set them free.

76. **impositam**, according to Pindar and Aeschylus, on Typhoeus; according

Incontinentis nec Tityi iecur
Reliquit ales, nequitiae additus
Custos; amatorem trecentae
Pirithoum cohibent catenae.

to Virgil (Aen. 3. 578), on Enceladus; according to Callimachus (Hymn. in Del. 141), on Briareus.

**celer**, for all its haste.

77. **Tityi**, 2. 14. 8, 3. 11. 21, 4. 6. 2, Hom. Od. 11. 576 foll., Pind. P. 4. 90.

78. **additus**, cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 90 'nec Teucris addita Iuno Usquam aberit,' with Conington's explanation of it as a slight extension of 'comitem se addere,' 'comes addi' (ib. v. 528).

80. **Pirithoum**, 4. 7. 27, for his attempt to carry off Proserpine. Theseus, who aided him, and for a time shared his punishment, was released by Hercules.

---

# ODE V.

'JOVE'S thunder proves him the sovereign of the sky. Augustus shall prove himself a god upon earth by adding to the empire Britain and the hateful Parthians—O shame to think of the disgrace not yet wiped away!—Roman soldiers living as captives, forgetful of name and country, and country's gods. This was the danger that Regulus foresaw if prisoners were allowed to hope for ransom—"Let them die," he said, "and pity them not. I have seen with my own eyes the sight of shame: Roman standards nailed up in Punic temples with armour that was taken not from the dead but from the living:—Roman citizens with their hands bound behind their backs—Carthage peaceful and busy:—the work of our war undone. Will you buy those soldiers back again? It will be a waste of money. The deer caught in the net does not fight again if you loose it, nor does the man who has once feared death make a soldier again. He does not know what war means." He put aside his wife and children, and hung his head as one disgraced, till the senate listened to his advice; then he went back to torture and death with as light a heart as if he were going for a holiday.'

Another phase of Augustus' rule. He is to retrieve the deeply-felt disgrace of Carrhae, and to restore the healthy military spirit of ancient Rome. We have in the story of Regulus at once a measure of the disgrace to be retrieved,—'It is the very disgrace which he feared and foretold and went back to the torture in order to prevent,'— and a picture of the true Roman spirit which is to be reawakened.

The whole sentiment of the speech may be compared with Liv. 22. 59–61.

The story of Regulus' mission to Rome is not found in Polybius, a fact which has been held to throw doubt on its truth. It is summarized in the Epitome of

Liv. 18. With Cicero it is a commonplace. It is told at length in the De Off. 3. 27, a passage of which Horace recalls several turns of thought and expression. 'M. Atilius Regulus, cum consul iterum in Africa ex insidiis captus esset, duce Xanthippo Lacedaemonio, imperatore autem patre Hannibalis Hamilcare, iuratus missus est ad senatum ut nisi redditi essent Poenis captivi nobiles quidam rediret ipse Karthaginem. Is cum Romam venisset utilitatis speciem videbat; sed eam, ut res declarat, falsam iudicavit: quae erat talis; manere in patria, esse domi suae cum uxore, cum liberis; quam calamitatem accepisset in bello, communem fortunae bellicae iudicantem, tenere consularis dignitatis gradum. Quis negat haec esse utilia? Quem censes? Magnitudo animi et fortitudo negat. Num locupletiores quaeris auctores? Harum enim est virtutum proprium nihil extimescere, omnia humana despicere; nihil quod homini accidere possit intolerandum putare. Itaque quid fecit? In senatum venit; mandata exposuit; sententiam ne diceret recusavit; quamdiu iureiurando hostium teneretur non esse se senatorem. Atque illud etiam (O stultum hominem—dixerit quispiam,—et repugnantem utilitati suae!) reddi captivos negavit esse utile: illos enim adolescentes esse et bonos duces, se iam confectum senectute. Cuius quum valuisset auctoritas captivi retenti sunt; ipse Karthaginem rediit: neque eum caritas patriae retinuit nec suorum. Neque vero tum ignorabat se ad crudelissimum hostem et ad exquisita supplicia proficisci: sed iusiurandum conservandum putabat.'

Compare de Senect. 20, de Fin. 5. 27, pro Sest. 59, in Pis. 19 'M. Regulus quem Karthaginienses resectis palpebris illigatum in machina vigilando necaverunt.'

It will be observed that the argument against ransoming Roman soldiers, as it appears in the Ode, is an addition to the story.

CAELO tonantem credidimus Iovem
Regnare: praesens divus habebitur
  Augustus adiectis Britannis
    Imperio gravibusque Persis.
Milesne Crassi coniuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit et hostium—

1. **caelo**, with 'regnare,' opposed to 'praesens.' Jupiter in heaven, Caesar upon earth, 1. 12. 51, 58.

**credidimus**, a perf., 'so much the world has already come to believe.'

2. **praesens divus**, opposed to the unseen gods of heaven; cp. 1. 2. 45 'serus in caelum redeas.' It suggests, perhaps, at the same time its more usual sense of 'present to bless'; cp. 4. 14. 43 'tutela praesens Italiae,' Virg. E. 1. 43–45, where Augustus is the 'praesens divus' in both senses.

3. **Britannis**. Cp. 1. 35. 29, where Augustus is spoken of as meditating the same two exploits, 'Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos Orbis Britannos, et iuvenum recens Examen Eoïs timendum Partibus Oceanoque rubro.'

4. **imperio**, see on 1. 2. 26.

**gravibus Persis**, see on 1. 2. 21.

5. **milesne**. This burst of indignation, the more forcible for the conventional tone of the first stanza, is immediately suggested by the mention of the hateful Parthians. Augustus is to subject them to the Roman sway. 'Can it be that Roman soldiers have borne to live, to marry, and grow old as their slaves? What a change from the old spirit, the spirit of Regulus!'

**Crassi**. M. Licinius Crassus Dives, the rival of Caesar and Pompey, and sharer with them in the league sometimes called the First Triumvirate, was defeated, B.C. 53, at Carrhae in Mesopotamia, by Surenas, general of Orodes I; 20,000 Romans were said to have been

Pro curia inversique mores!—
Consenuit socerorum in armis
Sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus,
Anciliorum et nominis et togae
Oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,
Incolumi Iove et urbe Roma?
Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
Dissentientis condicionibus

taken prisoners, and 20,000 left dead, amongst whom was Crassus.

**coniuge barbara.** Neither with 'turpis,' as Ritter takes it, nor necessarily with 'maritus,' as Dill^r. and Orelli, though they support it by Ov. Her. 4. 1. 34 'fratre marita soror'; but an ablative 'absolute' as much as 'te duce,' &c. (see on 2. 1. 12), an ablative of the circumstance which justifies the whole appellation 'turpis maritus,' the collocation pairing, in Horace's manner, the correspondent words 'turpis,' 'barbara,' 'maritus,' 'coniuge.' The 'disgrace' the Commentators illustrate from Virg. Aen. 8. 688 'sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniux,' and Liv. 43. 3 'ex militibus Romanis et ex Hispanis mulieribus cum quibus connubium non esset natos se memorantes.'

6. **vixit**, as its place shows, emphatic, 'has endured life,' has bought life at such a price.

7. **pro curia**, 'the senate,' as in 2. 1. 14 'consulenti curiae.' The force of 'inversi' is thrown back upon 'curia' after Horace's manner: see on 1. 2. 1, cp. 1. 5. 5 'fidem mutatosque Deos.' 'The senate is changed, and the whole spirit of morals and discipline, of which it was the guardian, is overset.' Compare the part played by the senate in the subsequent story of Regulus, v. 45.

8. **socerorum**, of the race into which he has married. So in Virg. Aen. 11. 105 'Parceret hospitibus quondam socerisque vocatis'; and it is from the Greek. Hom. Il. 3. 49 *νυὸν ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητάων*, and Theocr. 24. 82 *γαμβρὸς ἀθανάτων*.

**armis.** So the MSS. with only one exception, and the reading is illustrated by Justin's account of the practice of the Parthians, 41. 2. 5 'exercitum non ut aliae gentes liberorum, sed maiorem partem servitiorum habent,' and by the story (quoted by Merivale from Flor. 4. 10, and Vell. Paterc. 2. 82) of the assistance rendered to the expedition of M. Antonius by a Roman in the Parthian ranks, 'qui clade Crassiani exercitus captus . . . fortunam non animum mutasset.' Canter's conjecture, 'arvis,' was warmly supported by Bentley. It has since been found in one MS. of no great antiquity. There is force in Bentley's argument, that Horace's indignation is moved not by Romans having borne arms against their country, 'quod falsum et inauditum,' but by their consenting to live and marry among their captors, 'obliti Romani nominis.' The charge seems, vv. 25, 30, 31, 36, to be rather that they are cowards than renegades. In the presence, however, of the MS. testimony he has not persuaded many of the editors.

9. **sub rege**, 'invidiosum apud Romanos nomen,' Orell.

**Marsus et Apulus.** The Marsi (cp. 2. 20. 18 'qui dissimulat metum Marsae cohortis') are distinguished by other writers, as Virg. G. 2. 167 'genus acre virum Marsos.' The Apulian is named as a fellow-countryman of the poet; see on 1. 22. 13.

10. **anciliorum**, as if the genitive of 'ancilium'; so 'vectigaliorum,' Suet. Aug. c. 101. For a collection of similar cases see Macrob. Saturn. 1. 4. The 'ancile' was one of the pledges of the eternity of Rome. For the legend of its descent from heaven, and for the meaning of the plural 'ancilia,' see Ov. Fast. 3. 345–384.

**nominis**, sc. 'Romani.'

**togae**, Virg. Aen. 1. 282 'gentem togatam.'

11, 12. 'As if Vesta's fire could be quenched, or Jove's Capitol were levelled.'

13 foll. 'It was this danger which Regulus had foreseen when he coun-

Foedis et exemplo trahentis
Perniciem veniens in aevum,
Si non periret immiserabilis
Captiva pubes. Signa ego Punicis
Adfixa delubris et arma
Militibus sine caede, dixit,
Derepta vidi; vidi ego civium
Retorta tergo bracchia libero
Portasque non clausas et arva
Marte coli populata nostro.
Auro repensus scilicet acrior
Miles redibit.—Flagitio additis
Damnum: neque amissos colores
Lana refert medicata fuco,

selled the senate not to ransom himself and his fellow captives.' The danger which he foresaw was, that if there were the hope of ransom, Roman soldiers would come to prefer captivity to a brave death. *Now* they had come to acquiesce in it, so much as even to forget their own country.

15. **trahentis** = 'derivantis.' 'Tracing the stream of ruin that would flow to future ages from the precedent, if,' &c. No exact parallel for the phrase 'perniciem trahere' in the sense of 'to trace the stream of ruin' has been alleged; though the metaphor of the stream is common enough, as 3. 6. 19 'Hoc fonte derivata clades In patriam populumque fluxit'; but as we say of one who points out a 'derivation' that he 'derives,' so in Latin the idea of actually *drawing* a stream passes easily into that of *tracing* it. Cp. 3. 17. 5 'nepotum Per memores genus omne fastos Auctore ab illo ducis originem.' And Virg. G. 3. 121 'Et patriam Epirum referat, fortesque Mycenas, Neptunique ipsa deducat origine gentem.' All the MSS. have 'trahentis.' Canter's conjecture, 'trahenti,' seems to have been the reading of the Schol. Cruq., and is in itself more likely, 'a precedent which would bring ruin.' Bentley would read 'exempli trahentis,' construed after the analogy of 'mali exempli,' &c.

17. **periret.** The lengthening of the short syllable is possibly justified by the caesura, see on 2. 20. 13. It is not parallel to 'caeca timet aliunde,' 2. 13. 16, and other cases in which the metrical accent falls on the lengthened syllable. Horace does not seem to have allowed a second trochee in the Alcaic, as Alcaeus himself did. No alteration is likely; 'perirent' is doubtful in point of number, and 'perires' (Lachmann) is too rhetorical.

**immiserabilis**, unpitied, as he deserves to be.

18. **signa** has force as the first word of Regulus' speech, striking again the key-note of the Ode, recalling the bitterest memory of Carrhae, the loss of the standards. The twice repeated 'ego' is also emphatic. 'Listen to me—I can tell you what the captivity of Roman soldiers really means. I have seen it.'

20. **sine caede derepta.** Contrast Virgil's (Aen. 11. 193) 'Spolia occisis derepta Latinis.'

22. **retorta**, so in the description of a triumph, Epp. 2. 1. 191 'Mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis.'

**tergo libero**, ablative of place; more usually 'post tergum.' 'A freeman's back;' see on 1. 15. 19 'adulteros crines.'

23. **portas**, the gates of Carthage.

**non clausas**, the sign of peace and security; 'apertis otia portis,' A. P. 199. Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 27 'Panduntur portae, iuvat ire,' &c.

24. **Marte nostro**, with 'populata,' 'the fields that our arms had ravaged again in tillage.'

27. **damnum**, 'pecuniae,' Porph. Ritter well quotes 'grandes rhombi patinaeque Grande ferunt una cum damno

Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus.
Si pugnat extricata densis
Cerva plagis, erit ille fortis,
Qui perfidis se credidit hostibus,
Et Marte Poenos proteret altero,
Qui lora restrictis lacertis
Sensit iners timuitque mortem.
Hic, unde vitam sumeret inscius,
Pacem duello miscuit. O pudor!

dedecus,' Sat. 2. 2. 95. 'The money is wasted, for the ransomed soldier will be worthless.'

**neque . . . nec** = as not . . . so not. Compare the use of *οὔτε . . . οὔτε* in a simile, Aesch. Cho. 258–261 *οὔτ' αἰετοῦ γένεθλ' ἀποφθείρας πάλιν | πέμπειν ἔχοις ἂν σήματ' εὐπειθῆ βροτοῖς, | οὔτ' ἀρχικός σοι πᾶς ὅδ' αὐανθεὶς πυθμὴν | βωμοῖς ἀρήξει βουθύτοις ἐν ἤμασι.*

28. **medicata.** A translation (as 'venenum' in Epp. 2. 1. 207 'Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno,' cp. Virg. G. 2. 465) of the Greek *φάρμακον*—*φαρμάσσειν*, used of dyeing.

**fuco**, any kind of dye. Properly a seaweed, used apparently for giving the first dye to stuffs which were to be dyed purple, Plin. N. H. 9. 38.

30. **deterioribus**, masculine; whether it be the dative, 'to be restored to'; or the ablative, 'to be replaced in.' 'Deterior a bono, peior a malo dicimus,' Schol.

31. **si**, 'when . . . then, and not till then,' &c.

33. **perfidis se credidit.** Cp. 3. 27. 25 'doloso credidit.' 'Perfidis' explains and justifies 'credidit'; although without such an opposition, 'dedidit' or 'tradidit' would be, as Bentley shows, the more usual verb. The 'perfidy' of the foes to whom he surrenders is in point, both as showing by a side touch the *folly* of his cowardice, and also, like the 'closeness' of the toils, as contributing to unman the soldier who has once been in their power.

36. **iners**, like 'ignavus' = 'imbellis,' 'the coward,' 4. 9. 29, Sat. 1. 7. 15. Compare Virgil's uses of it, Aen. 4. 158 'Spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis Optat aprum'; 11. 414 'dextras tendamus inertes.'

**timuitque mortem.** Bentley connects these words with the following stanza, and reads 'timuitque mortem Hinc unde vitam sumeret aptius, Pacem et duello miscuit,' i e. 'has shrunk from the sword, which to a brave man is the security of life, as though it were only an implement of death.' 'Aptius' is found in several MSS., and some of value, but there is no trace of the other alterations, 'hinc,' 'et,' which it seems to necessitate. 'Inscius' is found in the great majority of MSS., and was read by all the Scholiasts, one of whom interprets 'qui nesciret vitam viro forti potius de armis sperandum.' Bentley objects to the vulg., that the last charge 'timuitque mortem' involves 'minorem culpam quam ea quae praecesserant.' But it is quite in the old Roman spirit to sum up the baseness of the captives in the charge that they 'feared death.' Compare the title *ὁ τρέσας*, affixed to the Spartan who escaped at Thermopylae, Hdt. 7. 231, and Tyrtaeus 8. 12 (Bergk) *τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶς ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή.*

37. **hic**, 'captum militem quasi reum ad iudices ductum aggreditur,' Ritter.

**sumeret.** The subjunctive has to do double duty; for that mood would be required if it were merely the indirect question, 'ignorant whence he drew'; but it has a further force, as representing the deliberative 'unde sumam?' Cp. Epod. 5. 85 'dubius unde rumperet.'

38. **pacem duello miscuit**, 'has forgotten the difference between peace and war'; in the latter safety is to be won only by the sword. With the whole thought cp. Sall. Jug. 39 'Aulo omnes infesti quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat.'

O magna Carthago, probrosis
Altior Italiae ruinis!
Fertur pudicae coniugis osculum
Parvosque natos ut capitis minor
Ab se removisse et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse vultum:
Donec labantes consilio patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
Interque maerentes amicos
Egregius properaret exul.
Atqui sciebat quae sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet; non aliter tamen
Dimovit obstantes propinquos
Et populum reditus morantem,
Quam si clientum longa negotia
Diiudicata lite relinqueret,

40. **altior ruinis**, 'lifted higher (in appearance—relative height) by the fall of Italy.' This is simpler than 'towering over,' as Orelli takes it.

41. **fertur**. Cp. 3. 20. 12: it is the common formula when the narrator would throw the responsibility of his narrative on hearsay or tradition. Here it is intended to call a momentary attention to the contrast between the spirit of Regulus and the spirit of modern Rome. 'Strange as it sounds, they tell us.'

42. **ut capitis minor**, a poetical form of 'capite deminutus'; the genitive after the analogy of 'integer vitae,' 'captus animi,' &c. 'Capite deminutus est qui in hostium potestatem venit,' Fest. It is in Horace's manner, by a slight alteration of the common formula, at once to recall and to avoid a technicality which, if literally reproduced, would be harsh or pedantic. See on 2. 4. 24, 4. 2. 42, 4. 14. 1, and compare notes on 3. 27. 38, 4. 15. 9. He refused, according to Cicero, 'sententiam dicere,' 'to speak in his place,' 'quamdiu iureiurando hostium teneretur non esse se senatorem.'

44. Ar. Ran. 804 *ἔβλεψεν οὖν ταυρηδὸν ἐγκύψας κάτω.*

45. **donec . . . firmaret.** 'Till he could brace up the resolve of the fathers and hasten his departure:' 'donec' of purpose, but a contrast is intended between his stern sadness, so long as it was still doubtful whether the senate would listen to his counsel, and the light heart with which, his purpose accomplished, he set out on his return to torture and death.

46. **auctor** is opposed constantly to 'suasor.' Sometimes as one who brings weight and dignity to back his advice; sometimes as one who originates as well as urges a proposal. The senate acted 'auctore Regulo,' 'by the advice and under the influence of Regulus.'

48. **egregius exul**, an oxymoron, as 'splendide mendax,' 3. 11. 35.

49. **atqui sciebat.** Cp. the last sentence of the passage quoted in the Introd. from the De Officiis, 'Neque vero tum ignorabat [Regulus] se ad crudelissimum hostem et ad exquisita supplicia proficisci, sed iusiurandum conservandum putabat.'

52. **reditus**, plural, as in Epod. 16. 35.

54. **diiudicata lite.** Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 76 'Rura suburbana indictis . . . ire Latinis.' The advice and protection of clients is represented as one of the great burdens of the city life of the great in Rome. (Epp. 1. 5. 31 'postico falle clientem,' &c.) Whether the 'lis,' which is now over, is one which the patron has heard and settled himself, or one in which he has been supporting

Tendens Venafranos in agros
Aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum.

his client in court, is a question decided authoritatively each way by about an equal number of commentators, but apparently on next to no evidence.

55. **Venafranos**, see on 2. 6. 16.

56. **Lacedaemonium**, 2. 6. 11 'regnata Laconi Rura Phalanto.' Venafrum and Tarentum are named as places to which a Roman would go for his holiday. Notice the quiet ending of the poem, the conventional epithet, raising no new picture, appealing at the most to distant historical associations, feeding not so much the mind as the ear, and even that with a certain sameness of sound. This characteristic of Horace's style is noticed on Od. 2. 19. 31, 4. 2. 57. It belongs partly to himself, partly to the poetic art generally. It finds instinctive expression in the ending of the Iliad as in that of Paradise Lost. The passion in poetry which gives pleasure is not unbridled passion, but passion felt to be measured and controlled by mind. This is the intellectual side of the pleasure added to poetry by the recurrences of rhyme and metre.

---

# ODE VI.

'We are suffering for our fathers' sins. They let the temples go to ruin. They let the sacredness of marriage laws be tampered with. Our blood is poisoned, and we go from bad to worse. They sprang from different parents, and had healthier homes, who conquered Pyrrhus and Antiochus and Hannibal. Our sons will be worse than we are. Where is the remedy?'

This Ode, though probably written before it, is in subject the complement of the last. It traces to its source the decline of the military spirit of which that complains, and includes in the arraignment Roman daughters and mothers. As that points to Augustus' plans of foreign conquest, so this points to his restoration of temples and religious ceremonial (cp. 2. 15) and his legislation on social questions (cp. 3. 24; 4. 5. 21 foll.; Carm. Saec. 17, 20). Cp. Suet. Oct. 30, and Merivale, ch. 33.

Delicta maiorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris

1. **immeritus**, not that Horace would say generally that the existing generation was innocent, but their punishment was not all for their own sins. In part they were 'paying for the sins of their sires in which they had had no share,' and would continue to pay for them till they undid them.

2. **Romane**, a general address to the people, Sat. 1. 4. 85; cp. A. P. 54, Virg. Aen. 6. 852.

**templa . . . aedesque**, synonyms, the second substantive being only a vehicle for the epithet, like Virgil's 'Limen erat caecaeque fores . . . postesque relicti.'

**refeceris**, the task that Augustus was engaged in, Suet. Aug. 30 'Aedes sacras vetustate collapsas aut incendio absumtas refecit.'

Aedesque labentes deorum et
Foeda nigro simulacra fumo.
Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas:
Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Di multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosae.
Iam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus
Non auspicatos contudit impetus
Nostros et adiecisse praedam
Torquibus exiguis renidet.
Paene occupatam seditionibus
Delevit Urbem Dacus et Aethiops,
Hic classe formidatus, ille
Missilibus melior sagittis.
Fecunda culpae saecula nuptias
Primum inquinavere et genus et domos;

4. **fumo**, perhaps from the 'incendia' of which Suet. l. c. speaks.

5. **te minorem geris**, cp. 1. 12. 57 'Te minor latum reget aequus orbem.'

6. **hinc**, sc. 'est.' Liv. 45. 39 'maiores vestri omnia magnarum rerum et principia exorsi ab Dis sunt et finem statuerunt.' It is the forgetfulness of this which has constituted the 'neglect' of the next verse.

For the scansion of **principium** see on 3. 4. 41.

7. **neglecti**, 'because they were forgotten,' 3. 2. 30 'Diespiter neglectus.'

9. **bis Monaeses et Pacori manus.** Three defeats of Roman armies by the Parthians are recorded—that of Crassus at Carrhae by Surenas, B.C. 53; that of Decidius Saxa, legatus of M. Antony, in Syria by Pacorus the son of Orodes, and Labienus the republican renegade, in B.C. 40; and that of M. Antony in Media in B.C. 36. Pacorus himself had been killed in battle in B.C. 38. The only Monaeses known to history was the Parthian noble who, having fled, like many others, from the tyranny of Phraates IV (the son to whom Orodes I in his grief at the death of Pacorus had resigned the crown), instigated Antony to his ill-advised invasion of Parthia in B.C. 36. Before Antony's advance Monaeses was induced by Phraates to return to him, and Mommsen (R. G. Div. Aug. 5. 40–43) concludes that he was in command of the forces which in the next months inflicted the defeat on Antony. He explains therefore Horace's 'bis' of the calamities of 40 and 36.

10. **non auspicatos** (in some good MSS. 'inauspicatos'). Bentley objected to the series of accusatives as prosaic, and would read 'nostris' or 'nostrorum'; but 'non auspicatos' is not an epithet, but predicative: it gives the reason of the defeats and is the link with the last stanza. It was especially mentioned of Crassus' expedition that 'proficiscentem in Syriam diris cum ominibus tribuni plebis frustra retinere conati,' Vell. Pat. 2. 46.

13. **paene**, with 'delevit.' 'While we were intent on our civil wars the barbarians of north and south all but destroyed Rome,' a poetical exaggeration. For the Daci see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 7.

14. **Aethiops** represents the Egyptian fleet of Cleopatra; cp. Virgil's account of the rout at Actium, Aen. 8. 705 'omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi, Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.'

17. **fecunda culpae**, for the gen. cp. 'ferax frondis,' 4. 4. 58.

**saecula**; it has been a gradual declension from age to age.

18. **genus et domos**, the young generation has vice in its blood, and sees examples of vice in its homes.

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.
Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo et fingitur artibus;
Iam nunc et incestos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui;
Mox iuniores quaerit adulteros
Inter mariti vina, neque eligit
Cui donet impermissa raptim
Gaudia luminibus remotis;
Sed iussa coram non sine conscio
Surgit marito, seu vocat institor
Seu navis Hispanae magister,
Dedecorum pretiosus emptor.
Non his iuventus orta parentibus
Infecit aequor sanguine Punico,
Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum;
Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas et severae
Matris ad arbitrium recisos

20. **patriam populumque.** If any distinction is intended, it is between the life and honour of the state as affected by defeat in war, &c., and the well-being of its individual citizens.

21. **motus Ionicos**, voluptuous Ionian dances.

22. **artibus**, instr. abl. as 'formatur,' 'eruditur artibus;' 'accomplishments'; 4. 1. 15 'centum puer artium,' though here with a less honourable meaning. A large number of good MSS. read 'artubus.'

23. **iam nunc**, Virg. G. 1. 42.

24. **de tenero ungui.** ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ὀνύχων. The Greek proverbial expression seems (see Liddell and Scott, s.v. ὄνυξ) to have had two applications (1) 'to the finger tips' or 'in every sensitive nerve,' (2) 'from tender years.' Horace is likely to have followed Cicero (ad Fam. 1. 6 'mihi a teneris, ut Graeci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus') in taking it in the second sense.

30. **institor**, pedlar, Epod. 17. 20. Cp. Prop. 5. 2. 38 with Paley's note.

33–36. The first Punic war, cp. 2. 12. 3 'Siculum mare Poeno purpureum sanguine'; the war with Pyrrhus B.C. 275; that with Antiochus ended by the battle of Magnesia, B.C. 190; the second Punic war.

35. **ingentem**, perhaps with reference to his cognomen 'Magnus.'

36. **dirum**, see on 2. 12. 2.

37. 'The manly sons of country-bred soldiers.' The fathers are meant to have gone through the same training as the sons, 'utiles bello tulit . . . saeva paupertas,' &c., 1. 12. 42.

38–44 'To dig all day, and then when even the bullocks were tired out and loosed from the plough, to cut and carry fagots till a Sabine mother called "enough."'

38. **Sabellis ligonibus**, see on 1. 31. 9 'Calena falce.'

Portare fustes, sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras et iuga demeret
  Bobus fatigatis, amicum
    Tempus agens abeunte curru.
Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Aetas parentum peior avis tulit
  Nos nequiores, mox daturos
    Progeniem vitiosiorem.

42. **mutaret umbras**, was making the shadows of the hills fall another way from that in which they fell in the morning. The whole stanza describes evening.

46–48. Horace seems to have had in view the lines of Aratus (Phaen. 123) *οἵην χρυσείην πατέρες γενεὴν ἐλίποντο | χειροτέρην· ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξείεσθε.*

47. **daturos**, 'partu dabit Ilia prolem,' Virg. Aen. 1. 274.

---

# ODE VII.

'Don't weep, Asterie, for your absent Gyges. He will come back to you with the spring and bring a wealth of Bithynian merchandize. He will come back: he is only detained by the winter in the harbour to which he was driven on his way home. He lies awake at night thinking of you. It is all in vain that his hostess Chloë tries every art to win him, sends emissaries to tell him of her passion and to prove to him from mythology the folly of constancy; he turns a deaf ear to it all. Only mind you do as well. Your neighbour Enipeus is a brave young gallant, but don't open your window if he comes to serenade you.'

As Orelli characterizes it, '*εἰδύλλιον* mercatorum vitam amoresque lyrice describens.' The names are Greek, the life Roman. Notice the effect of this Ode in relieving by its lightness and grace the seriousness of the preceding six. Compare the position of Od. 1. 38.

Metre—*Fifth Asclepiad.*

Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi
Primo restituent vere Favonii
  Thyna merce beatum,
    Constantis iuvenem fide,

1–8. The first stanza gives the reasons why she should not weep for him: 'He will come back with the west winds of spring with the merchandize for which he sailed, and he will come back true to you.' The second stanza justifies the first prophecy, 'he is only detained by the weather'; and the second, 'even now he is pining to be at home with you.'

1. **candidi**, 1. 7. 15.

3. **Thyna**, Bithynian, 1. 35. 7, Epp. 1. 6. 33.

4. **fide**, an archaic contracted form of the genitive, as 'die,' Virg. G. 1. 208. It appears for the dative in Sat. 1. 3. 95

Gygen? Ille Notis actus ad Oricum
Post insana Caprae sidera frigidas
Noctes non sine multis
Insomnis lacrimis agit.
Atqui sollicitae nuntius hospitae,
Suspirare Chloën et miseram tuis
Dicens ignibus uri,
Temptat mille vafer modis.
Ut Proetum mulier perfida credulum
Falsis impulerit criminibus, nimis
Casto Bellerophonti
Maturare necem, refert.
Narrat paene datum Pelea Tartaro,
Magnessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinens;

'commissa fide.' There is, however, some little doubt as to the form here, a considerable majority of MSS. reading 'fidei' as a dissyllable. Against this must be set the fact that in Sat. 1. 3. 95 they are unanimous for 'fide.'

5. **Notis**, the plur. of continuous south winds, so 'Aquilonibus,' 3. 10. 4.

**Oricum**, an important haven on the coast of Epirus within the shelter of the Acroceraunian headland, into which ships making the passage from Greece to Italy might be driven by unfavourable winds. The idea is that Gyges has tried to cross late in the sailing season and has been driven into Oricus, where he must now wait till the spring opens the sea again. Cp. 4. 5. 9–12.

6. **insana**, as 'vesani Leonis,' 3. 29. 19, there as bringing heat, here storms.

**Caprae**, 'signum pluviale Capellae,' Ov. Fast. 5. 113, the brightest star of Auriga, to which also the Haedi belong. It is the mythical goat that suckled the infant Jupiter.

9. **atqui**, 1. 23. 9, 3. 5. 49, Epod. 5. 67. It is strongly adversative, 'And yet.' 'He is sleepless and tearful for love of you, and yet he has strong temptations to inconstancy.' He is preparing for the moral, 'whatever are your temptations, mind you are as constant as he.'

**sollicitae**, as 'cura,' of the restless preoccupation of love.

**hospitae**, at whose house he is lodging.

10. **tuis ignibus**, 'a passion for one who is yours,' 'a passion which only you have a right to feel.' Cp. the use of 'ignes,' 1. 27. 15.

12. **temptat**, as 'temptare precando,' Virg. Aen. 4. 113, 293, the idea of laying siege to a city, trying every approach; probably also a reference to the special meaning of πειρᾶν, 'temptator Dianae,' 1. 4. 71.

13. **mulier perfida**. Antea, according to Homer; Sthenoboea, according to others. The story of Bellerophon's refusal of Antea's advances and of her unsuccessful scheme for his destruction is told by Glaucus, his grandson, in Il. 6. 155 foll.

**perfida credulum**. She was treacherous and he was easy. Horace delights in such antithetical placing of adjectives, see on 1. 3. 10, and comp. 3. 5. 33 'perfidis credidit.'

14. **impulerit**, with infin. see on 1. 1. 8.

16. **maturare necem**, to hasten a man's death, i.e. to kill him before his time; see Cic. pro Clu. 61.

18. **Magnessam**, from Iolcus, a city of the Magnetes in Thessaly, 'ad differentiam alterius Hippolytes, Amazonum reginae, uxoris Thesei,' Schol.

**Hippolyten**, Pind. Nem. 4. 56 foll., 5. 25 foll.; according to others her name was Astydameia. Peleus was accused by her to Acastus of assailing her honour, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἔσκεν. Acastus left him alone on Mount Pelion, having first taken away his sword, hoping that the Centaurs might find him and slay

Et peccare docentes
Fallax historias monet.
Frustra: nam scopulis surdior Icari
Voces audit adhuc integer.—At tibi
Ne vicinus Enipeus
Plus iusto placeat, cave;
Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
Aeque conspicitur gramine Martio,
Nec quisquam citus aeque
Tusco denatat alveo.
Prima nocte domum claude neque in vias
Sub cantu querulae despice tibiae,
Et te saepe vocanti
Duram difficilis mane.

him; but he was saved by Chiron, and Zeus Xenius rewarded his virtue with the hand of Thetis.

20. **historias,** *μύθους*, as Prop. 2. 1. 16, 5. 1. 119.

**monet,** 'calls to his mind'; 'movet' and 'monet' are so nearly alike that the preponderance of MS. authority in favour of the latter can hardly be conclusive. There is the same doubt in the text of Ov. A. A. 3. 651 'Quid iuvat ambages praeceptaque parva mo$^{n}_{v}$ere?' which would be the nearest parallel for this use of 'monere.' There are more abundant illustrations of 'movere,' 'fatorum arcana,' Virg. Aen. 1. 262, 'cantus,' ib. 7. 641.

21. **frustra**; for the emphatic position cp. 3. 13. 6 'Frustra ... nam gelidos,' &c.

**scopulis surdior,** a common-place of the poets. Cp. Epod. 17. 53 'Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis'; Eur. Med. 28 ὡς δὲ πέτρος ἢ θαλάσσιος κλύδων ἀκούει, with the same intended oxymoron as in 'surdior ... audit.'

**Icari,** either 'of the island Icarus,' the island round which the Icarian sea breaks, or less likely 'of Icarus,' sc. the son of Daedalus, as if the sea might be called 'mare Icari' as well as 'mare Icarium,' and then the rocks that border it the 'rocks of Icarus.' For the 'mare Icarium' see on 1. 1. 15.

22. **adhuc,** 'to this hour,' not, as 'hactenus' would, implying any doubt of his continuing so.

**integer,** 2. 4. 22.

**at tibi,** by its emphatic position strikes the key-note of the remainder of the poem.

23. **Enipeus,** the name taken from a river of Thessaly, compare 'Hebrus,' 3. 12. 6. Compare the same Ode for the accomplishments likely to win a lady's heart, 'simul unctos Tiberinis,' &c., and notice there also the combination of Greek names with all the circumstances of Roman life.

28. **Tusco alveo**; Virg. G. 1. 499 'Tuscum Tiberim.'

**denatat,** ἅπαξ λεγ.

29. **neque,** Madv. § 459, obs.

30. **sub,** 'at the sound of,' as ὑπό, e.g. Soph. El. 711 χαλκῆς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ᾖξαν.

## ODE VIII.

THE Ode is written for an expected or imagined visit of Maecenas, on the first anniversary of the poet's narrow escape from the falling tree (2. 13, 2. 17. 27, 3. 4. 27). The festival of March 1 was the Matronalia. Maecenas is supposed on his entry to wonder what can be the reason that a bachelor's home shows preparation for sacrifice on such a day. The answer is, that the poet is paying a vow to Bacchus, which he had made at the time of his miraculous preservation. 'The best wine is to be brought out,' and so the Ode passes into an invitation to Maecenas to enter into the spirit of the time—to forget the troubles of State. 'All is going well; the Dacians are checked, the Parthians quarrelling among themselves, even the Cantabrian subdued at last, and the Scythians unstringing their bows; Maecenas may enjoy a little privacy and immunity from care.'

On the questions raised as to the date of the Ode see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 8.

MARTIIS caelebs quid agam Kalendis,
Quid velint flores et acerra thuris
Plena, miraris, positusque carbo in
Caespite vivo,
Docte sermones utriusque linguae?
Voveram dulces epulas et album
Libero caprum prope funeratus
Arboris ictu.

1. **Martiis Kalendis**, 'femineas Kalendas,' Juv. 9. 53. The origin and nature of the Matronalia are told in Ov. Fast. 3. 233 foll.

2. **flores**, part of the rites of the day. 'Ferte deae flores: gaudet florentibus herbis Haec dea: de tenero cingite flore caput,' Ov. l. c.

4. **caespite vivo**, a temporary altar of fresh-cut turf; 1. 19. 14. Cp. Virg. Aen. 12. 118 'In medioque focos et dis communibus aras Gramineas.'

5. **docte sermones**, 'for all your skill in the lore of either tongue.' 'Sermones,' λόγοι, will include literature, antiquities, and mythological and ritual knowledge.

**utriusque linguae**, an habitual phrase for Greek and Latin, barbarous tongues being ignored. 'Ut par sis in utriusque orationis facultate,' Cic. de Off. 1. 1. 1. Cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 10. 23. Horace addresses Maecenas as 'docte' in Epp. 1. 19. 1.

6. **voveram**. The plpft., because he is explaining the antecedent ground of a past action, viz. of this preparation of the altar, flowers, &c.

**dulces epulas**, 'a dainty feast'; cakes were offered as well as the victim. Mart. 9. 91. 15 foll. 'Sic Martis tibi serviant Kalendae Et cum ture meroque victimaque Libetur tibi candidas ad aras Secta plurima quadra de placenta.'

7. **Libero**, see on Od. 2. 17. 28. Bacchus would interfere to preserve him as one of the gods of poetry.

**caprum**, a goat, as the fitting offering to Bacchus. Virg. G. 2. 380; 'white,' because he is one of the 'Di superi'; black victims were offered to the 'inferi.'

**funeratus**, 'brought to my grave.' The word in this metaphorical sense is Horace's own.

Hic dies anno redeunte festus
Corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit
Amphorae fumum bibere institutae
Consule Tullo.
Sume, Maecenas, cyathos amici
Sospitis centum et vigiles lucernas
Perfer in lucem: procul omnis esto
Clamor et ira.
Mitte civiles super urbe curas:
Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen,
Medus infestus sibi luctuosis
Dissidet armis,
Servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae
Cantaber sera domitus catena,

9. **hic dies**, &c., 'this day a holiday in each returning year.'

10. In order to ripen the wine sooner, it was customary to construct the 'apotheca' in such a place as to be exposed to the smoke and hot air of the bath furnaces. This rendered it more necessary carefully to protect the cork (as here with a coating of pitch), lest the flavour of the smoke should penetrate to the wine. See Dict. Ant. s.v. 'vinum.'

11. **bibere institutae**, 'which was taught the lesson of drinking.'

12. **consule Tullo**, probably L. Volcatius Tullus, who was consul in B.C. 66, the year before Horace's birth. Cp. 3. 21. 1 'O nata mecum Consule Manlio.' This was not an extreme age (cp. 3. 14. 13 'Cadum Marsi memorem duelli,' i.e. as old as B.C. 88), and the occasion demands the oldest wine in the cellar. Another L. Volcatius Tullus was consul with Augustus in B.C. 33.

13. **amici**, the genitive of the person in whose honour the cup is drunk. Cp. 3. 19. 9 foll. 'Da lunae propere novae, Da noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris Murenae.' The custom and the construction are Greek. Theoc. 14. 18 *ἔδοξ' ἐπιχεῖσθαι ἄκρατον | ὤτινος ἤθελ' ἕκαστος, ἔδει μόνον ὤτινος εἰπῆν*. Orelli quotes also Antiph. in Athen. 10. 21 *κυάθους θεῶν τε καὶ θεαινῶν μυρίους*. This illustrates also 'centum' for an indefinite number. Macleane, referring to the custom mentioned in Ov. Fast. 3. 531 foll. ('Sole tamen vinoque calent, annosque precantur Quot sumant calices, ad numerumque bibunt. Invenies illic qui Nestoris ebibat annos, Quae sit per calices facta Sibylla suos'), thinks it is equivalent to saying, 'wish me a hundred years of life.'

14. **vigiles**, to keep the banquet up all night; 1. 27. 5, 3. 21. 23 'vivae lucernae'; Virg. Aen. 9. 338 'Aequasset nocti ludum in lucemque tulisset.' Orelli contrasts the expression of Ov. Her. 19. 195 'iam dormitante lucerna.'

15, 16. 'It shall be a sober and peaceful merrymaking'; no 'impius clamor,' 1. 27. 7; no 'male ominata verba,' 3. 14. 11. The purpose is apparently to make more alluring to Maecenas the contrast from the tumults and troubles of the city. Perhaps also to give something of a religious air to the banquet of thanksgiving.

17. **civiles** = 'domesticas,' opposed to the foreign questions of the following lines.

**super urbe**; Virg. Aen. 4. 233 'Nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem.' For the reference see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 8.

18. **Daci Cotisonis**; see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 7.

19. **Medus**, 'the Parthian'; see on 1. 2. 22. The point that the Mede's whole offensive power is exhausted on himself in intestine quarrels is brought out by the position of 'sibi' standing where it seems equally open to be governed by 'infestus,' 'luctuosis,' and 'dissidet.' See on 1. 3. 6.

21. **vetus hostis**; Od. 2. 6. 2, 4. 14. 41, Epp. 1. 12. 26.

Iam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu
Cedere campis.
Neglegens, ne qua populus laboret,
Parce privatus nimium cavere, et
Dona praesentis cape laetus horae:
Linque severa.

23. **laxo arcu**; Virg. Aen. 11. 874, of retreat, 'laxos referunt umeris languentibus arcus.' The Scythians are thinking of retiring from the plains which they have been accustomed to harry. Cp. 2. 9. 23.

25. **neglegens**, 'Be careless for a time; be a private citizen: spare thy over-anxiety lest in any way the people should take harm.' 'Ne laboret' seems to be constructed, in Horace's manner, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with 'neglegens' (= 'non curans') and 'cavere.' Orelli, Ritter, and Dill[r]. take 'privatus' as = 'cum sis privatus,' 'since you are,' &c.; but surely Horace would not undervalue the public character of Maecenas' offices, however informal and unknown to the law they might be. He would not after saying 'you have on your shoulders the whole weight of home and foreign policy,' add, 'after all you are only an "eques," it is nothing to you if public affairs go wrong.' Bentley is equally unsatisfactory; he thinks that 'privatus cavere,' 'to be anxious for your private interests,' answers to the 'public care' of the preceding verse.

26, 27. All the good MSS. have 'et' at the end of v. 26, all but A omit the copula at the end of 27, that has 'ac.' Bentley would omit it in v. 26, and insert 'et' in 27, and has been followed by many editors.

## ODE IX.

THE reconciliation of two lovers who have quarrelled: one is 'Lydia,' the other is not named. The form of the Ode is like the amoebean eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil.

We may note the dramatic propriety of the feelings throughout.

His the pride of possession, hers the pride of being first in his eyes.

His the attraction of Chloë's accomplishments, hers the happiness of love that is returned.

His the lordly relenting that offers to cast off Chloë and open the gate again to Lydia, hers (with one little womanly hit in the implied comparison of his beauty with that of Calais) the passionate delight, for all his fickleness and bad temper, to live and die with him.

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

DONEC gratus eram tibi
Nec quisquam potior bracchia candidae

2. **potior**, a preferred rival, as in Epod. 15. 13.

Cervici iuvenis dabat,
  Persarum vigui rege beatior.
Donec non alia magis
  Arsisti neque erat Lydia post Chloën,
Multi Lydia nominis
  Romana vigui clarior Ilia.
Me nunc Thressa Chloë regit,
  Dulces docta modos et citharae sciens,
Pro qua non metuam mori,
  Si parcent animae fata superstiti.
Me torret face mutua
  Thurini Calaïs filius Ornyti,
Pro quo bis patiar mori,
  Si parcent puero fata superstiti.
Quid, si prisca redit Venus
  Diductosque iugo cogit aëneo,
Si flava excutitur Chloë
  Reiectaeque patet ianua Lydiae?

4. **Persarum rege**; 2. 12. 21. Cic. Tusc. 5. 12. 35 'ne de Persarum quidem rege magno potes dicere beatusne sit.' That is from Plat. Gorg. 26. 470, but a comparison of 2. 2. 17 will show that, though the 'happiness' of a 'Persian king' is proverbial, and Greek rather than Latin, yet Horace so completely identifies Persians and Parthians, that he would hardly have understood his commentators when they say that he is referring here, not to the Parthians, but to the old Persian monarchy.

5. **alia arsisti**; 2. 4. 8 'arsit virgine.'

7. **multi Lydia nominis**, not as though literally the world knew her name; but she felt as proud of his preference as if she had a fame equal to that of Ilia. Ritter, identifying the lover with Horace, would make it mean, 'your poems were full of Lydia, and gave her a fame as great as Ilia's.' For the genitive 'nominis' see Madv. § 287.

8. **Romana**, the ancestress of Rome (as the mother of Romulus, according to one form of the legend; cp. 1. 2. 17). The epithet indicates the source and the extent of her fame.

10. **citharae sciens**; 1. 15. 24 'pugnae sciens.'

12. **animae**, 'her life,' Orelli; probably better with Ritter, 'my life,' i. e. Chloë. Cp. 'Meae partem animae,' 2. 17. 5 and 1. 3. 8.

14. **Thurini filius Ornyti**; see Introd. to 2. 4. The fulness of the designation is probably, as Ritter points out, as much as to say, 'He is a real person. I can tell you all about him if you wish, as well as you can tell me of Chloë and her charms.' Cp. 3. 12. 6. Thurii seems to be selected for its old reputation of wealth and luxury; the others are mythological names, chosen 'ut poetica et sonora,' Orelli. 'Ornytus' is used by Virg. Aen. 11. 677.

16. **puero**. It is not quite easy to see the point of Lydia's variation from 'animae.' It may be merely for variety's sake. Possibly, however, 'animae,' taken in connexion with the early lines of the stanza, which had not touched a very deep chord, might have seemed conventional, and have provoked the simpler and more personal, and so more feeling 'puero.'

18. **iugo aëneo**, 1. 33. 11, of its strength; 'irrupta copula,' 1. 13. 18.

**cogit**, 'brings together.' Virg. Aen. 7. 639 has 'ad iuga cogit equos.'

19. **excutitur**, is dislodged from her influence over my heart. Virg. Aen. 5.

Quamquam sidere pulchrior
  Ille est, tu levior cortice et improbo
Iracundior Hadria,
  Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.

679 'excussaque pectore Iuno est'; or, as Bentley thinks, 'from my house,' so as to correspond with 'patet ianua Lydiae.' It is hard to be sure of the exact metaphor felt in 'excutitur,' or even whether it and 'patet ianua' are either or both of them metaphorical.

20. **Lydiae**, the dative, not the genitive, as it has been taken.

21. **sidere pulchrior**; 3. 19. 26 'Puro te similem, Telephe, vespero.' Astyanax in Hom. Il. 6. 401 is *ἐναλίγκιος ἀστέρι καλῷ*.

23. **iracundior**. His levity and his passionate temper have both been shown in the quarrel which is being made up. If we were to identify the interlocutor with Horace himself, we might remember his description of himself Epp. 1. 20. 25 'Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.'

**Hadria**; 1. 33. 15.

---

# ODE X.

WHAT the Greeks called a *παρακλαυσίθυρον*. Other specimens may be seen and compared in Theoc. 3. 23 foll., Propert. 1. 16. 17 foll. Cp. also Horace, Od. 1. 25. 6–8, 3. 7. 29 foll.

The poet personates a lover singing under his mistress' window on a frosty night, and appealing to her pity to let him in. 'Venus will resent and punish your pride; you have no right from your origin to give yourself the airs of a Penelope. Though no human feelings—gratitude, pity, jealousy—will make you love me, yet as a goddess be merciful. O, hard and cruel heart! there are limits to your lover's patience.'

Compare with the Ode 4. 13, which seems to be the revenge which is here threatened.

Metre—*Fourth Asclepiad.*

EXTREMUM Tanain si biberes, Lyce,
Saevo nupta viro, me tamen asperas
Porrectum ante fores obicere incolis
  Plorares Aquilonibus.

1. **Tanain si biberes**, 2. 20. 20 'Rhodani potor'; 4. 15. 13 'qui Danuvium bibunt.' The form of expression is as old as Hom. Il. 2. 825 *πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσήποιο*. 'If you were a Scythian, with a husband as stern as husbands are there.' Cp. 3. 24. 20–25 'peccare nefas aut pretium est mori.' Lyce's husband is of a different kind, v. 15.

2. **asperas**, morally, 'shut in my face.'

3. **incolis**, 'native,' sc. to Scythia. Horace suggests, though he does not say, that the north wind to-night is as cold as that of Scythia.

Audis quo strepitu ianua, quo nemus
Inter pulchra satum tecta remugiat
Ventis, et positas ut glaciet nives
    Puro numine Iuppiter?
Ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
Ne currente retro funis eat rota.
Non te Penelopen difficilem procis
    Tyrrhenus genuit parens.
O quamvis neque te munera nec preces
Nec tinctus viola pallor amantium
Nec vir Pieria paelice saucius
    Curvat, supplicibus tuis
Parcas, nec rigida mollior aesculo
Nec Mauris animum mitior anguibus.

5. **nemus.** This is usually taken of the few trees which in a large house were planted within the 'peristylium'; see on Epp. 1. 10. 23 'inter varias nutritur silva columnas.' Ritter contends that Lyce is not in the rank of life to which such an appendage of a palace would be appropriate, and takes it of some public plantation, perhaps the 'duo luci' (Liv. 1. 8), between the two tops of the Capitoline.

6. **inter pulchra tecta,** 'Though we are not in the Scythian wilds, and though you are comfortably lodged, yet the wind howls outside as loudly and the frost bites as keenly.'

7. **ventis.** Bentley wished to alter to 'sentis,' in order to avoid the double ablative 'strepitu,' 'ventis,' and the rather harsh zeugma by which 'audis' is constructed with 'ut glaciet nives.' But compare 1. 14. 6 and Virg. Aen. 4. 490 'mugire videbis Sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.'

8. **puro numine.** 'Numen' is divine power in exercise; 'numine glaciet nives,' as Virg Aen. 4. 269 'caelum et terras qui numine torquet.' 'Puro,' of a clear sky, as 'Iuppiter uvidus,' 'frigidus,' &c. The ancients had observed that cold is greater with a cloudless sky.

10. 'Lest rope and wheel run back together.' Clearly a proverbial expression, though the origin is uncertain. The best illustration is that quoted from Lucian: *σὺ δὲ πάνυ χαλεπὴ ἀεὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γεγένησαι, καὶ ὅρα μὴ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἀπορρήξωμεν πάνυ τείνασαι τὸ καλῴδιον.* This would seem to give the image of lifting weights by a pulley. If the rope be drawn too roughly or too far it will break, the wheel will spin round the wrong way, and the weight fall back again. Lyce must not overdo her coyness, or she will exhaust the patience of Venus and of her lover.

**retro,** constr. *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* with 'currente' and with 'eat.'

12. 'Your father was a Tuscan; you are no Penelope to resist suitors.' For the form cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 42 'non me tibi Troia Externum tulit.'

**Tyrrhenus,** perhaps only 'we know all about you; you must not set up for more than you are.' But the Etruscans seem to have had a bad name for luxurious living.

14. **tinctus viola pallor,** generally interpreted like Virg. E. 2. 48 'pallentes violas,' of the yellow violet. It appears to have been taken so by Calpurnius (Ecl. 9. 40) of an unhappy lover, 'Pallidior buxo violaeque simillimus erro.' But the words themselves more naturally suggest Ritter's interpretation, 'sublividus,' of a pale face scored with dark lines under the eyes.

15. **Pieria,** from the borders of Macedonia and Thessaly, as 'Thressa Chloë.'

17. **rigida aesculo,** seems to be a continuance of the image of 'curvat,' 'You are as hard to bend as an oak bough.'

Non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquae
Caelestis patiens latus.

19. **aquae caelestis**; Epp. 2. 1. 135.

20. **latus**, he represents himself as lying on the doorstep, 'porrectum ante fores.' Cp. Epod. 11. 32 'Limina dura quibus lumbos et infregi latus.'

---

# ODE XI.

'O MERCURY and my lyre, teach me some strain that will win the obdurate ear of Lyde. She is like a young unbroken colt; but music has made tigers and forest trees and rivers stay to listen. It has tamed Cerberus, and beguiled the pain of Ixion and Tityus and the Danaids with their leaking pitchers. Let Lyde hear their tale—how they slew their husbands, all save one—their punishment, and Hypermnestra's undying glory.'

Lyde is warned not 'placito pugnare amori' by the story of the Danaids and their punishment, and the noble exception of Hypermnestra. The application of the story is not very close. The form of the Ode seems to be a nearer imitation than usual of the construction of an Ode of Pindar; the commencement by an invocation of Mercury and the lyre; the accidental way in which, through the recountal of the feats of music, the Danaids are introduced; the myth told at length, but left to be applied by the reader's wit. Compare 3. 3 and 3. 27.

For the story of the Danaids read Aesch. Pr. V. 853–869 and Ov. Her. 14 'Hypermnestra Lynceo,' which contains frequent reminiscences and expressions of passages in this Ode. Compare vv. 3, 4 'Clausa domo teneor gravibusque coercita vinclis: Est mihi supplicii causa fuisse piam,' &c. with vv. 45, 46 of the Ode, vv. 35, 36 with 41 foll., vv. 73, 74 'Surge age, Belide, de tot modo fratribus unus; Nox tibi, ni properas, ista perennis erit,' with vv. 37, 38, and vv. 127–130 with v. 51, see note.

Ritter suggests that the story would be especially familiar to the Roman public at the time when Horace was writing these Odes, from the fact that a group of the Danaids formed a chief feature in the portico of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which Augustus dedicated in B.C. 28 (see Od. 1. 31). Prop. 3. 23. 4, Ov. A. A. 1. 73, id. Am. 2. 2. 3.

MERCURI,—nam te docilis magistro
Movit Amphion lapides canendo,—

1. **Mercuri.** Mercury is coupled with the 'testudo,' χέλυς (Hom. Hymn. Merc. 47 foll.), of which he was the mythical inventor. The whole tortoise-shell was used as a sounding bottom, the horns (πήχεις) rising from its end and supporting the ζύγον, from which the strings were stretched to it. See Dict. Ant.

**nam te, &c.** gives the reason for

Tuque testudo resonare septem
Callida nervis,
Nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc et
Divitum mensis et amica templis,
Dic modos, Lyde quibus obstinatas
Applicet aures,
Quae velut latis equa trima campis
Ludit exultim metuitque tangi,
Nuptiarum expers et adhuc protervo
Cruda marito.
Tu potes tigres comitesque silvas
Ducere et rivos celeres morari;
Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
Ianitor aulae,
Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
Muniant angues caput eius atque
Spiritus teter saniesque manet
Ore trilingui.

addressing the prayer to Mercury, and so is = 'potes nam,' Epod. 17. 45.

**docilis**, paired with 'te magistro,' 'an apt pupil, with thee for his master.'

2. **Amphion**; A. P. 394 'Dictus et Amphion Thebanae conditor arcis Saxa movere sono testudinis.'

3. **septem nervis**; Hom. l. c. 51 Ἑπτὰ δὲ συμφώνους ὀΐων ἐτανύσσατο χορδάς. The substitution of the octave for the tetrachord is claimed for himself by Terpander (Fr. 1, ed. Bergk), who lived about 650 B. C.

5. **loquax**, as λάλος = εὔλαλος. Theoc. uses λαλεῖν of musical sounds.

6. Compare Virgil's expression 'dis et mensis accepta secundis,' G. 2. 101.

10. **exultim**, ἅπαξ λεγ.

**metuit tangi**; see on 2. 2. 7.

12. **cruda** = 'nondum matura'; Virg. Aen. 7. 53 'Iam matura viro, iam plenis nubilis annis.'

13. **comitesque**, to be taken with 'ducere,' so that the adjective covers 'tigres' as well as 'silvas'; see on 1. 2. 1, 1. 5. 6, and for the position of 'que' on 1. 30. 6. The reference in the following lines is to the story of Orpheus; cp. 1. 12. 8 foll., 2. 13. 33 foll., Virg. G. 4. 481 foll.

15. **immanis**. It is a question whether the adjective agrees with 'ianitor,' as Virg. Aen. 6. 400 'ingens ianitor,' or with 'aulae.' Orelli is probably right in preferring the latter, as 'aulae' seems to want an identifying epithet. Cp. Sil. 2. 551 'insomnis lacrimosae ianitor aulae.'

**blandienti**; Od. 1. 12. 11, 1. 24. 13.

17–20. This stanza has been condemned, as an interpolation, by Buttmann, Meineke, G. Hermann, Haupt, and others, both on account of its dull expansion of the idea of 'immanis ianitor aulae,' and specially on account of the unemphatic use of 'eius,' of which Bentley had previously complained. This is found in Ovid (Trist. 3. 4. 27), and in Horace's Satires (2. 1. 70, 2. 6. 76). In the only other instance of the word in the Odes (4. 8. 18), it is strongly demonstrative. Virgil does not use it at all. The expansion, however, is (as Jahn points out) quite in Horace's way (cp. 1. 12. 26–32, 2. 4. 9–12, 3. 4. 61–64, C. S. 41–44), and the details of horror all make it a stronger instance of the power of music. Bentley would remove part of the difficulty by reading for 'eius atque' 'exeatque.'

20. **ore trilingui**; see on 2. 13. 34 and 2. 19. 31.

Quin et Ixion Tityosque vultu
Risit invito, stetit urna paulum
Sicca, dum grato Danai puellas
    Carmine mulces.
Audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
Virginum poenas et inane lymphae
Dolium fundo pereuntis imo,
    Seraque fata,
Quae manent culpas etiam sub Orco.
Impiae,—nam quid potuere maius?—
Impiae sponsos potuere duro
    Perdere ferro!
Una de multis face nuptiali
Digna periurum fuit in parentem
Splendide mendax et in omne virgo
    Nobilis aevum,
Surge, quae dixit iuveni marito,
Surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde
Non times, detur; socerum et scelestas
    Falle sorores,
Quae velut nactae vitulos leaenae
Singulos eheu lacerant: ego illis

21. **Tityosque**; see on 2. 14. 8. For the singular verb 'risit' see on 1. 3. 10.

22. **invito**, *ἀγελάστῳ*, it was not naturally inclined to smiles.

26. **inane . . . pereuntis**, answering to one another, 'empty, because the water always ran away.' For the genitive see Madv. § 290 e, note.

27. **dolium** is the vessel full of holes which it is their hopeless task to fill. 'Urna,' in v. 22, is the smaller pitcher with which each draws water for the purpose.

**pereuntis** has both the original meaning of 'flowing through,' and also the common meaning of 'vanishing,' 'being wasted.' There is the same double sense in Lucr. 1. 250 'pereunt imbres'; 262 'non igitur penitus pereunt.'

28. **sera**, *ὑστερόποινα*.

30. **nam quid**, &c. He justifies the exclamation 'impiae,' and then repeats it.

**potuere**, repeated with a play on the double sense of 'posse,' to be able in respect of physical power, and to be able in respect of heart and will; the first = *ἐδυνήθησαν*, the second = *ἔτλησαν*. For the second sense cp. Epod. 9. 14 'miles spadonibus Servire rugosis potest.'

31. **duro**. For the meaning of the epithet cp. v. 45 'saevis catenis,' and see on Epod. 5. 30, Od. 4. 4. 57.

34. **periurum**, because he had betrothed his daughters to the sons of his brother Aegyptus, and now bade them slay each her bridegroom.

35. **splendide mendax**, an oxymoron already familiar to poetry and poetical rhetoric. Aesch. Fr. 273 *ἀπάτης δικαίας οὐκ ἀποστατεῖ*, Soph. Ant. 74 *ὅσια πανουργήσασα*, Eur. Bacch. 334 *καταψεύδου καλῶς*, Cic. pro Mil. 27 'mentiri gloriose.'

40. **falle**, '*λάθε*, decipe fugiendo.' Schol. Cp. Epp. 1. 5. 31 'postico falle clientem.'

41. 'Like lionesses that have come on a herd of calves, are rending, ah me! each her own.' She imagines what is even now passing in each chamber.

Mollior nec te feriam neque intra
Claustra tenebo.
Me pater saevis oneret catenis,
Quod viro clemens misero peperci;
Me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
Classe releget.
I, pedes quo te rapiunt et aurae,
Dum favet nox et Venus, i secundo
Omine et nostri memorem sepulchro
Scalpe querellam.

'Lacerant' continues the image of the lionesses; the simile passes into a metaphor.

45–47. **me, me,** 'I don't care for myself, if I can save you; my father may load me with chains, if you go free from the prison-house.' The antithesis is the same as in the epitaph quoted on v. 51.

46. **clemens misero.** For the relation of the adjectives see on 1. 3. 10.

49. **pedes et aurae.** The two are alternatives, for she means 'fly either by land or sea,' as it is put more fully in Epod. 16. 21 'Ire pedes quocumque ferent, quocumque per undas Notus vocabit'; so that this may be added to the many instances in which the Latin (and Greek) poets put conjunctively, as possibilities united in the fact of their being offered at the same time, what we should put disjunctively as alternative possibilities which cannot be realized at the same time. See on Od. 1. 3. 9, 3. 27. 5, Epod. 2. 13; compare Virg. G. 2. 25 'Quadrifidasque sudes et acuto robore vallos,' which describes two alternative modes of treating the 'stirpes' of the preceding verse; and Virg. Aen. 2. 645 'miserebitur hostis exuviasque petet,' of the different motives, one or other of which will induce some enemy to kill Anchises.

**rapiunt** has the inceptive force of the present, 'are waiting to snatch thee away.'

51. **nostri** = 'mei,' as 3. 27. 14 'Et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas.'

**sepulchro,** 'on my tomb'; perhaps a cenotaph, as the 'Hectoreus tumulus' of Virg. Aen. 3. 304. Ovid (Her. 14. 127) understands it of a request that he will actually bury her, and imagines the full epitaph which he is to inscribe, 'Exsul Hypermnestre, pretium pietatis iniquum, Quam mortem fratri depulit ipsa tulit.'

# ODE XII.

THIS Ode seems to be rightly taken by Orelli and Dill[r]. as a soliloquy put into the mouth of Neobule. 'She is one of the unhappy maidens who can neither give free play to their love nor forget it over the wine cup without the dread of an uncle's fierce tongue. She cannot attend to her womanly work for the thought of Hebrus' beauty--Hebrus, as he comes fresh from his swim in the Tiber after his morning's exercise, for he is the best of riders, boxers, runners, huntsmen.'

The older theory made it all an address of the poet to Neobule. But in his mouth the contrast of the lot of men and women is not very graceful, nor the connexion between vv. 1–3 and the remainder of the Ode very clear, nor the recital of Hebrus' accomplishments very appropriate. Ritter, allowing the whole to be put into Neobule's mouth, makes vv. 4–12 the 'patruae verbera linguae' which she imagines to herself. The uncle, however, would hardly spend the greater part of his scolding in praising her lover.

Gesner follows Acron in taking the whole as ironical, 'Sotadico versu.' The idea seems to have arisen from an attempt to interpret the names, 'Hebrus' (cp. I. 25. 20) as 'vetulus quidam et odiosus'; 'Liparaeus' as 'blear-eyed,' 'Vulcan-like.' There are no other indications of such a meaning in the Ode.

The verse which Hephaestion quotes, to illustrate the Ionic metre, from the beginning of a poem of Alcaeus, *ἔμε δείλαν ἔμε παισᾶν κακοτάταν πεδέχοισαν*, reads as if Alcaeus' Ode had been in some way the original of this one, and it favours also the view that Neobule is speaking in this Ode of herself.

Metre—*Ionicum a minore*. See Index of Metres 10.

MISERARUM est neque amori dare ludum neque dulci
Mala vino lavere, aut exanimari metuentes
    Patruae verbera linguae.
Tibi qualum Cythereae puer ales, tibi telas

1. **dare ludum**, 'to humour,' 'to give its pleasure to'; 'desidiae dare ludum,' Plaut. Bacch. 4. 10. 9.

2. **mala vino lavere.** The coarseness to our taste is explained by Dill[r]. as belonging to 'Graeci mores'; by Orelli as parallel to 'sapias, vina liques,' 'multi Damalis meri,' &c., and as implying that Neobule was a 'libertina.' Perhaps it may be better mitigated by observing that the contrast in Neobule's mind is not so much between one girl and another as between the lot of women and that of men. The latter have the choice of indulging their love or forgetting it in wine. 'Poor women' cannot do either.

**aut.** The alternative is, *either* not to do either of these things *or*, if we do them, to feel the terrors of an uncle's tongue. Cp. 3. 24. 24 'peccare nefas aut pretium est mori.'

3. **patruae**, 'an uncle's tongue' was proverbial. Sat. 2. 3. 88 'ne sis patruus mihi'; Cic. pro Cael. 11 'qui in reliqua vita mitis esset . . . fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam patruus, censor, magister.'

4. **qualum**, a wicker basket of any kind, here the basket which held the wool: 'calatham *μετωνυμικῶς* pro lanificio dicit,' Acr. Comp. for the idea Sapph. Fr. 91 *γλυκεῖα μᾶτερ, οὔτοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἴστον πόθῳ δάμεισα παῖδος βραδίναν δι' Ἀφροδίταν.*

Operosaeque Minervae studium aufert, Neobule,
Liparaei nitor Hebri,
Simul unctos Tiberinis umeros lavit in undis,
Eques ipso melior Bellerophonte, neque pugno
Neque segni pede victus:
Catus idem per apertum fugientes agitato
Grege cervos iaculari et celer alto latitantem
Fruticeto excipere aprum.

5. **operosae** = Ἐργάνης, an epithet of Pallas, especially as the patroness of women's work, see Lidd. and Scott s. v.

6. **Liparaei Hebri**, see on 3. 7. 23 'Enipeus.' 'Liparaei,' from Lipara, the largest and only inhabited island of the Aeoliae I[ae] between the coasts of Sicily and Lucania. For the local designation see on 2. 4. Introd. The special place seems to owe its selection to the metrical convenience of its name. The same is the case with 'Neobule'; see on 'Leuconoe,' 1. 11. 2.

**nitor**, bright, fresh beauty. 'Glycerae nitor,' 1. 19. 5.

7. **simul**, when he comes fresh from bathing after exercise of the kinds presently named.

**unctos**, cp. Ov. Trist. 3. 12. 19 foll., which Orelli quotes, 'Usus equi nunc est, levibus nunc luditur armis; Nunc pila, nunc celeri volvitur orbe trochus. Nunc ubi perfusa est oleo labente iuventus Defessos artus Virgine tingit aqua.' It would seem from this that they used the oil after exercise and before bathing. It has been otherwise taken of the anointing before some exercises, such as wrestling (Od. 1. 8. 8), and as implying such exercises; 'with the wrestler's oil still on them.'

8. **eques**, in app. to 'Hebri nitor,' taken as i. q. 'Hebrus nitidus.' Cp. Sat. 2. 1. 72 'Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli.' The exercises named had preceded his bathe in the Tiber.

**Bellerophonte**, the mythical rider of Pegasus. The last syllable is long, the nominative being Bellerophontes. Bentl. compares 'Archigene,' Juv. 13. 98.

9. **segni pede**, we must supply 'segni' or some similar adjective to 'pugno,' 'for slowness of hand in boxing or foot in running.'

10–12. Skilful where good aim was wanted, quick of hand and foot where quickness was wanted.

11. **alto**. Some of the best MSS. read 'arto.' Either reading admits of many parallels; βαθείης ἐκ ξυλόχοιο, Hom. Il. 11. 415, 'stabula alta ferarum,' Virg. Aen. 6. 179, 'alto luco,' ib. 7. 95. On the other hand, ἐν λόχμῃ πυκινῇ, Hom. Od. 19. 439, 'artis obsitum dumis iter,' Sen. Oed. 277.

12. **excipere**, to receive the boar with the spear as he breaks from the covert.

## ODE XIII.

'BANDUSIA Sabinensis agri regio est in qua Horatii ager fuit,' Acr. The Ode itself certainly suggests such a locality. The poet seems to be at home at the spring. The surrounding objects are too familiar to obtrude themselves on the picture. The spring, now called 'Fontana degli Oratini,' on the hill-side between the two suggested sites for Horace's farm, answers well enough to the description. It gushes out suddenly at the bottom of a small face of rock, crowned now not by ilex but by a fig-tree, and its rush of cold water, the crystal clearness of the basin which it forms, and then the life with which it starts to bound and babble down the steep slope to the valley are quite enough to wake a poet's enthusiasm. On the other hand, it has been shown that as late as the twelfth century there was a church standing on a site which can be identified about six miles south of Venusia, which is named in ecclesiastical documents of the time as 'Eccl. SS. MM. Gervasi et Protasi in Bandusino Fonte apud Venusiam.' If this evidence be held conclusive we must either suppose that Horace writes from an affectionate memory of the Bandusian spring, such as he elsewhere shows of Mount Vultur, the nestling village of Acherontia, and other spots near the home of his boyhood; or, if 'cras donaberis' seems too definite for a mere address of fancy, we must conclude that at some period of his life he revisited Venusia. The fact, however, that he does not himself indicate the locality of the 'Fons Bandusiae' may have caused topographers to make various guesses in early times as well as late, and the Venusian claimant of the name need not be the genuine one. Verses 2-8 are probably interpreted of the Fontanalia, a festival on Oct. 12, named by Varro, Ling. Lat. 5, 'in fontes coronas iaciunt et puteos coronant.'

Metre—*Fifth Asclepiad.*

O FONS Bandusiae, splendidior vitro,
Dulci digne mero non sine floribus,
Cras donaberis haedo,
Cui frons turgida cornibus

1. **vitro,** Virg. Aen. 7. 759 'vitrea Fucinus unda.'

2. **mero, floribus, haedo.** These seem to be three distinct offerings. For the flowers see the account of the Fontanalia quoted above. For the wine and the sacrifice cp. Ov. Fast. 3. 300 foll. 'Huc venit et fonti rex Numa mactat ovem, Plenaque odorati disponit pocula Bacchi.'

4. **cui frons,** &c., cp. 3. 22. 7 foll., 4. 2. 55 foll. Here the immediate purpose is to describe the age of the kid. Granted that a deity (and the spring is divinized) desired a sacrifice, he would be pleased by the details of the promised ceremony as well as by its ritual exactness. Perhaps we may add that as the victim was after all for the eating, not of gods, but of men, the religious ceremony being not much more than a 'grace before meat,' the offerer would take an interest in the delicacy of the offering, and would moralize with more complacency on the irony of its fate.

Primis et venerem et proelia destinat;
Frustra: nam gelidos inficiet tibi
Rubro sanguine rivos
Lascivi suboles gregis.
Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae
Nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile
Fessis vomere tauris
Praebes et pecori vago.
Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
Me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
Saxis, unde loquaces
Lymphae desiliunt tuae.

5. **destinat,** 'promises,' 'points to.'

6. **frustra: nam,** cp. 3. 7. 21.

**gelidos, rubro,** a double antithesis is intended, Horace, after his manner (see on 2. 3. 9, 3. 4. 46, 4. 4. 10), indicating the contrast in each case by putting an epithet to only one of the two substantives, 'the cold [clear] stream,' 'the [warm] red blood.'

9. **hora,** 'season,' as A. P. 302 'sub verni temporis horam.'

**Caniculae,** the name given by the Romans to Sirius, the brightest star in the constellation of the 'Great Dog.' On the history of the term 'dies Caniculares,' our 'dog days,' see Smith's Dict. Ant. s. v. 'Astronomia.'

12. **vago,** tired with wandering.

13. **fies fontium,** 'thou shalt become one of,' 'shalt take rank with' Dirce, Castalia, Arethusa, &c. For the partitive genitive with the verb cp. Sat. 1. 7. 35 'operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum est,' Epp. 1. 9. 13 'Scribe tui gregis hunc,' and see Madv. L. G. § 284, obs 2. He quotes Cic. pro Cael. 35 'Ariminenses erant duodecim coloniarum,' 'were one of the twelve coloniae.'

14. **me . . . tuae.** In the emphatic places. Thou shalt be famous, for my songs can confer fame.

15. **loquaces,** with 'desiliunt,' they babble as they leap down.

# ODE XIV.

WRITTEN on the return of Augustus, in B.C. 24, from his campaign in Spain, the last few months of which he had spent in sickness at Tarraco. The Ode may be compared for its subject with 4. 2 and 5.

'Caesar is coming back a conqueror, like Hercules, from his dangerous expedition to Spain. Prepare a public "supplicatio." His wife Livia, his sister Octavia, mothers who are recovering their sons-in-law or sons, the sons themselves and their young wives, all have their parts to play. I shall keep my private holiday too, for I feel the peace and security of Caesar's rule. Unguents, boy, and a garland, and a cask of the oldest wine, and go and call Neaera. If you can't get admittance to her, come away; we shall enjoy ourselves without her, though I should not have been so easy seventeen years ago.'

With the end of the Ode compare that of 1. 36 and 2. 11. The point of the last stanzas lies in the words 'eximet curas,' v. 14. The reason is given and then the feeling is exemplified.

HERCULIS ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
Morte venalem petiisse laurum
Caesar Hispana repetit penates
    Victor ab ora.
Unico gaudens mulier marito
Prodeat iustis operata divis,

1. **Herculis ritu**, a favourite mythical prototype of Augustus; cp. 3. 3. 9, 4. 5. 36, Virg. Aen. 6. 802 'Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit.' But here there is special reference (1) to the title 'Hercules Victor' under which he was worshipped in Rome, (2) to his journey into Spain after the oxen of Geryones.

**modo . . . morte**, a moment ago our thoughts were all on the danger of his expedition, now they are on the triumph of his return.

**plebs**, explained by Kiessling of the 'plebs urbana.' Augustus is said in the Monum. Ancyr. to have distributed a 'congiarium' among the populace of Rome in his tenth consulship, that is in the present year, 24 B.C.

2. **morte venalem**. Macleane well quotes Aesch. in Ctes. § 160 *αἵματός ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠνία*: 'morte' meaning here, as *αἵματος* there, not necessarily the shedding of one's blood, but the risk of shedding it: cp. 'mortemque volunt pro laude pacisci,' Virg. Aen. 5. 230.

5. **unico gaudens marito**, 'whose whole joy is in her husband'; so Orelli, as though in identifying Livia the poet intended to compliment her as a Roman matron of the old type of conjugal loyalty. He objects to Ritter's rendering of 'unico' as = 'egregio,' that this would anticipate and reduce to a bathos the epithet 'clari ducis.' That the reference is to Livia, not to faithful wives generally, is clear from the mention of Augustus' sister in v. 7.

6. **operata**, probably to be taken as 'solata' in Virg. G. 1. 293 (see Conington's note) as a present participle, 'come forth and sacrifice.' For 'operari' in this technical sense, like 'facere,' *ῥέζειν*, cp. Virg. G. 1. 339 'Sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis.'

**divis**. This was the reading of Acr. and Porph., who interpret 'iustis divis,' sc. 'qui Caesari victoriam et

Et soror clari ducis et decorae
Supplice vitta
Virginum matres iuvenumque nuper
Sospitum. Vos, o pueri et puellae
Iam virum expertae, male ominatis
Parcite verbis.
Hic dies vere mihi festus atras
Eximet curas; ego nec tumultum
Nec mori per vim metuam tenente
Caesare terras.
I, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas
Et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem
Fallere testa.

reditum merenti dederunt.' The balance of older MSS. is in favour of 'sacris,' which Orelli and Ritter retain. Bentley shows that both constructions of 'operari' are equally legitimate. 'Iustis sacris' would mean 'duly performed,' and, if we take 'unico gaudens marito' with Orelli, must be connected with those words; 'mulier pudica atque igitur propter ipsam castimoniam digna quae votum pro reditu mariti solvat sacris iustis, sc. legitimis.'

8. **supplice vitta**; Virg. Aen. 4. 637 'ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.' This seems distinct from its ordinary use, by freeborn maids and matrons, to confine the hair.

10. **puellae**, of young wives, cp. 3. 22. 2. The matrons are bidden assist Livia and Octavia in the religious rites. The returning soldiers and the young wives to whom they are returning are bidden εὐφημεῖν, to keep a sacred silence, or not to interrupt the ceremony by too noisy delight.

11. **male ominatis**, δυσφήμοις. This was the reading of V, and apparently of the original text which Acr. and Porph. interpreted ('ne incaute loquentes verbis omina facerent'), although 'nominatis' (the reading of B) stands in their present text. It seems to be true, as Bentley argues, that no other instance can be quoted of a hiatus between a short and a long vowel when there is no natural break in the line (unless we retain and argue upon the generally abandoned reading 'horribilesque ultimosque Britannos' of Catull. 11. 11), and such compounds as 'suaveolens,' 'graveolens,' &c., usually lose the 'e' in scansion. On the other hand, while the temptation would be strong to remedy an obvious blot, and the insertion of 'n' would easily suggest itself, we lack any authority for the use of 'nominatis' in any appropriate sense. Of professed conjectures, Bentley's 'inominatis' is the most plausible. In that case 'male' must mean 'with evil effect,' like 'fraude mala,' Od. 1. 3. 28.

14. **eximet**, 'banish.'

15. **mori metuam**, not in the sense of 3. 9. 11, but in the less usual sense of 'ne moriar metuam.' With the sentiment cp. 4. 15. 17 foll. 'Custode rerum Caesare non furor Civilis,' &c.

18–20. 'A cask of wine of the date of the Marsic or Social War (B.C. 90–88), if one has possibly (**qua** is an abl., as Virg. Aen. 1. 18 'si qua fata sinant') escaped the roving bands of Spartacus (in the Servile War fifteen years later).' So the wine would be sixty-three years old; see on 3. 8. 12. Juvenal's 'Calcatamque tenet bellis Socialibus uvam,' 5. 31, is most likely a reference to this passage rather than a real date of wine which was drinkable in his time. Ritter points out that the reference to the succession of civil wars has probably a secondary purpose as heightening the feeling of the last stanza, the peace and security conferred on the world by Caesar's rule.

19. **Spartacum**, Epod. 16. 5.

Dic et argutae properet Neaerae
Murrheum nodo cohibere crinem;
Si per invisum mora ianitorem
    Fiet, abito.
Lenit albescens animos capillus
Litium et rixae cupidos protervae;
Non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa
    Consule Planco.

21. **argutae**, 'clear-voiced,' for she is a singer.

22. **murrheum**, fragrant with myrrh. Virg. Aen. 12. 100 'crines . . . murrha madentes.'

**cohibere crinem**, i. e. to adorn herself for the purpose of coming to my house; cp. 2. 11. 12. There is no need with Bentley and Meineke to make the verbal resemblance more perfect by reading 'cohibente.'

25. **albescens**; as he calls himself four years afterwards, 'praecanum,' Epp. 1. 20. 24. Horace was now in his forty-first year.

27. **ferrem**, for the tense see Madv. § 347, obs. 2.

28. **Planco**. L. Munatius Plancus was consul in B.C. 42, the year of Philippi. The date has doubtless a meaning as the date of the wine had. The times have quieted down, and Horace has tamed down also since then. Dr. Verrall well points out, as instructive for other cases, how clearly the picture of Neaera's invitation is a picture and nothing more. The stress is on the last stanza, not on the last but one.

## ODE XV.

THE subject is the same as that of 1. 25 and 4. 13, the odiousness and ridiculousness of the desires and ways of youth kept on when youth itself has departed. The spirit is rather that of the Epodes ('Archilochio felle,' Mitsch.) than of the Odes; it is, of course, possible that a real person is pointed at. Meineke suggested that the name 'Nothus,' a name unknown to extant Greek literature, was the poetical representative of the common Latin 'Spurius,' see Introd. to 2. 4.

Chloris is warned that she is at once old and poor. 'It is time to give up her wanton ways. What suits her daughter Pholoë does not suit her. She is the wife of a poor man. Let her take her wool and spin. That will be more becoming to her than the harp and the wine-cup.'

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

UXOR pauperis Ibyci,
    Tandem nequitiae fige modum tuae
Famosisque laboribus:
    Maturo propior desine funeri

3. **famosis laboribus**, infamous as compared with 'lanificium.'

4. **maturo**, ripe, for which you are ready.

Inter ludere virgines
  Et stellis nebulam spargere candidis.
Non, si quid Pholoën satis,
  Et te, Chlori, decet: filia rectius
Expugnat iuvenum domos,
  Pulso Thyias uti concita tympano.
Illam cogit amor Nothi
  Lascivae similem ludere capreae:
Te lanae prope nobilem
  Tonsae Luceriam, non citharae decent
Nec flos purpureus rosae
  Nec poti vetulam faece tenus cadi.

6. To spoil the look of their company as a cloud does a starry sky.

9. **expugnat domos.** The editors quote Sen. Nat. Q. 4, praef. 'Crispus Passienus saepe dicebat, adulationi nos opponere, non claudere ostium, et quidem sic quemadmodum opponi amicae solet, quae, si impulit, grata est, gratior, si effregit.'

14. **Luceriam,** an important town in the interior of Apulia. It is called 'nobilem,' as famous for its wool, Plin. H. N. 8. 48. She is to think now only of getting the best wool. The editors compare an anonymous epigram, Brunck, An. 3, p. 116 'Η τὸ πρὶν αὐχήσασα πολυχρύσοις ἐπ' ἐρασταῖς, | ἡ Νέμεσιν δεινὴν οὐχὶ κύσασα θεάν, | μίσθια νῦν σπαθίοις πενιχροῖς πηνίσματα κρούει· | ὀψέ γ' Ἀθηναίη Κύπριν ἐληΐσατο.

16. **vetulam.** The better MSS. are in favour of 'vetula'; the Comm. Cruq. and one half of Porph.'s scholium in favour of 'vetulam,' 'non decet aetatem tuam in convivio multum potare.' Vetulā would be easily altered by omitting the mark of the m, and the distance of 'te' would tempt a copyist to assimilate the adjective to the nearer substantive 'faece.'

# ODE XVI.

'GOLD is all powerful, and powerful for harm. Mythology and history prove it. And with the growth of wealth care grows and the thirst for greater wealth. I take example by you, Maecenas, and shun eminence. The more we deny ourselves the more the gods give us. I am prouder and happier in my poor little farm, its clear stream, its wood, and unfailing crops, than the man who owns all Africa. I have no superfluous luxuries, but I never feel the pains of penury. Reduced desires give a larger revenue than the widest "latifundia." Who seek much want much. Happy the man who has, though little, yet enough.'

The Ode is on Horace's common theme, the praise of contentment and the 'aurea mediocritas' of fortune.

Metre—*Fourth Asclepiad.*

INCLUSAM Danaën turris aënea
Robustaeque fores et vigilum canum
Tristes excubiae munierant satis
    Nocturnis ab adulteris,
Si non Acrisium virginis abditae
Custodem pavidum Iuppiter et Venus
Risissent: fore enim tutum iter et patens
    Converso in pretium deo.
Aurum per medios ire satellites
Et perrumpere amat saxa potentius
Ictu fulmineo: concidit auguris
    Argivi domus ob lucrum

2. **robustae**, probably with Ritter, 'of oak.' Cp. 1. 3. 9 'robur et aes triplex.'

3. **tristes**, δύσκολοι, 'surly.'

**munierant**; see on 2. 17. 28 'sustulerat nisi . . . levasset.'

6. **pavidum**, from his fear of the oracle which had predicted that a son of his daughter should slay him.

7. **fore**. For such an introduction of the orat. obl. cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 444 'Effodere loco signum quod regia Iuno Monstrarat, caput acris equi; nam sic fore bello Egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.'

8. **pretium**, bribes. Horace ironically rationalizes the legend.

9. **aurum**. Notice the emphatic positions of 'aurum' and 'lucrum,' as of 'muneribus' and 'munera' in the following stanza.

**per medios satellites**, i. e. in order to reach and strike at a tyrant.

10. **perrumpere saxa**, 'munitiones expugnare,' Acr.

**amat** = 'gaudet,' 'gestit,' an imitation of φιλεῖν, but see on 2. 3. 9.

11. **auguris**. Amphiaraus the seer went to the Theban war, though he foresaw its issue, at the persuasion of his wife Eriphyle, who had been bribed by Polynices with a necklace; ὄλετ' ἐν Θήβῃσι γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων, Hom. Od. 15. 247; cp. ib. 11. 325, Soph. El. 837 foll.

Demersa exitio; diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos
Reges muneribus; munera navium
    Saevos illaqueant duces.
Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
Maiorumque fames. Iure perhorrui
Late conspicuum tollere verticem,
    Maecenas, equitum decus.
Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
Ab dis plura feret: nil cupientium
Nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum
    Partes linquere gestio,
Contemptae dominus splendidior rei,
Quam si quicquid arat impiger Apulus

13. **demersa**, possibly, as the Schol. thinks, an allusion to the legendary form of Amphiaraus' end—the earth opened and swallowed him, Pind. Nem. 9. 25.

14. **vir Macedo**, a proverbial instance from history. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 1. 16 'Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat in quae modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere.' Plut. Vit. Aem. Paull. 12 ἐρρέθη γοῦν ὅτι τὰς πόλεις αἱρεῖ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ Φίλιππος ἀλλὰ τὸ Φιλίππου χρυσίον. He is said (in the collection of proverbs of Diogenianus) to have received an oracle from the Pythia, ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχου καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις. So Juvenal, 12. 47, calls him 'callidus emptor Olynthi,' and Val. Max. 7. 2. 10 'Mercator Graeciae.' In 'diffidit' and 'subruit' ('undermined') we have a continuance of the metaphors of the last stanza.

14. **aemulos reges**, such as his rivals for the throne, Pausanias and Argaeus; the Thracian Cersobleptes, &c.

15. **navium duces**. Horace is generally supposed to be taking an instance from contemporary history, and to aim at Menas or Menodorus, the freedman of Sextus Pompeius and chief captain of his fleet, who twice deserted him to serve under Octavianus, and once deserted Octavianus to return to him. See Introd. to Epod. 4, which has been taken by some to refer to him.

16. **saevos illaqueant**, an intended antithesis. 'Illaqueare' is found nowhere else till Prudentius (A.D. 350–400), who uses it in its natural sense of snaring birds.

17. **crescentem**, imit. by Juv. 14. 139 'Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.' '"Cura," ne perdantur; "fames," ut augeantur opes,' Dill[r].

18. **maiorum**, neut. gen. μειζόνων.

19. **conspicuum**, prolept. = 'ita ut conspicuum fiat.'

20. **equitum decus**, 'the lesson which you preach to us, Maecenas, by being content to be the pride of the equestrian order instead of accepting any office which would qualify you to become a senator,' see on 1. 20. 5.

23. **nudus**. To join the army of the 'nil cupientes' he must be, like them, 'nudus'; he must strip himself of the gifts of fortune which he no longer wants, and be content with the cloak of which he speaks in 3. 29. 54. The metaphor of the camp hardly begins till 'castra.' Orelli points out that the second clause, 'transfuga . . . gestio,' is an amplification of the first, and one which brings out more clearly, though it does not create, the inexactness of the original metaphor. To satisfy it completely, Horace must have been a rich man who gave up his wealth. All he really means is, that he would choose a modest competence in preference to great wealth.

25. **contemptae**, 'which wealthier men despise.' 'Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.' Bentley takes it as 'contemptae a se ipso,' and so as = 'non possessae,' making it an oxymoron answering to

Occultare meis dicerer horreis,
    Magnas inter opes inops.
Purae rivus aquae silvaque iugerum
Paucorum et segetis certa fides meae
Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae
    Fallit sorte beatior.
Quamquam nec Calabrae mella ferunt apes
Nec Laestrygonia Bacchus in amphora
Languescit mihi nec pinguia Gallicis
    Crescunt vellera pascuis,
Importuna tamen pauperies abest,
Nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges.

'inter opes inops': the poor man possessing all things though he has nothing, the rich man a pauper in the midst of his riches.

26, 27. For the mode of expressing the height of wealth see on 1. 1. 9 'si proprio condidit horreo Quicquid de Libycis verritur areis.'

26. **quicquid arat**, the fruits of his ploughing. Strabo (6, p. 284) speaks of the plains of North Apulia as πάμφοροί τε καὶ πολύφοροι, but we hear of them chiefly as used for pasture. For the lengthening of the last syllable of 'arat' see on 1. 3. 36.

**impiger**, Epod. 2. 42.

28. Cp. the similar oxymoron in Sat. 2. 3. 142 'Pauper argenti positi intus et auri.'

29. Cp. the description of his farm, Sat. 2. 6. 1 'modus agri non ita magnus, Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons Et paulum silvae super his.' So also Epp. 1. 16. 1–14.

30. **segetis certa fides.** The opposite is 'fundus mendax,' 3. 1. 30. Cp. Virg. G. 1. 226 'illos Expectata seges vanis elusit aristis.'

31. Constr. 'fallit beatior sorte (λανθάνει ὀλβιωτέρα οὖσα) fulgentem fertilis Africae imperio,' 'is a lot happier than his, though he cannot see it, who glitters in the lordship of fertile Africa.' This seems to be a hyperbolical way of describing a man who owns wide cornlands in Africa, as another is said in v. 41 to 'join in one sweep the kingdom of Alyattes to the broad plains of Phrygia.' Cp. 2. 2. 10–12 'si Libyam remotis Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus Serviat uni,' and read with this the note there. Ritter takes 'fertilis Africae' with 'sorte,' comparing 'Sors Asiae' = 'the proconsulship of Asia,' Tac. Ann. 3. 58 and 71, 'is a happiness beyond the proconsulship of rich Africa, though he cannot see it who is in the dazzling light of power' ('fulgentem verum latere facilius potest quod dignitatis splendor oculos praestrinxit'). But in this rendering, if stress is to be laid on the glory of power, we lose the force of the epithet 'fertilis' and of the direct comparison with the poet's few acres and certain crops. If we emphasize 'fertilis,' as implying that the proconsul of Africa has the opportunity of enriching himself, 'fulgentem imperio' loses much of its meaning. The metaphors grow to a great extent out of the context. 'Fulgentem imperio' is an echo of 'dominus splendidior': 'regnum Alyattei,' &c., as an exemplification of 'vectigalia porrigam' is suggested by the proverbial wealth of Croesus.

33 foll. Cp. the enumeration of the forms of Roman wealth in 1. 31. 3–12.

**Calabrae apes**, 2. 6. 14.

34. **Laestrygonia**, from Formiae. Cp. 1. 20. 11, and see Introd. to the next Ode. For the local epithet given to the 'amphora' instead of the wine cp. 1. 9. 7 'Sabina diota.'

35. **languescit**, 'mellows'; 3. 21. 8 'languidiora vina.'

**pinguia** = 'spissa.' Pliny distinguishes the white wool of Cisalpine Gaul, 'Circumpadanis nulla praefertur,' H. N. 8. 48.

Contracto melius parva cupidine
  Vectigalia porrigam,
Quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei
Campis continuem. Multa petentibus
Desunt multa: bene est, cui deus obtulit
  Parca, quod satis est, manu.

39. 'I shall better extend my little revenues by narrowing my desires.' Note the contrast between 'contracto' 'porrigam.' This interpretation is amply proved by Horace's use of 'vectigalia' in Sat. 2. 2. 100, and the current Stoic aphorism (Cic. de Rep. 4. 7, Parad. 6. 3) 'magnum vectigal parsimonia.' For 'porrigere' = 'to extend,' cp. Sen. Epp. 89 'Quousque arationes vestras porrigetis?'

41. **Alyattei**, the father of Croesus. The wealth of the kings of Lydia was proverbial, 2. 12. 22. 'Alyattei' is the genitive of 'Alyatteus,' as 'Achillei,' 'Ulixei,' Epod. 17. 14 and 16. It is a certain correction of Bentley's, the MSS., oldest and latest alike, being hopelessly puzzled by the unusual name. 'Halyatti,' 'halyathii,' 'halialyti,' 'aliat thii,' &c.

42. **continuem**; Liv. 1. 44 'continuare moenibus aedificia'; ib. 34. 4 'ingens cupido agros continuandi,' of 'laying field to field.'

43. **bene est**, sc. ei. Epp. 1. 1. 89 'iurat bene solis esse maritis.'

---

# ODE XVII.

COMPARE Introduction to 1. 26. The purpose of this Ode can only be guessed. The introductory passage seems as if it was playful. It traces Aelius Lamia's pedigree to Lamus, the Homeric king of the Laestrygones (Od. 10. 81 'Ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἱκόμεσθα Λάμου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον | τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 2. 13 'si vero in hanc τηλέπυλον veneris Λαιστρυγονίην, Formias dico, qui fremitus hominum!'), whose locality was fixed by the Romans in the neighbourhood of Formiae. Possibly, although he throws it on the public voice ('ferunt,' v. 2), Horace may be inventing a mythical ancestry for Lamia, as Virgil does for the Iulii, Sergii, Cluentii, &c., as Cicero does playfully for himself (Tusc. 1. 16 'regnante meo gentili,' sc. Serv. Tullio), and as was done on a large scale in Varro's lost work, De Familiis Troianis. The Lamiae, though not famous in the ages of the Republic, were a prominent family under the Empire. Juv. Sat. 4. 154 'Hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti,' in allusion to L. Aelius Lamia Aemilianus, put to death by Domitian. Cp. ib. 6. 385.

Horace writes the day before a holiday, possibly to Lamia at some country house which belonged to him near Formiae. This would give an additional point to the mention of the sea-shore and to the genealogical introduction, as if the poet had meant to say, 'You are a great man at Formiae at least, in the home of your

heroic ancestor.' He professes to foresee a rainy day, and bids Lamia use the dry weather to house his wood and prepare for to-morrow's festival. The connexion of thought we may compare with 1. 9. That Ode will show, however, that it is not necessary, from the mention of the sea, to suppose that Lamia was at Formiae. In both probably the stormy weather, if not actually allegorical, is used to enforce a moral beyond that which appears on the surface. The one other certain reference to Lamia in Horace's poems (Od. 1. 26), and another probable one (Ep. 1. 14. 6), suggest to us that he was a man before whom his friend would desire to set the sunny side of life.

Vv. 2–5 have been condemned by many critics with no support from external evidence; but the Introduction which their omission would leave would not be more free from difficulties than the unmutilated one. Peerlkamp more consistently condemns the Ode.

AELI vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,—
Quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt
  Denominatos et nepotum
    Per memores genus omne fastos;
Auctore ab illo ducis originem,
Qui Formiarum moenia dicitur
  Princeps et innantem Maricae
    Litoribus tenuisse Lirim
Late tyrannus:—cras foliis nemus
Multis et alga litus inutili

2. 'Since the world has it that it was from him that the Lamiae of old days took their name, as well as the whole race of their children's children whose memory lives in Fasti, he doubtless is the founder to whom thou tracest thine origin.' In other words, 'Since all the Lamiae, ancient and modern, are descended from him, doubtless you are.' The omission of 'tu' before 'ducis,' although the person is emphatic, is paralleled in Od. 2. 17. 30. Cp. 1. 1. 35, 4. 2. 33. 'Ducit' constr. as the verb after 'genus omne,' is an emendation of D. Heinsius (1580-1655) strongly advocated by Bentley. It has no MS. authority, but has been received by several editors (Keller and Munro amongst them), and has the merit of making the parenthesis run more smoothly.

**hinc**, 'from him.' Sat. 14. 6. Cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 21 'Hinc populum . . . venturum.' Cp. the use of 'unde,' Od. 1. 12. 17.

4. **memores fastos**; 4. 14. 4. The MSS. vary between 'fastos' and 'fastus,' a form which was also in use. Lucan. 10. 187 'Nec meus Eudoxi vincetur fastibus annus.'

5. **auctore**, of the founder of a family; 1. 2. 36, Virg. Aen. 4. 365.

7. **innantem Maricae litoribus**, refers to the marshes near Minturnae, at the mouth of the Liris (Garigliano), known in history as the place where Marius was for a time concealed. Marica was a nymph worshipped at Minturnae, identified by some with Circe.

9. **late tyrannus**, εὐρυκρείων. Virg. Aen. 1. 21 'populum late regem.'

10. **inutili**, not an epithet quite without bearing on the context. It helps to make us feel the dreariness and odiousness of the storm out of doors, which is to contrast with the cheer which there may be within. Its work is purely destructive; it brings down the leaves which are of use, and strews the shore with seaweed which is of no use.

Demissa tempestas ab Euro
Sternet, aquae nisi fallit augur
Annosa cornix. Dum potes, aridum
Compone lignum: cras Genium mero
Curabis et porco bimestri
Cum famulis operum solutis.

12. **aquae augur**; 3. 27. 10 'imbrium divina avis imminentum.'

13. **annosa**; 4. 13. 24.

**potes**, so the majority of good MSS. Bentley prefers 'potis,' the reading of a few, as a word which, though admissible (cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 671), is yet rare, and therefore unlikely to have been substituted for an easier one.

15. **curabis.** The future seems to have the force of 'of course you will.' 'Curabis Genium' is an extension of the common 'curare se ipsum,' 'curare corpus.' When the Genius was viewed more distinctly as something external to and separate from the person whose spiritual double it was, it was said rather 'placari,' 'piari floribus et vino.' Cp. A. P. 210, Epp. 2. 1. 144.

16. **operum.** For genitive cp. 2. 9. 17, 3. 27. 69, Madv. § 261, obs. 4.

---

# ODE XVIII.

A HYMN to Faunus: cp. 1. 17. 1–8. Horace prays that the visits of the god to his lands may be kindly, and promises that the due kid and wine and incense shall be offered at the Faunalia on the nones of December, the holiday of cattle and of villagers, the day of peace, when even the wolf strays harmlessly among the lambs; when the trees shed their leaves to strew Faunus' path, and the ditcher revenges himself on the ground which has worked him so hard, by dancing on it.

FAUNE, Nympharum fugientum amator,
Per meos fines et aprica rura
Lenis incedas abeasque parvis
Aequus alumnis,

1. **Nympharum amator.** Faunus is identified with the Greek Pan; see on 1. 17. Perhaps (as Ritter thinks) the words imply also that it is in pursuit of his flying loves that Faunus is supposed to cross the different homesteads.

4. **alumnis**, probably 'younglings' of cattle; 3. 23. 7. The Scholiast took it as = 'vernulis,' young slaves bred on the farm, whom Faunus was supposed to frighten; Ritter, of the young trees and plants which in his hot pursuit he might trample. Our interpretation is supported both in this place and in 3. 23. 7. by the words which follow. Faunus must be kindly to the flock, because it pays tithe duly to him.

Si tener pleno cadit haedus anno,
Larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
Vina craterae, vetus ara multo
Fumat odore.
Ludit herboso pecus omne campo,
Cum tibi Nonae redeunt Decembres;
Festus in pratis vacat otioso
Cum bove pagus;
Inter audaces lupus errat agnos;
Spargit agrestes tibi silva frondes;
Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
Ter pede terram.

5. **pleno anno**, when the year is nearly full, in December; or, perhaps, only like 'per exactos annos,' 3. 22. 6 = 'quotannis,' at intervals of a full year.

6. **Veneris sodali craterae**, 'the bowl, Venus' mate.' Orelli quotes an address to a flagon, Βάκχου καὶ Μουσέων ἱλαρὴ λάτρι καὶ Κυθερείης. Perhaps it is thus characterized as fitting the title given to Faunus in v. 1. Ritter makes 'craterae' the genitive with 'vina,' 'wine in the bowl,' some particular bowl known to be set for Faunus, and takes 'Veneris sodali' of the god himself.

7. **vetus** implies that these rites have been duly performed during many generations. Macleane puts a full stop at 'craterae,' and makes the general description of the Faunalia begin here.

12. **pagus**. There is a curious variant in some of the good MSS., 'pardus,' the origin of which Bentley ingeniously traces to some monkish copyist, who had in mind the prophecy of Isaiah, 11. 6 'Habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum haedo accubabit.'

14. **spargit frondes**. That the leaves were still falling in December, see Epod. 11. 5 'December . . . silvis honorem decutit.'

**agrestes**, 'a woodland carpet' of leaves.

15. **invisam**, 'invisam terram fossoribus merito dixit quod in ea laborant quum fodiunt,' Porph.

**pepulisse**. For the perf. inf. with 'gaudet' see on 3. 4. 51; he finishes off each triple beat with a flourish, as though he were dancing on an enemy.

**fossor**; Virg. G. 2. 264 'labefacta movens robustus iugera fossor.'

16. **ter**, of triple time. Cp. 4. 1. 28 'In morem Salium ter quatient humum.' Perhaps Horace is offering an etymology of 'tripudiare.'

# ODE XIX.

'ENOUGH of your antiquarian lore; attend to the more practical question where and when we are to sup this cold night.' Then, with a sudden change, he fancies place and time settled and the banquet already prepared (cp. 2. 7. 21 foll., 2. 11. 18 foll., but it is more abrupt than these Odes): 'We have to drink the new month, and our friend Murena, the newly-elected Augur. Strike up with pipe and harp; no grudging, scatter the roses. Let morose old Lycus hear our riot, and his ill-matched young wife next door. We are better matched here, Telephus and Rhode, I and Glycera.'

The Ode explains itself less clearly than most. The point lies clearly in the toast to the 'Augur Murena,' but there must be links that are lost to us. It may be questioned who is the supposed interlocutor in the first eight lines. It has been usually taken to be the Telephus of v. 26: but this is by no means clear. Ritter imagined the name to be chosen by a fancied etymology (τῆλε φάος) to suggest Heliodorus the 'rhetor,' 'Graecorum longe doctissimus' of Sat. 1. 5. 3, with whose profession such antiquarian questions would suit. But, on the other hand, it may be pointed out that Telephus is the name which Horace seems to appropriate here as in 1. 13 and 4. 11 to an ideal character, a lover who has youth and beauty.

For Murena see on 2. 2. 5 and 2. 10 Introd.

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

QUANTUM distet ab Inacho
  Codrus pro patria non timidus mori,
Narras et genus Aeaci
  Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio:
Quo Chium pretio cadum
  Mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,
Quo praebente domum et quota
  Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.

1. **distet**, the chronological distance between the first king of Argos and the last king of Athens.

3. **genus**, the pedigree of the Aeacids.

4. **pugnata**; Epp. 1. 16. 25. So 'militabitur bellum,' Epod. 1. 23, Madv. § 223, obs. 4.

**sacro**, after Homer's Ἴλιος ἱρή, Il. 4. 41, &c.

5. **Chium cadum**; see on 3. 16. 34.

6. **mercemur**. Horace contemplates a feast to which each was to contribute. They are to buy the wine, and yet the question is at whose house it is to be drunk.

**aquam temperet**, usually taken of the bath which would precede the banquet. The Scholiast took it of warming the water to be mixed with the wine. See Dict. Ant. s. v. 'calida.'

7. **quota**, 'at what hour may I hope to warm myself with supper, and so be quit of the cold which is worthy of the Peligni,' a people in the heart of the Apennines, north of Samnium. Ovid, who was a native of Sulmo, one of their towns, gives it the epithet 'gelidus,' Fast. 4. 81.

Da lunae propere novae,
  Da noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris
Murenae: tribus aut novem
  Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.
Qui Musas amat impares,
  Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet

9. **lunae novae**; Od. 3. 23. 2 'nascente luna,' where see note. The 'new moon' means apparently the first of the month, on which a feast was usual, as in Greek *νουμηνία* was transferred by usage so completely from the first of the natural lunar month to the first of the calendar month, that the real new moon was expressed by *νουμηνία κατὰ τὴν σελήνην*, Thuc. 2. 28. For the genitive see on 3. 8. 13.

10. **noctis mediae**; 3. 28. 16.

11–16. There is a question as old as the Schol. whether these lines refer to the proportion of water with which the wine is to be mixed in the mixing bowl, or to the number of 'cyathi' of wine (mixed or unmixed as may be) to be served to the guests for each toast. A majority of editors follow Acr. and Porph. in taking the *former view*. The proportion of three parts water to one part wine, which according to the common interpretation is the meaning of the second clause, 'tres prohibet supra tangere,' though it seems to us excessive, is yet one which is familiar in Greek literature. It is the countryman's proportion in Hesiod, 'Ε. καὶ 'Η. 596 *τρὶς ὕδατος προχέειν τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἱέμεν οἴνου*. In the discussion of the subject of the mixture of water and wine in Athenaeus (10. 27–29), even a larger proportion of water is suggested, *πολὺ βέλτιον ἕνα καὶ τέτταρας*, though with the comment, *ὑδαρῆ λέγεις*. Horace would be meaning to say, 'you may go to either extreme, have a mixture strong enough for a toper or weak and safe enough for a water-drinker.' It should be said that Acr. and Porph. avoid this difficulty, though perhaps they introduce others, by taking the second clause to give, not an alternative to the first, but a reason for the limitation, 'I say nine-twelfths, for the three parts further (i.e. to make it 'merum'; cp. 'nihil supra,' 'nothing further,' in Ode 2. 18. 11) the Graces forbid.' Bentley lends his authority to the *second* view, which is that of the Comm. Cruq. In favour of it is the strong argument that it harmonizes these expressions with the other passage in which Horace speaks of such toasts 3. 8. 13 'sume . . . cyathos amici sospitis centum,' where there is no question of mixture. It suits also the natural interpretation of the reference to this Ode which Bentley quotes from Ausonius, the introduction to Idyll. 11, 'Flacci ecloga in qua propter mediam noctem et novam lunam et Murenae auguratum ternos ter cyathos attonitus petit vates.' The counting of the 'cyathi' with which toasts were drunk is frequently referred to, as in Mart. 1. 72, 'Naevia sex cyathis, septem Iustina bibatur,' &c. 'Miscentur' on this view (and this is the chief argument used against it) has to be taken, by a slight extension, in the simple sense of *ἐγχεῖν*, *ἐπιχεῖν*, of pouring into the cup, without definite reference to mixture of wine and water.

11. **tribus aut novem**. Cp. Ausonius, Idyll. 11. 1 'Ter bibe vel toties ternos: sic mystica lex est.'

12. **miscentur**. There is no need to alter with Rutgers and Bentl. to 'miscentor.' The 'arbiter bibendi' announces to the guests as well as gives orders to the servants.

**cyathis**. As a measure of capacity the 'cyathus' was the twelfth of the 'sextarius,' that being nearly a pint.

**commodis** is taken by Bentley as = 'plenis,' Orelli illustrates it by Plautus's 'commodas minas,' i.e. 'of full weight'; but perhaps the Schol. are right who explain it by 'aptis,' i.e. suited to the taste of the drinkers; as Kiessling says, it is then a substitution for 'commoda.' Cp. Sat. 2. 6. 67 foll., 'prout cuique libido est, Siccat inaequales calices conviva,' &c.

13. **impares**. Stress is laid on their uneven number, perhaps with reference to the Greek proverb *ἢ πέντε πίνειν ἢ τρί' ἢ μὴ τέτταρα*, an uneven number being held in itself more suited to any sacred purpose ('numero deus impare gaudet'), and three and its multiples especially. The epithet therefore would in thought

Vates; tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia
Nudis iuncta sororibus.
Insanire iuvat: cur Berecyntiae
Cessant flamina tibiae?
Cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra?
Parcentes ego dexteras
Odi: sparge rosas; audiat invidus
Dementem strepitum Lycus
Et vicina seni non habilis Lyco.
Spissa te nitidum coma,
Puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero,
Tempestiva petit Rhode:
Me lentus Glycerae torret amor meae.

be extended to the Graces. It explains the choice given between three and nine.

14. **attonitus**, of the pangs of inspiration. Cp. Virg. Aen. 7. 580 'attonitae Baccho matres.'

16. **rixarum metuens**; 3. 24. 22 'metuens alterius viri'; Madv. § 289 a.

**Gratia iuncta sororibus** = 'tres Gratiae iunctae'; so 4. 7. 5.

18. Cp. 2. 7. 28, 4. 12. 28.

**Berecyntiae**; 1. 18. 13, 4. 1. 22, Epod. 9. 5. 6.

24. **vicina**, 'our neighbour.' Others take it as 'his neighbour, who will not listen to his passion'; and Orelli quotes Bosscha, as suggesting that the person meant is the Rhode of the next lines, 'She doesn't care for Lycus, but she will soon be here to look for Telephus.'

24–26. Dill[r]. remarks how the repetition of 'Lycus' and of 'te' serves the purpose of emphasizing them, the one by way of scorn, the other of compliment.

26. **puro**, as 'sole puro,' 3. 29. 45, shining in a clear sky. Cp. 3. 9. 21 'sidere pulchrior.'

27. **tempestiva**, suited in point of age.

28. **lentus**; 1. 13. 8.

# ODE XX.

'BEWARE, Pyrrhus; you are robbing a lioness of her cubs. She will come to reclaim Nearchus, and you must expect a battle royal; and all the time Nearchus doesn't care for you or for her.'

NON vides, quanto moveas periclo,
Pyrrhe, Gaetulae catulós leaenae?
Dura post paulo fugies inaudax
Proelia raptor,
Cum per obstantes iuvenum catervas
Ibit insignem repetens Nearchum,
Grande certamen, tibi praeda cedat
Maior an illi.
Interim, dum tu celeres sagittas
Promis, haec dentes acuit timendos,
Arbiter pugnae posuisse nudo
Sub pede palmam
Fertur et leni recreare vento
Sparsum odoratis umerum capillis,

2. **Gaetulae**; see on I. 23. 10.

3. **post paulo** = 'paulo post' even in prose. Dill^r. points out the antithetical arrangement of the words 'dura ... inaudax,' 'inaudax raptor': the last has the force of an oxymoron. 'Inaudax' is an invention of Horace from the Gr. ἄτολμος.

6. **insignem**, easily found among them all.

7. **grande certamen.** We need not understand 'est' or 'erit'; it is rather a cognate accusative characterizing the action of the last sentence by giving its result, a construction common enough in Greek. Dill^r. collects some other instances of it in Latin: Sat. I. 4. 110, Epp. I. 18. 49, Virg. Aen. 6. 223 (where see Conington's note), 8. 683.

7, 8. **tibi . . . illi.** The supposed difficulty of this clause as it stands causes such different editors as Orelli, Keller, and Kiessling to accept Peerlkamp's emendation of 'illa' for 'illi,' 'whether the prey fall to you or she [prove] the stronger.' But is the difficulty real? We may well say that the whole clause is metaphorical,' 'whether you or she gain the greater booty' ('praeda maior' = 'plus praedae') the fact being out of view that in the interpretation the 'booty' is a single person and therefore there is no 'more' or less. But in any case the substitution of 'maior' for 'magis,' adj. for adv., is a common confusion in language; see Madv. § 300, and cp. Epod. 5. 29 'nulla conscientia,' Sat. I. 7. 28 'multo fluenti,' and such expressions as Virg. Aen. I. 181 'Anthea si quem . . . videat' = 'if he could see anything of Antheus.'

11. **posuisse**, with a present force, 'to have placed,' and so 'to be keeping' there. See Conington's notes on Virg. G. I. 25, Aen. 2. 257.

12. **palmam**, the palm of victory for which they are contending. The attitude at once displays his foot and expresses his lordly indifference to the issue of the quarrel. 'Palmam' has also been taken (see Orelli) of the palm of the hand; of one leg thrown over the other and held in the hand,—a mere picture.

13. **fertur**, perhaps = 'they tell me,' a common way of indicating the strange-

Qualis aut Nireus fuit aut aquosa
Raptus ab Ida.

ness of what we report, as though we hardly ventured to vouch for it. See on 3. 5. 41.

**recreare**, possibly with a fan, 'flabellum,' Prop. 3. 15. 11; possibly, as Orelli thinks, only by letting the wind play on his shoulders.

15. **Nireus**; see Epod. 15. 22, 'Formaque vincas Nirea.' In both cases the MSS. read almost unanimously 'Nereus,' 'Nerea.' Here R (the Vatican MS.) is the only one which has 'Nireus.' The Scholiasts had the true reading, for they quote or refer to Homer's description, Il. 2. 673 Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν | τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα.

**aquosa**, 'many-fountained' Ida, πολυπῖδαξ, πιδήεσσα.

16. **raptus**, sc. Ganymede: the participle used substantivally = ὁ ἁρπασθείς. This is more common in the plural as 4. 15. 24 'Tanain prope flumen orti.'

---

# ODE XXI.

WRITTEN in anticipation of entertaining M. Valerius Messala Corvinus. Dill[r]. bids us compare with this Ode Epp. 1. 5.

'Jar of Massic, as old as myself, your potent contents were kept for some happy occasion, and they shall be broached to-day for Corvinus. He, philosopher as he is, will not despise you. Old Cato, they tell us, did not object to a cup of wine. You make genius flow; you give fresh hope to the anxious and courage to the poor. With your help, and Liber and Venus and the Graces, we will keep the banquet up till daylight.'

Corvinus (the 'Messala' of Sat. 1. 6. 42, 1. 10. 85, A. P. 371 'diserti Messalae') was, like Pollio, at once distinguished in the political and the literary world. He had belonged to the senatorian party, and turned Octavianus' flank in the first day's fighting at Philippi. He subsequently joined Octavianus against Antony, and commanded the centre of his fleet at Actium After the settlement he retired from active life, and devoted himself to oratory and literature. He was the great friend and patron of Tibullus.

With the fourth and fifth stanzas should be compared Ovid's imitation, A. A. 1. 237 foll.:—

'Vina parant animos faciuntque caloribus aptos;
Cura fugit, multo diluiturque mero.
Tunc veniunt risus, tunc pauper cornua sumit;
Tunc dolor et curae rugaque frontis abit:
Tunc aperit mentes aevo rarissima nostro
Simplicitas, artes excutiente deo';

and the fragment of Maecenas' 'Symposium,' which Ritter quotes from Servius on the words 'faciles oculos' in Virg. Aen. 8. 310: 'Hoc . . . etiam Maecenas in Symposio cui Vergilius et Horatius interfuerunt, cum ex persona Messalae de vino loqueretur, ait: *idem humor ministrat faciles oculos, pulchriora reddit omnia, et dulcis iuventae reducit bona.*'

O NATA mecum consule Manlio,
Seu tu querellas sive geris iocos
Seu rixam et insanos amores
Seu facilem, pia testa, somnum,
Quocumque lectum nomine Massicum
Servas, moveri digna bono die,
Descende, Corvino iubente
Promere languidiora vina.
Non ille, quamquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus, te negleget horridus:

1. Epod. 13. 6 'Tu vina Torquato move Consule pressa meo.' The date implies that Corvinus is promised not merely old wine (it was of the vintage of B.C. 65, when L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta were coss., and therefore must have been at least 35 years old), but also wine which carried with it personal reminiscences of the poet's own life, and which therefore it is a proof of friendship to offer. Cp. the dating of the Sabine wine which is offered to Maecenas in 1. 20.

2–5. The point of imagining these possible effects of the wine on different tempers, seems to lie in the expression of its potency, 'it must have some great effect, whatever that be'; and the stress is really laid rather on the last of each pair of alternatives 'seu . . . sive,' 'seu . . . seu.' This is shown by the insertion of 'pia testa' in a place where it is intended to exert its influence on the whole stanza, and by the repetition, after that 'quocumque nomine' has again reopened the question of the tendency of the wine, of the commendation 'moveri digna bona die.'

2. **querellas**; Epod. 11. 12 'Querebar . . . Simul calentis inverecundus deus Fervidiore mero arcana promorat loco.' The two pairs seem to be (1) of talk, the outpouring of passionate complaints or of mirth; (2) of feelings, bitterness or passion on the one side, peaceful slumber on the other.

4. **pia testa**, 'gentle wine-jar.' The epithet apologizes for the calumnious suppositions; contrast 'impius clamor,' 1. 27. 6, and the tone of 1. 18.

5. **quocumque nomine**, 'to whatever end' (it sums up and repeats the preceding suppositions) 'the Massic grapes were gathered whose juice thou guardest.' 'Nomen' meant the heading under which an item was entered in an account, and so seems to have been used for a 'ground,' 'destination,' 'tendency.' Tac. Ann. 14. 59 'Decretae eo nomine supplicationes,' 'on that account'; Cic. de Am. 25 'multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum,' 'on many accounts,' 'under many heads.' Bentley complained that these and similar instances hardly reach (as indeed they do not) the use in this passage, and conjectured 'numine,' which has since been found in several good MSS., including B.

**Massicum**; 1. 1. 19.

6. **moveri**, as in Epod. 13. 6 'vina . . . move,' to disturb it, open the bin.

7. **descende**, from the 'apotheca,' where it was exposed to the smoke. See on 3. 8. 10; similarly 'deripere horreo,' 3. 28. 7.

8. **promere**, constr. after 'iubente.'

**languidiora**, in a good sense, 'mellower'; 3. 16. 35.

9. **madet** = 'imbutus est'; but as Munro (on Lucr. 4. 792) observes, there is a play on the literal and metaphorical meaning. The sponge is so full of philosophy, that there might be supposed to be no room for the wine.

10. **sermonibus**, not merely the Dialogues of Plato and others in which Socrates is an interlocutor, but talk on the same model.

**negleget**. The MSS. and the Schol. vary between the present and future, with the usual additional variety between 'negligere' and 'neglegere.' If not in this stanza, at least in the next one, 'tu lene,' &c. the particular cask has been generalized into the representative of wine in its enlivening effects. The future helps to soften the transition.

**horridus**, 'he will not be so much of a cynic as to despise thee.'

Narratur et prisci Catonis
Saepe mero caluisse virtus.
Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
Plerumque duro; tu sapientium
Curas et arcanum iocoso
Consilium retegis Lyaeo;
Tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis,
Viresque et addis cornua pauperi
Post te neque iratos trementi
Regum apices neque militum arma.
Te Liber et, si laeta aderit, Venus
Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae
Vivaeque producent lucernae,
Dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus.

11. **Catonis**, the censor. 'Priscus' is used of him almost as an addition to his name; see Plut. Cat. Mai. 1. Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 116 'priscis memorata Catonibus.' It has also been taken less well of 'Cato Uticensis,' 'prisci' being interpreted 'old fashioned,' 'stern.' Cic. pro Cael. 14 'severe et graviter et prisce agere.'

12. **virtus** Catonis, as Sat. 2. 1. 72 'Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,' 'Cato for all his virtue'; see on 1. 3. 36.

13. **lene tormentum**. The meaning seems to be settled by the parallel Epp. 1. 5. 19 'Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?' As the rack makes the unwilling witness speak freely, so wine makes the wit which is usually stiff and taciturn become free and talkative, and yet love the torture which is thus applied to it.

16. **retegis Lyaeo**. The name of 'Lyaeus' is used (as in Epod. 9. 38 'curam metumque ... Dulci Lyaeo solvere') with reference to its etymology, λύειν, so that the whole sentence is = 'arcana consilia retegendo curas solvis.' Cp. Epp. 1. 5. 16 'operta recludit.' 'The cares of grave people that seemed heavy burdens when brooded over alone, seem subjects for mirth when confessed over wine.'

18. **cornua**, imit. by Ovid; see above. They are the symbol of strength and of pugnacity, Ov. Am. 3. 11. 5 'venerunt capiti cornua sera meo'; perhaps also with allusion to the fact that Bacchus himself was represented with horns, ταυρόκερως; see on Od. 2. 19. 29.

19. **post te**; 1. 18. 5 'post vina.'

**iratos apices** = 'iratorum'; see on 1. 15. 19. But there is an equal hypallage in making 'apices' the object of 'trementi.' The 'apex' (see on 1. 34. 14) represents the state and power of an eastern king.

21. **laeta**, ἑκοῦσα = πρόθυμος, and so, 'with goodwill.'

22. **nodum**, sc. of clasped hands, or of the concord which they express. 'Gratia iuncta sororibus,' 3. 19. 16. Seneca, interpreting the characteristics with which they appear in paintings, describes the Graces, Benef. 1. 3 'manibus implexis.'

23. **vivae** = 'vigiles,' 3. 8. 14.

**producent** 'te,' an extension of the ordinary 'producere cenam,' 'comissationem.'

24. **dum ... fugat**, 'whilst he is putting to rout,' as though he were all night striving to do so, and only victorious in the morning. Cp. the tense in Virg. E. 9. 23 'Tityre dum redeo, brevis est via, pasce capellas.'

## ODE XXII.

An inscription (or a poetical dedication which would have served for an inscription) for a pine-tree which overhangs the Sabine farm, and which the poet dedicates to Diana, to be honoured by him henceforth with the yearly sacrifice of a young boar.

MONTIUM custos nemorumque, Virgo,
Quae laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis adimisque leto,
Diva triformis,
Imminens villae tua pinus esto,
Quam per exactos ego laetus annos
Verris obliquum meditantis ictum
Sanguine donem.

1. **montium custos**; 1. 21. 5 foll. With the enumeration of Diana's attributes cp. Catull. 34. 9 foll. 'Montium domina . ... Silvarumque virentium . . . Tu Lucina dolentibus Iuno dicta puerperis.'

3. **ter**. The number three has constantly mystic and ritual associations; see, inter al., Od. 1. 28. 36, Epp. 1. 1. 37. Here it can hardly be entirely unconnected with the triple character of the goddess, 'triformis'; Virg. Aen. 4. 54 'Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.' She was Luna in heaven, Diana on earth, Hecate in Hades.

6. **per exactos annos**, as each year comes round.

7. **meditantis**; see on 3. 13. 4. The participle seems to imply that his tusks are just growing to the fit size,—he is thinking of using them, but has not yet done so,—and so points his age.

8. **donem**, subjunctive of purpose; 'quam donem' gives the full meaning of 'tua esto.'

# ODE XXIII.

'PRAY duly at the new moons, O country housewife, and offer to the Lares frankincense and corn and a porker, and your wines and your crops and your flocks shall be kept safe. Costly sacrifices are for the "pontifices." Put your garlands of rosemary and myrtle on the little images of your gods, and there is no need for more. Without any gifts but the salted cake you may win their favour, as much as by a sumptuous victim.'

'The gods accept the humble offerings of humble people. Moderation, simplicity, thrift, content with our own station, have place in religious observance as well as in other phases of life.' This is all the doctrine of the Ode. The name Phidyle (Gr. fem. of Φειδύλος) is clearly chosen to characterize a 'thrifty' Sabine housewife.

CAELO supinas si tuleris manus
Nascente Luna, rustica Phidyle,
Si ture placaris et horna
Fruge Lares avidaque porca,
Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
Fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges
Robiginem aut dulces alumni
Pomifero grave tempus anno.

1. **caelo** = 'ad caelum'; 'it caelo clamor,' Virg. Aen. 5. 451.

**supinas**, ὑπτιάσμασιν χερῶν, Aesch. P. V. 1005. Virg. Aen. 3. 176 'tendoque supinas Ad caelum cum voce manus.' The hands were held open with the palms upwards. 'Supinas ferre manus' might be = χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν, and be a common way of saying 'to pray': possibly, in combination with the other particulars, 'nascente Luna,' 'ture,' 'horna fruge,' &c. it helps the idea of punctual ritual performance.

2. **nascente Luna**, on the first of the month; see on 3. 19. 9, Cato de R. R. 143 'Kalendis ... coronam in focum indat; per eosdemque dies Lari familiari pro copia supplicet.' Cp. Tibull. 1. 3. 34 'Reddereque antiquo menstrua tura Lari,' and read the same poet, 1. 10. 15–28, where many expressions of this Ode find a parallel.

3. **horna fruge**, the firstfruits of the year's corn; 'spicea serta,' Tibull. l. c.

4. **porca**, 'Hostia erit plena rustica porcus hara,' ib., 'immolet aequis Hic porcum Laribus,' Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 165. Why 'avida'? Ovid, speaking of sacrificing a pig to Ceres (Fast. 1. 349), makes its greediness the ground of its fate: 'Nam sata vere novo teneris lactentia succis Eruta setigerae comperit ore suis.' But the pig does not offend the Lares in this way. The epithet is intended probably to help the feeling of the familiarity of the object, and so the simplicity of the offering.

7. **alumni**; see on 3. 18. 4.

8. **grave tempus**, 'the sickly time when the year bears its fruits.' For the ablative see 2. 7. 16 'fretis aestuosis.' With 'pomifero anno' cp. 'annus hibernus,' Epod. 2. 29; for the sickliness of autumn cp. Od. 2. 14. 15, Sat. 2. 6. 19.

Nam quae nivali pascitur Algido
Devota quercus inter et ilices
Aut crescit Albanis in herbis
Victima pontificum secures
Cervice tinget: te nihil attinet
Temptare multa caede bidentium
Parvos coronantem marino
Rore deos fragilique myrto.
Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior hostia

9. **pascitur,** 'is even now feeding.'

**Algido**; see on 1. 21. 6, where 'gelido' is possibly the same as 'nivali' here. Cp. 4. 4. 57.

10. **devota,** already destined for sacrifice. Cp. Virg. G. 3. 157, where the destination of the different calves is settled immediately on their birth: 'Aut aris servare sacros aut scindere terram.'

12. **pontificum,** i.e. at public sacrifices; opposed to simpler home rites.

13. **nihil attinet,** *οὐδὲν προσήκει*, 'there is no claim on you.'

14. **temptare,** as it were 'to lay siege to' their goodwill. Cp. A. P. 405 'gratia regum Pieriis temptata modis,' and Virgil's 'animam temptare precando,' Aen. 4. 113. 'Deos' is constructed *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* (see on 1. 3. 6) after 'temptare' and 'coronantem'; 'parvos' is properly an epithet of the images, not of the gods themselves, and therefore belongs to 'Deos' as the object of 'coronantem,' rather than as the object of 'temptare' (see on 2. 5. 13); at the same time it is antithetical to 'multa caede,' so that it cannot be severed from 'temptare,' but serves rather as a link between the two clauses, as though he said 'your very gods are small (i.e. in their representative images): adapt your offerings to them.'

15. **parvos,** as Tibull. l. c. 'exigua ligneus aede deus.' Cp. with all this Juv. 12. 87, 88.

**marino rore,** rosemary.

16. **fragili,** 'easily plucked,' a sprig of myrtle, opposed to more elaborate and expensive garlands; so 'simplex myrtus' (1. 38. 5) opposed to 'nexae philyra coronae.'

17–20. 'Though thy hand when it was laid on the altar held no gift, it has softened the displeasure of the Penates with the pious offering of meal and crackling salt, and could please no more with [i.e. if it brought] a costly victim.' 'Si' = 'etiam si'; 'non blandior' = 'non blandior futura,' 'non gratior iis futura per sumptuosam hostiam,' Lambin. The Scholiasts Acr. and Porph. make 'immunis' = 'immunis scelerum,' the sentiment being then general, not special to Phidyle: 'if the hand that is laid on the altar be exempt from crime, it softens,' &c., and the majority of editors follow them. The common meaning of 'immunis' is 'exempted from some public duty or tax.' It was used metaphorically, but with a genitive case of that from which exemption was claimed: Virg. Aen. 12. 559 'immunem belli,' and, to come nearer to the present case, Ov. Her. 14. 8 'immunes caedis habere manus.' But it is hard to see how 'immunis' could have meant 'peaceful' in Virgil or 'pure from blood' in Ovid, if the genitives had been omitted. On the other hand, Horace uses the adj. in two other passages (Od. 4. 12. 23 'non ego te meis Immunem meditor tingere poculis,' and Epp. 1. 14. 33 'immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci') in the sense of 'without gifts,' adapting the word, after his fashion, to the Greek *ἄδωρος*. Orelli, giving up the theory of an ellipsis, tries, not very successfully, to bring the word round to the Scholiasts' meaning of 'guiltless,' by explaining it 'quae nihil praestare debet,' 'which owes no gift,' i.e. which brings what it brings freely, not as a due to expiate any crime. But the whole attempt to force this meaning on 'immunis,' seems to be founded on a misconception of the stanza. The moral

Mollivit aversos Penates
Farre pio et saliente mica.

purity of the hand which offers the acceptable gift may be assumed by the poet, but it is not expressed. The doctrine is simply that the gods do not look for costly offerings from humble worshippers. If 'immunis' meant 'immunis scelerum,' it would be the most weighty word in the Ode, and Horace would not have left his readers to make up the distinctive part of its meaning by conjecture. The three last lines of the stanza have been construed variously. The interpretation given above is that followed by Orelli, Ritter, and Dillr. Mr. Page has recently proposed to amend it by making 'non sumptuosa blandior hostia' a negative expansion of 'immunis,' 'giftless, not winning a hearing by means of a costly victim.' This is tempting by its greater simplicity, but it may be doubted whether it does not weaken the force of the line. If it is coordinate with 'immunis' it is a less emphatic and forcible expression of the idea. Though less strictly grammatical, it gains in weight, and it makes the rhetorical balance of the sentence better if it is made part of the predicative clause. Bentley took 'sumptuosa hostia' as a nominative, defending the ă either as lengthened by the following 'bl,' or as the parallel of 'si non periret immiserabilis,' 3. 5. 17, q. v. 'A costly victim does not soothe the displeasure of the Penates more winningly than,' &c.

19. **mollivit**, not an aoristic, but a regular perfect, as is shown by the conditional clause to which it answers: 'if the offering has been made, the gods are satisfied.' Several of the best MSS. have 'mollibit' [and it is so quoted by Servius], but the perfect is supported by Stat. Silv. 1. 3. 130 'deis . . . Caespes et exiguo placuerunt farra salino,' Tibull. 4. 1. 14 'Parvaque caelestes placavit mica' (both quoted by Keller), which seem like imitations; and we may follow Bentley in refusing to admit what would be a solitary instance in Horace of this form of the future in a doubtful reading, and against the silence of the old grammarians, who are quick to notice any such varieties.

20. A periphrasis for the 'mola salsa,' 'fruges salsae,' Virg. Aen. 2. 133. The commentators say, but scarcely prove, that the crackling of the salt in the fire was taken for a good omen. If so, the two epithets will really characterize both substantives, and mean, 'duly offered and kindly received.' The expression is imitated Ov. Fast. 4. 409, Tibull. 3. 4. 10.

# ODE XXIV.

'RICHES and luxurious abodes can stay neither care nor death. The Scythians live more wisely, with no settled homes, no stores of wealth. They have not the vices of civilized life. Their women do not poison their step-children, nor rule their husbands, nor break their marriage vows. Who would be known as the saviour and father of his country? Let him check the licence of the time. He may be hated by his contemporaries, but he will be glorious to all ages. It is no good to complain:—punish the offenders:—no good to make laws, while our lives give the lie to them, while we scour sea and land for the sake of money, and think poverty the one shame. Let us get quit of our wealth: root out the evil if we are really tired of it, and train our sons in a manlier school. Let them hunt instead of playing with the Greek hoop and the dice, while their fathers are cheating to heap up money for them, their unworthy heirs. That is the way wealth grows; and it is an endless business, for it never can keep pace with desire.'

The Ode travels over the same ground as much of Odes 1, 2, 3 and 6 of this Book. We may note also how many of its expressions recur in the Odes (especially 5 and 15) of Book iv, which celebrate the reforms as accomplished.

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

INTACTIS opulentior
  Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae
Caementis licet occupes
  Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum,

1. **intactis**, 'unrifled.'
2. **Arabum**, 1. 29. 1.
3. **caementis**, 3. 1. 35.
4. **Tyrrhenum, Apulicum.** So I have printed, not from any confidence in the text, but rather that, in default of conclusive evidence on the subject, this reading seems to have acquired a certain right of possession from the favour of several generations of editors. 'Apulicum' has but slight MS. authority; it does not explain the variants, and there is the difficulty of the quantity of its first syllable, which is never found certainly short, unless in the disputed passage in Od. 3. 4. 10. The chief var. lect. are (1) 'Ponticum,' which is found in B, A, and λ, and is accepted by Ritter. Keller thinks it a 'Mavortian' alteration. The whole expression then would mean, 'the sea from end to end of the civilized world, from Rome to the Euxine.' (2) 'publicum,' which was the reading of V, and is found in π, τ, γ. It must mean 'the common property of all,' as in Ov. Met. 6. 351 'usus communis aquarum est. Nec solem proprium Natura nec aera fecit, Nec tenues undas; ad publica munera veni.' The difficulty in its way is that it seems to carry with it the necessity for the alteration of 'Tyrrhenum.' No local name will correspond to it. Lachmann (on Lucr. 1. 360) conjectured 'terrenum,' which occurs in the sense of 'land' in Liv. 23. 19, and Keller and Munro (though the latter grudgingly) accept it. The name 'Tyrrhenum' appears as 'Tirrenum' in several good MSS., though this is not more misspelling than is to be looked for with proper names. The Schol. of Acr. and Porph. is favourable to the conj., though it does not require it, 'invehitur in luxuriam omnia profanantem et aedificiis novis *non terram tantum sed etiam maria* occupantem.' The full expression would then be, 'Every inch of dry land and the sea the com-

Si figit adamantinos
  Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clavos, non animum metu,
  Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.
Campestres melius Scythae,
  Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt et rigidi Getae,
  Immetata quibus iugera liberas

mon heritage of all.' Cp. 2. 15. 1–4, 2–18. 20–22 'parum locuples continente ripa'; 3. 1. 36 'dominus terrae fastidiosus.' There is an ingenious, but not convincing conjecture of Prof. Palmer in Class. Review, 5. p. 141. He accepts Lachmann's 'terrenum' and suggests that the last word of the verse was 'sublicis,' which was itself corrupted into 'publicum,' and by a gloss 'pontium' gave rise to 'Ponticum.'

5–8. The image in this place is not clear. We may perhaps compare 2. 18. 29. In both cases Horace is pointing the irony of fate, which allows a man to begin to build what he may not live to finish. In both cases 'Orcus' or 'Necessitas' are represented under images borrowed from the employment of the rich man himself. In 2. 18 he is busy planning his palace. Death has his measuring rod too, and is planning a home for him which he shall yet more surely tenant. Here he is laying the foundations of his palace deep in the sea; but who knows that Fate may not snatch his hammer from him and 'drive the last nails into the gable-top' herself? He will have the toil, but he will not finish the work himself. Death will stop him. We may remember that 'nails for building,' 'clavi trabales,' are already a recognized implement of 'Necessitas,' 1. 35. 18; so that Horace would say, 'You are building. Fate is a builder as well as you, and she may finish your house for you.' The plural 'verticibus' may be explained as generalizing,—'the tops of your palaces,' for he is building in every sea,—or of the different points to which the roof rises. Two other explanations have been given to 'summis verticibus.' (1) Bentley's—of the nails, 'up to their heads'; (2) that of most of the older commentators—of the heads that tower highest, are 'too conspicuous,' Od. 3. 16. 19; or more definitely still, 'of the top of the head' of the human proprietor into which Doom is pictured as driving her nails. Professor Robinson Ellis has suggested to me as parallel for this last view, Theogn. 1012 *κεφαλῆς δ' ἅπτεται ἀκροτάτης* (spoken of old age), and a fragment (3) of Rhianus in Meineke's Anal. Alexandr. p. 199 *Ἡ δ' Ἄτη ἁπαλοῖσι μετατρωχῶσα πόδεσσιν | ἀκρῇς ἐν κεφαλῇσιν ἀνώιστος καὶ ἄφαντος | ἄλλοτε μὲν γραίῃσι νεωτέρη, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε | ὁπλοτέρῃσιν γρῆυς ἐφίσταται ἀμπλακίῃσιν | Ζηνὶ θεῶν κρείοντι Δίκῃ τ' ἐπίηρα φέρουσα.* The parallel of Od. 1. 35 seems to me decisive in favour of the view first given, which is supported by Orelli and Dill[r].

5. **figit**, 'is setting her hand to drive.' For the lengthening of the ult. see on 1. 3. 36.

**adamantinos**, of hardest iron, see on 1. 6. 13. It does not help the image of Fate finishing his work for him, but it suggests the further idea of the hopelessness of struggling with Fate. It is parallel to the images of 1. 35. 16–20. See note there.

7, 8. The thought of death and the doom of death are both represented as a halter round the neck, from which there is no release, *if* (we should rather put it in prose—*since there is the possibility that*) an irreversible Fate has already fixed the limit of our plans.

9. **campestres**, 'of the steppes,' 1. 35. 9; 'profugi,' 4. 14. 42.

10. **plaustra**. Aesch. P. V. 709 *Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξει νομάδας, οἳ πλεκτὰς στέγας | πεδάρσιοι ναίουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις.*

**rite**, 'after their custom'; as in Virg. Aen. 9. 352 'religatos rite . . . equos.'

11. **rigidi**, 'hard,' of their mode of life. Epp. 2. 1. 25 'rigidis Sabinis.' The Schol. took it as 'frozen.'

**Getae**, see on 4. 15. 22

12. **immetata**, *ἅπαξ λεγ.* The absence

Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annua,
Defunctumque laboribus
Aequali recreat sorte vicarius.
Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens,
Nec dotata regit virum
Coniunx nec nitido fidit adultero.
Dos est magna parentium
Virtus et metuens alterius viri
Certo foedere castitas;
Et peccare nefas aut pretium est mori.

of divisions of property is a characteristic of the golden age in Virg. G. 1. 126 'Ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campos Fas erat.' The conjunction of 'immetata' with 'iugera,' which is a measure of surface, has the effect of an oxymoron.

13. **fruges et Cererem**, ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, probably like 'gemmas et lapides,' v. 48; the double substantive is meant to express universality, 'fruits of the ground of every kind.'

14–16. This is best illustrated by Caesar's description (B. G. 4. 1) of the Suevi, from whom it is possible that Horace has transferred it to the Scythians. 'Suevi centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui qui domi manserint se atque illos alunt. Hi rursus invicem anno post in armis sunt, illi domi remanent. Sic neque agricultura nec ratio atque usus belli intermittitur. Sed privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est; neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet.'

14. **nec cultura placet**, &c., seems therefore possibly to include the two ideas that no individual was employed in tillage for more than a year together, and that the same piece of ground was not tilled for more than a year. 'None cares to till the soil for more than a single year, and when one has fulfilled his toil a successor relieves him on the same terms of service.'

16. **aequali sorte**, sc. for a year's turn.

**vicarius**, as Cicero calls Murena, the consul elect, 'vicarium diligentiae meae,' Mur. 37.

17, 18. 'Holds her hands from harming her motherless step-children.' For the use of 'temperat' cp. Cic. Verr. 3. 59 'Te putet quisquam sociis temperasse?' Ritter takes it, after the Schol., as = 'pocula temperat,' 'innocens' implying that she mixes no poison in the cup. There is no authority for the absolute use of 'temperare' in this sense.

19. **dotata**, on the strength of her dower. Plaut. Men. 5. 2. 16 'Ita istaec solent quae viros subservire Sibi postulant dote fretae feroces.' Id. Aulul. 3. 5. 61 'Nam quae indotata est ea in potestate est viri; Dotatae mactant et malo et damno viros.' It is constr. with 'regit,' but not with 'fidit'; cp. 2. 5. 13, 3. 23. 14.

**regit, fidit**, the point is the inversion of lawful relations.

21. 'The ample dower they bring is their parents' worth,' the pure blood and healthy traditions of virtuous households. Contrast 3. 6. 17 foll.

22. **metuens alterius viri**; the gen. as 'rixarum metuens,' 3. 19. 16, q. v.

23. **certo foedere**; 1. 3. 18 'irrupta copula.' It is one of Horace's abl. absol. (see on 2. 1. 12), neither exactly the abl. of the ground of the action with 'metuens' nor the abl. of the quality with 'castitas': it adds a circumstance which completes and explains both substantive and participle, 'the marriage bond was inviolable': 'foedus,' of the covenant of marriage; cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 339 'neque haec in foedera veni.'

24. 'They dare not sin, or if they sin they die,' Conington. For the constr. of 'nefas... aut' cp. 3. 12. 1, 2. A few

O quisquis volet impias
  Caedes et rabiem tollere civicam,
Si quaeret PATER URBIUM
  Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
Refrenare licentiam,
  Clarus postgenitis: quatenus—heu nefas!—
Virtutem incolumem odimus,
  Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.
Quid tristes querimoniae,
  Si non supplicio culpa reciditur,
Quid leges sine moribus
  Vanae proficiunt, si neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
  Mundi nec Boreae finitimum latus

MSS. read 'pretium mori,' one 'pretium emori.' If this were adopted we might still take it as above. Bentley, and after him several editors, make 'nefas,' &c. a continuation of the 'dos,' *τὸ ἀθέμιτον εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.* 'the fact that they dare not sin,' &c.; but the Latin is awkward.

**pretium**, *ποινή*. The word does not necessarily imply either reward or punishment. Juv. Sat. 13. 105 'Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.'

25. It appears from Porph. that in his time some copies marked the beginning of a new Ode here. for he condemns such a division. See on Od. 1. 7. 15 and Epod. 2. 23.

26. **civicam**, 'of citizens against citizens.' See on 1. 2. 21 'audiet cives acuisse ferrum.'

27. **Pater urbium.** It is impossible to doubt that Horace had in mind the historic title of great patriots, 'Pater Patriae,' which, though it had not yet been conferred on Augustus by the Senate, may yet have been currently given to him by his partisans (see on 1. 2. 50); but the form 'Pater urbium' is taken rather from the more special designations given to their benefactors by particular towns. Orelli quotes an inscription to Augustus from Jadera, a colony in Illyria, IMP. CAESAR. DIVI F. AUG. PARENS COLONIAE MURUM ET TURRES DEDIT. Cicero bids his brother (ad Q. Fr. 1. 1) deserve the title of 'parens Asiae.' This general benefactor is to be recognized as such from city to city, to have in each his statue with the memòrial of his public services.

28. **subscribi**, i.e. to have his name inscribed at the bottom of the statues.

29. **refrenare licentiam**, cp. 4. 15. 9, where Horace proclaims that Augustus has accomplished this task, 'ordinem Rectum evaganti frena licentiae Iniecit.'

30. **quatenus**, 'since,' Sat. 1. 1. 64, 2. 3. 76.

31, 32. For the sentiment cp. 2. 1. 10–14, and the verses attributed to Menander: *Δεινοὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πάντες ἐσμὲν εὐκλεεῖ | ζῶντι φθονῆσαι κατθανόντα δ' αἰνέσαι.*

32. **quaerimus**, *ποθοῦμεν*, 'requirimus,' 'we look for without finding.'

**invidi** goes with both clauses; it is the clue to the apparent inconsistency.

33. **querimoniae**, lamentations in the senate, in society, in literature, over the evils of the time.

35. **leges sine moribus**, cp. 4. 5. 22, where Augustus is represented as having touched both springs of reformation: 'Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas.'

37, 38. **pars, latus**; cp. 3. 3. 55 'Qua parte debacchentur ignes'; 1. 22. 19 'Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque Iuppiter urget.'

37. **inclusa**, 'fenced in,' as if the heats were intended to bar it from human intrusion. 'Terra domibus negata,' ibid. Virg. Aen. 7. 227 'si quem . . . *dirimit* plaga solis iniqui.'

Durataeque solo nives
  Mercatorem abigunt, horrida callidi
Vincunt aequora navitae,
  Magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet
Quidvis et facere et pati
  Virtutisque viam deserit arduae?
Vel nos in Capitolium,
  Quo clamor vocat et turba faventium,
Vel nos in mare proximum
  Gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutile,
Summi materiem mali,
  Mittamus, scelerum si bene poenitet.

39. **solo**, ablative of place.

40 foll. The whole passage is an echo of parts of Od. 1. 3. Cp. v. 43 with 'audax omnia perpeti,' &c. The 'mercator' is always Horace's type of the eager pursuit of wealth. Od. 1. 31. 10 foll., Epp. 1. 1. 45 foll. To cross the sea is to fly in the face of the 'prudens Deus,' who put that barrier between land and land.

**callidi**; cp. Soph. Ant. 335 foll., summing up the triumph of man's wit: *τοῦτο καὶ πολιοῦ πέραν πόντου χειμερίῳ νότῳ | χωρεῖ . . . περιφραδὴς ἀνήρ*. The apodosis to the whole sentence is the original 'Quid leges . . . proficiunt?' 'Horrida . . . navitae' and 'magnum . . . arduae' are both constructed after 'si.' The asyndeton serves to point out that the two last clauses are not fresh instances of that general thirst for wealth, which belies sumptuary laws, but two explanations of the merchant's boldness: if the sea is rough the seaman is cunning (for the relation of the two adjectives see on 1. 3. 10) to overcome its difficulties, and in any case there is the prevailing motive behind, the dread of the one great shame, poverty.

42. **magnum opprobrium**; Sat. 2. 3. 92 'Credidit ingens Pauperiem vitium.'

44. **arduae**, pred. That the hill is steep is the reason why men turn out of the path.

45–50. Orelli well compares with this burst Epod. 16. 17 'Nulla sit hac potior sententia,' &c. The emphasis of position and repetition is shared between *vel* and *nos*; 'vel' 'vel' emphasizing the indifference of the smaller consideration, 'anywhere that you please—give it to the gods or throw it into the sea'; and so the importance of the greater one, 'only get quit of it once for all': 'nos,' 'nos' singling out the poet and the audience whom he addresses from the rest of the world; 'let us at least,' the 'melior pars' of Epod. 16.

45. **in Capitolium.** Horace already imagines the triumphal procession in which, amid the popular joy, the mischievous gold will be conducted to the capitol. Its destination was probably suggested by the gifts which Augustus had made, or was about to make, to that temple. Suet. Oct. 30 'in cellam Capitolini Iovis sedecim millia pondo auri gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties H. S. una donatione contulit.' Cp. generally Od. 3. 3. 49–52.

48. **gemmas et lapides.** For the same distinction the editors quote Ov. de Med. Fac. 20, 21 'Conspicuam gemmis vultis habere manum: Induitis collo lapides oriente petitos'; Mart. 11. 50. 4 'Gemma vel a digito vel cadit aure lapis.' One might fancy from these lines that 'gemma' meant specially a stone set and graven; and passages are quoted in which 'lapis' is used specially of a pearl. In any case the double substantive will mean 'jewels of every kind'; see above, v. 12.

49. **summi mali**, 'dictum ut *summa res publica*, *summa salus*,' Orelli, 'the occasion of the chief offending.'

50. **bene** = 'vere,' 'to any good purpose.' Cp. the uses of 'male,' 'male sanus,' &c.

Eradenda cupidinis
  Pravi sunt elementa et tenerae nimis
Mentes asperioribus
  Formandae studiis. Nescit equo rudis
Haerere ingenuus puer
  Venarique timet, ludere doctior,
Seu Graeco iubeas trocho
  Seu malis vetita legibus alea,
Cum periura patris fides
  Consortem socium fallat et hospitem
Indignoque pecuniam
  Heredi properet. Scilicet improbae
Crescunt divitiae; tamen
  Curtae nescio quid semper abest rei.

51. **eradenda . . . elementa.** If any full metaphor is felt, it would seem to be of rubbing out the characters on a waxed tablet. The στοιχεῖα, rudiments, alphabet, of avarice must be effaced, the mind must become once more καθαρὸς πίναξ.

**cupidinis**, masc., see on 2. 16. 15; here, as there, it is the desire of money.

54. **rudis**, with 'nescit'; it is antithetical to 'doctior'; 'knows not, for he has never been taught this lesson.'

57. **Graeco.** For the comparison of true Roman sports to the more fashionable Greek ones cp. Sat. 2. 2. 9 foll. 'leporem sectatus equove Lassus ab indomito vel si Romana fatigat Militia assuetum Graecari, seu pila velox . . . Seu te discus aget,' &c. The 'trochus' was a hoop; see Dict. Ant.

58. **vetita legibus**; Ov. Trist. 2. 470 'Haec [alea] est ad nostros non leve crimen avos'; Cic. Phil. 2. 23 'Licinium Denticulam de alea condemnatum.' The definite laws are not known.

59. **cum . . . fallat**, seems to give the reason of the foregoing facts. You cannot wonder at it when the father himself is engaged as he is.

**periura fides**; cp. 1. 18. 16 'Arcani fides prodiga.' You trust his honour, you find it forsworn.

60. **consortem socium**, 'the partner of his fortunes.' 'Consors' was used for a 'coheir,' as 'sors' for 'patrimonium,' Fest. s. v. It seems to be more widely used for those whose fortune is in the same bottom.

62. **properet**, trans. as 'deproperare,' Od. 2. 7. 24, 'festinare,' Epp. 1. 2. 61.

**scilicet**, 'this is the end of the whole matter.' The thirst for money, which can never be satisfied, is the cause to which Horace traces the cheating of the father and the gambling of the son, and in it he returns to the lesson of the Ode, of the first line as of the last.

**improbae**; not to be confined to 'crescunt,' for it describes the nature of wealth, which for ever grows, yet comes no nearer to satisfying: it is like a pitcher of the Danaids: τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφυ πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν.

# ODE XXV.

In this Ode, as in 2. 19, Horace has tried to catch the inspiration of a Greek dithyramb. In that one he professes to recall the effects which the sight of Bacchus had upon him: in the present one he is actually under the influence of the afflatus. 'He is hurried away, whither he knows not: his eyes are opened on strange caverns and river-banks and woods. His tongue will be loosed in a moment to sing no humble theme, and in no common strain, the glories of Caesar: he follows the god, for he must, and it is delightful, but it is fearful too.'

The glory of Caesar is only mentioned as the subject of the coming burst of song; but the place of honour given to it is in effect the celebration which is promised. See 1. 6, Introd.

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
  Plenum? quae nemora aut quos agor in specus
Velox mente nova? quibus
  Antris egregii Caesaris audiar
Aeternum meditans decus
  Stellis inserere et consilio Iovis?

1. **tui plenum**; 2. 19. 6 'pleno Bacchi pectore.'

2. For the omission of the preposition with the first substantive cp. Epp. 2. 1. 25 'Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,' Virg. Aen. 6. 692 'Quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum Aspicio.' It was a Greek licence; cp. amongst others Soph. O. T. 733 σχιστὴ δ' ὁδὸς | ἐς ταὐτὸ Δελφῶν κἀπὸ Δαυλίας ἄγει.

3. **velox mente nova.** The inspiration so alters him that he can hardly recognize his soul as his own, and it endows him with the swiftness of thought.

**quibus antris**, local ablative.

4–6. The constr. is 'audiar, meditans inserere.' Horace already 'meditatur inserere,' &c. The question is where his dreamings will find voice and an auditory.

4. **egregii**, 1. 6. 11.

5. **aeternum** is pred., 'to set Caesar's glory as a new star in the skies for ever.'

**meditans** = μελετῶν, 'planning,' 'practising.' Possibly also it suggested the idea, which it often conveys, of poetical composition as the means of conferring the promised glory: 'meditari' is used in the sense of 'composing aloud' in Virg. E. 6. 82 'Omnia quae Phoebo quondam meditante beatus Audiit Eurotas.'

6. **consilio Iovis**, 'the council board of Jupiter.' Virgil's 'quem mox quae sint habitura deorum Concilia,' G. 1. 24, is hardly as high a compliment to Augustus' wisdom. Bentley would follow a minority of MSS. in reading 'concilio' here also; but Orelli points out that as 'concilium' means only a 'gathering,' 'concilium deorum' is a natural expression, 'concilium Iovis' scarcely so. The general terms in which Caesar's apotheosis is spoken of are the same in the two passages. In both he is at one moment to be a god, at another a star.

Dicam insigne recens adhuc
  Indictum ore alio. Non secus in iugis
Exsomnis stupet Euias
  Hebrum prospiciens et nive candidam
Thracen ac pede barbaro
  Lustratam Rhodopen, ut mihi devio
Ripas et vacuum nemus
  Mirari libet. O Naïadum potens
Baccharumque valentium
  Proceras manibus vertere fraxinos,
Nil parvum aut humili modo,
  Nil mortale loquar. Dulce periculum est,
O Lenaee, sequi deum
  Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

7. The subject of his song is to be something notable, something new, something which no tongue has sung of before him.

**recens** implies that the events are fresh.

8. **non secus**, &c. As the Bacchante who has been carried by her frenzy to the top of Haemus (cp. Lucan. 1. 673 'vertice Pindi Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyaeo') gazes in rapt astonishment on the plain of Thrace before her, the Hebrus watering the middle of it, Rhodope its western boundary—so the poet, carried he knows not where ('devio'), looks with delighted wonder on river-banks and woodland. The two points of comparison are the unexpectedness of the sight, and its effect in rousing further the Bacchic or the poetic ἐνθουσιασμός. Thrace is sacred land to the Bacchante, the woods and streams to the poet, 3. 4. 5 foll., 4. 3. 10.

9. **exsomnis**; Soph. Ant. 1152 Θυίαισιν αἵ σε μαινόμεναι πάννυχοι | χορεύουσι. The epithet indicates her excitement. Bentley, objecting that the Bacchae are spoken of by Euripides (Bacch. 682) and other poets as sleeping, and that 'iugis' requires an epithet, needlessly alters 'exsomnis' to 'Edonis,' and he is followed by Meineke, Haupt, and Dill[r].

11. **pede barbaro**. The point of the epithets is the desolation or savagery of the view; they correspond to the 'vacuum nemus,' cf. v. 13: there is room there for the god and for the muses.

12. **ut**, constr. after 'non secus.' Bentley, doubting the possibility of this constr. and yet wishing to connect the two sentences (others take 'ut' as exclamatory), would read with a few MSS. 'ac'; but Horace uses 'ut' where 'ac' is more usual; cp. 1. 16. 7, 9 'aeque . . . ut.'

14. **Naïadum potens**, 1. 3. 1.

15. **valentium**; Eur. Bacch. 109, 1064, 1098. A comparison is evidently intended between the supernatural strength given to the Bacchantes by the possession of the god and the power to sing 'nil parvum nil mortale,' which the same inspiration gives to the poet.

17. **humili modo**, ταπεινῶς. 'Modus' does not seem to have been actually used in a musical or poetical sense in the singular.

18. **mortale**, 'of mere man's utterance,' Conington.

20. **tempora**, the god's own temples, as appears from 4. 8. 33 'ornatus viridi tempora pampino Liber.'

# ODE XXVI.

**The poet professes himself foiled in his addresses to Chloë, and recognizes the meaning of the failure: 'He has made his conquests in his time; but his campaigns are over. Here in Venus' temple he will hang up the instruments of gallantry for which he has no more use. May Venus (we expect, 'grant him peace at last,' 'spare him further love troubles') make Chloë feel one little smart of her lash.'**

**The conclusion points the irony of the beginning. Compare 4. 1. Introd.**

Vixi puellis nuper idoneus
Et militavi non sine gloria;
Nunc arma defunctumque bello
Barbiton hic paries habebit,
Laevum marinae qui Veneris latus
Custodit. Hic hic ponite lucida
Funalia et vectes et arcus
Oppositis foribus minaces.
O quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum et
Memphin carentem Sithonia nive,

1. **vixi**, implying that the life is over (cp. 3. 29. 43 'Vixi: cras vel altra,' &c.), although 'nuper idoneus,' which qualifies it, implies that it is only just over.

**idoneus**; 4. 1. 12.

3. The arms of the warfare which he abandons (cp. 4. 1. 16 'militiae tuae') are to be suspended in the temple of Venus, as the 'gladiator emeritus,' Epp. 1. 1. 4, affixes his 'Herculis ad postem.'

4. **barbiton.** The lute implies that his love-songs are over as well as his loves.

5. The wall of the temple of Venus Anadyomene which her statue has on its left hand. Ritter thinks that the particular description shows that Horace is referring to a special temple, at Velia or elsewhere, familiar to himself. Most editors say that the left wall is chosen because the left was (according to Cic. de Div. 2. 39) the side of good omen to the Romans, though the poets, copying the Greeks, often reverse its character.

6. **ponite**, addressed to the attendants; the 'pueri' who are named in the similar 1. 19. 14.

7. **funalia**; Virg. Aen. 1. 727. They were apparently tapers of a large size, ropes smeared with wax, here used to light the lover to his mistress' door. Cp. Prop. 1. 3. 10, 4. 16. 16 and Theoc. 2. 128 Εἰ δ' ἄλλᾳ μ' ὠθεῖτε καὶ ἁ θύρα εἴχετο μοχλῷ | πάντως καὶ πελέκεις καὶ λαμπάδες ἦνθον ἐφ' ὑμέας.

**et arcus.** 'Quibus ianitores terrerent' is the note in the valuable MS. in Queen's College (Oxford) Library. Cp. 3. 14. 23. It is an odd weapon for the purpose, and, as Bentley complains, the 'oppositae fores' would have protected the porter. He alters 'et arcus' boldly to 'securesque'; Keller defends the rather strange conjecture 'ascias,' a rare word for an axe. Other meanings have been suggested for 'arcus,' such as 'catapults' or 'levers,' but they are unsupported.

9, 10. It is common to preface prayers by recalling various titles and sacred places of the god who is addressed. 'Cyprus' is the well-known seat of

Regina, sublimi flagello
Tange Chloën semel arrogantem.

Venus' worship; see 1. 3. 1. Why 'Memphis' is named is not so clear. Hdt. (2. 112) and Strabo (17, p. 1161) mention a temple of Ἀφροδίτη ξείνη there. A line of Bacchylides (37, Bergk) has been preserved: τὴν ἀχείμαντόν τε Μέμφιν καὶ δονακώδεα Νεῖλον, of which possibly an echo is heard in the epithet of Memphis here; but the connexion of the verse is not known. Probably, as Dill[r]. and Ritter think, 'carentem nive' is an appeal to Venus against the icy heart of Chloë: 'Etenim frigus ut in rerum natura ita in hominum pectoribus odiosum est Veneri.' Dill[r].

**Sithonia**; 1. 18. 9.

11, 12. Venus is for the moment armed with the lash, which belongs rather to the Furies, to punish offences against herself. 'Sublimi,' 'lifted high for the blow.'

## ODE XXVII.

'EVIL omens are for the evil. If I fear for you, I will at least wish you all good omens. Go, if you must go, and be happy wherever you are; and think of me sometimes, Galatea. Only remember the season. I have reason to know what a stormy passage of the Adriatic is like; may no friend of mine ever experience it! Europa didn't know on what she was embarking, till she found herself on the seas and saw nothing but sky and water. Then she repented bitterly, till Venus consoled her.'

It is possible that the conclusion of Europa's story loses its immediate point from our not knowing the circumstances of Galatea's journey. Was she too, it has been suggested, to find consolation in the wealth and greatness of the companion of her travel? There is no passion, though there is tenderness and kindliness, in the poet's feeling towards her. The Ode contrasts in this respect with the similar poems of Propertius (1. 8) and Ovid (Am. 2. 11).

In any case Horace meant people to read his Ode who knew nothing of Galatea, and the story of Europa makes an artistic whole, even if, as is so often the case in Pindar's mythological episodes, it only touches at one point the subject with which the Ode begins. The story of Europa is told in Ov. Met. 2. 847 foll.

IMPIOS parrae recinentis omen
Ducat et praegnas canis aut ab agro

1. **parrae**. Probably the common owl, called still in local Italian dialects 'parruzza.'

**recinentis**, repeating its note; 1. 12. 3, Epp. 1. 1. 55.

2. **ducat**, *πέμποι*, 'go with them on their way,' i.e. attend their setting forth. The talk is of *ἐνόδιοι σύμβολοι*, Aesch. P. V. 487.

Rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino,
Fetaque vulpes.
Rumpat et serpens iter institutum,
Si per obliquum similis sagittae
Terruit mannos: ego cui timebo
Providus auspex,
Antequam stantes repetat paludes
Imbrium divina avis imminentum,
Oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
Solis ab ortu.
Sis licet felix, ubicumque mavis,
Et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas,

3. **rava,** 'ravus color dicitur niger mixtus cum fulvo,' Acr.

**decurrens Lanuvino.** Lanuvium, now Civita Lavigna, was on a hill about a mile to the right of the Via Appia (cp. Cic. pro Mil. 5. 10), by which Galatea is starting, like Horace in Sat. 1. 5, for Brundisium and the passage to Greece.

5. **rumpat et.** There is no inconsistency, as Bentley objects, between the wishes of the first and second stanzas. They are really alternatives, though put, after a common fashion, conjunctively, like the Homeric εἴθ' ὄφελες ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι: see on 3. 11. 49. 'Let evil omens attend the setting forth, *or* stop the journey of the wicked.' Both things may happen to them, though not to the same people on the same occasion. 'I,' he continues, 'if with my knowledge of augury I am anxious for a friend, will at least do my best to procure good omens for her. Go, Galatea, where you like best, and good omens go with you.' Munro follows Bentley in adopting the reading 'rumpit,' which is found in a few MSS. of value, and in the best MSS. (not in the interpretation) of Acr. and Porph. This alteration gives a different colour to the whole passage. All three stanzas will then, though under varied forms, be really direct statements of the omens which stop, or ought to stop, persons from setting out on a journey. 'Only those who think nothing of religion would start in spite of the hooting of on owl (the form is optative or permissive, 'let the omen of an owl, &c. go with the wicked'): even if the journey is begun, it is broken off if a snake darts across the road: I shall pray, when I am anxious for a friend's safety, for the omen of a croaking crow in the east, instead of that of the raven flying away to the pools.' The transition from this to stanza 4 is very awkward, unless, with Bentley and Munro, we complete the sense by adopting, in v. 15, the conjecture of Lambinus, 'vetat'; so that it will mean, 'in your case, Galatea, there are none of these bad omens.' The 'que' in v. 15 is awkward in that case, and the direct enumeration of the omens must have owed its point, if it had any, to circumstances which we do not know.

7. **cui timebo,** 'for one for whom'; the dative has to do double duty. 'Cui' is the reading of V and the other best MSS.: it was corrupted to 'cur,' and then to 'quid.'

8. **providus auspex.** He will not only wait for the omens and judge them when they come, but will look forward to them, and try to procure good ones.

10. **imbrium divina avis,** as 3. 17. 12 'aquae augur annosa cornix,' of the same bird. Both 'stantes paludes' and 'vaga' seem to refer to the same sign of bad weather as that mentioned by Virg. G. 1. 388 'Tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce Et sola in sicca secum spatiatur arena.' Horace will pray that the omen of good weather may anticipate and prevent the omen of bad.

11. **oscinem,** 'to give an omen by its voice,' according to the division of birds of omen given in Virg. Aen. 3. 361 'Et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae.'

13. **licet,** sc. 'per me,' 'I would not hinder it.'

14. **nostri;** 3. 11. 51, 3. 28. 9.

Teque nec laevus vetet ire picus
Nec vaga cornix.
Sed vides, quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
Hadriae novi sinus et quid albus
Peccet Iapyx.
Hostium uxores puerique caecos
Sentiant motus orientis Austri et
Aequoris nigri fremitum et trementes
Verbere ripas.
Sic et Europe niveum doloso
Credidit tauro latus et scatentem
Beluis pontum mediasque fraudes
Palluit audax.
Nuper in pratis studiosa florum et
Debitae Nymphis opifex coronae
Nocte sublustri nihil astra praeter
Vidit et undas.

15. **laevus picus**; see Conington on Virg. E. 9. 15. He points out that the appearance on the left or on the right of particular birds seems to have affected, not the goodness or badness of the omen, but its credibility.

16. **vaga**, see on v. 10.

18. **pronus** = 'devexus,' 1. 28. 21. Cp. Epod. 10. 9, 15. 7. 'Amidst what commotion Orion hastens to his setting.'

**ego novi.** Horace had made the passage himself on his way to Athens, and home from the war after the battle of Philippi, if not also before and after Actium.

**quid sit**, &c., 'what Hadria's gulf is when it blackens, and the treachery of Iapyx for all his white skies.'

20. **Iapyx** (1. 3. 4) is the favourable wind for crossing from Brundisium. It is usually 'albus' (see on 1. 7. 15), but capable of occasionally deceiving those who trust it. For the verbal antithesis of 'ater,' 'albus,' see on 1. 21. 7, 8.

21. **hostium**; 1. 21. 13 foll. If these horrors must fall on some one, may it be on our enemies. Virg. G. 3. 513 'Di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum.'

**caecos**, 'blind,' in the sense of 'mysterious,' of which the effect is perceived before the cause; cp. *Ὡς ὅτε πορφύρῃ πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῷ | ὀσσόμενον λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα | αὔτως*, Hom. Il. 14. 16: or possibly only 'unexpected,' as 'caeca fata,' 2. 13. 16.

24. **ripas**, of the shore of the sea, as in 2. 18. 22.

25. **doloso credidit**; 3. 5. 33 'perfidis se credidit.'

26. **latus.** The picture is of her lying along on the bull's back, as in 2. 7. 18 'latus Depone sub lauru,' of Pompeius lying at length on the grass.

**et.** Bentley would read 'at,' but 'et' is preferable, even apart from the MSS. The parallel ('*sic* et Europe') consists in the confidence before the danger was seen, followed by terror when it became apparent. The contrast between these two is evident enough, without an adversative particle to emphasize it: it is their union in one person which is in point.

**scatentem beluis**; see on 1. 3. 18.

27. **medias fraudes.** She did not discover the deception till she was in the thick of it (*ἐν μέσοις ἀρκυστάτοις*), and then she 'turned pale at the sight, for all her boldness.'

28. **palluit**, with accusative, as in Epp. 1. 3. 10.

30. **debitae**; 1. 36. 2, 2. 7. 17.

Quae simul centum tetigit potentem
Oppidis Creten: Pater, o relictum
Filiae nomen, pietasque, dixit,
Victa furore!
Unde quo veni? Levis una mors est
Virginum culpae. Vigilansne ploro
Turpe commissum, an vitiis carentem
Ludit imago
Vana, quae porta fugiens eburna
Somnium ducit? Meliusne fluctus
Ire per longos fuit, an recentes
Carpere flores?
Si quis infamem mihi nunc iuvencum
Dedat iratae, lacerare ferro et
Frangere enitar modo multum amati
Cornua monstri.

33. **centum oppidis**; Epod. 9. 29. The Homeric ἑκατόμπολιν, Il. 2. 649.

34. **Pater, o relictum filiae nomen,** 'My father! oh name thy daughter may no longer speak.' It is probably best to take the words 'Pater! o nomen (sc. patris) filiae (sc. a filia) relictum.' She calls on her father, but the name reminds her that she has left behind her the privileges as well as the duties recalled by it. Bentley compares Ariadne's confession, Ov. Her. 10. 69 'Nam pater et tellus iusto regnata parenti Prodita sunt facto nomina cara meo.' The other possible construction, 'filiae (gen. case) nomen relictum (sc. a me),' seems, as Bentley argues, to require 'O pater! O relictum,' &c., as they then become separate exclamations.

Europa's father was, according to Homer, Il. 14. 321, Phoenix; according to Ovid, Met. l. c., Agenor.

35. **pietas victa furore**; cp. Ov. Met. 1. 149 'Victa iacet pietas.' This is better than with Acron, to take 'victa furore' with 'dixit,' as a description of Europa.

37. **unde quo.** The two questions run together after the Greek fashion. τίς πόθεν γεγώς; Eur. Alc. 213. 'Asyndeton convenit commoto loquentis animo,' Ritter. Mitsch. compares Virgil's expression of Turnus' bewilderment, Aen. 10. 669 'Quo feror? unde abii? quae me fuga quemve reducet?' This is perhaps consistent with the feeling that if she answered her questions, the answer would be, 'from a happy home to shame and danger'; but in the first instance the picture seems to be of bewilderment, expressed by a rapid succession of contradictory thoughts, though they settle down at last into self-reproach.

**una mors**, 'a single death' = death by itself, without additional pains. Soph. Ant. 308 οὐχ ὑμὶν Ἅιδης μοῦνος ἀρκέσει. Propertius imitates it, 5. 4. 17 'Et satis una malae poterit mors esse puellae'; Paley, in loc., refers the expression to the Greek πολλάκις, μυριάκις, τεθνάναι.

**levis**, 'is light for,' i.e. 'a light punishment for.'

38. **virginum culpae.** Orelli points out (against Markland, who wished to read 'virginis') that the plural softens, by generalizing, the truth. She feels the special application, but is likely to shrink from expressing it. Similarly, Bentley injures the delicacy of the passage by changing 'vitiis' to 'vitio.' The reasons which he gives for the change—the generality of the plural and the technical use of the singular as almost = 'stuprum'—really indicate Horace's purpose in preferring 'vitiis.'

41. **porta eburna**; Hom. Od. 19. 562 foll., Virg. Aen. 6. 894.

42. **somnium ducit**, 'the fancy brings a dream,' i.e. comes in a dream.

47. **enitar**, 'I would use all my strength'; it contrasts with 'multum amati.'

48. **monstri.** Some good MSS. have

Impudens liqui patrios Penates,
Impudens Orcum moror. O deorum
Si quis haec audis, utinam inter errem
Nuda leones!
Antequam turpis macies decentes
Occupet malas teneraeque sucus
Defluat praedae, speciosa quaero
Pascere tigres.
Vilis Europe, pater urget absens:
Quid mori cessas? Potes hac ab orno
Pendulum zona bene te secuta
Laedere collum.
Sive te rupes et acuta leto
Saxa delectant, age te procellae
Crede veloci, nisi herile mavis
Carpere pensum,

'tauri,' but, as Orelli observes, this reading was probably a gloss, helped to usurp the text by v. 72. Europa has called it, in v. 45, 'infamem iuvencum,' but she has learnt long ago that it was not merely what it seemed. It should be noticed that Horace imagines the bull to have vanished the moment he has landed Europa on the Cretan shore. She is then alone, conscious that she has been brought there for a bad purpose, but thinking (vv. 63–65) of some earthly ravisher, such as Paris, &c., till Venus appears to reconcile her to the honour intended for her by Jupiter.

50. **impudens.** She repeats it, as though she had now found the clue to her conduct, 'shameless' from beginning to end.

**Orcum moror,** 'keep Death waiting.'

51. **si quis audis.** The second person of the verb is used by a kind of attraction, something between 'O dii, si auditis,' and 'O deus, si quis deorum audit.' Dill^r. compares Virg. Aen. 4. 684 'Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.'

53–56. The point of this stanza is not quite obvious. Orelli thinks she deprecates a tedious death, and quotes Soph. Ant. 819 foll. *οὔτε φθινάσιν πληγεῖσα νόσοις | οὔτε ξιφέων ἐπίχειρα λαχοῦσ', | ἀλλ' αὐτόνομος ζῶσα μόνη δὴ | θνατῶν Ἀΐδαν καταβήσει.* But probably the thought is rather that she would make haste and let her young beauty, the hated cause of her present condition, gain her a death before it too vanished. It may at least be of some use if it makes her a dainty morsel for a tiger. She loathes her beauty: it is not that she would spare it from withering, or herself from seeing it wither.

58. **hac ab orno,** 'you need not look far.'

59. **bene** = 'opportune'; cp. Aesch. Suppl. 457 foll.

60. **laedere,** 'to break'; more usually 'elidere,' a conscious *μείωσις*. Cp. Soph. Ant. 54 *πλεκταῖσιν ἀρτάναισι λωβᾶται βίον.* It is a common mode of self-destruction in the heroic legends. Cp. Jocasta (Ant. l. c.), and Antigone herself, ib. 1221 *τὴν μὲν κρεμαστὴν αὐχένος κατείδομεν | βρόχῳ μιτώδει σινδόνος* (= 'zona') *καθημμένην.*

61. **leto,** the dative of the purpose with respect to which they are sharp. Dill^r. points out the bitterness of 'delectant.' The only reason the father for the moment can imagine why she should not hang herself, is that she is caught by the charms of some other form of death.

62. **procellae,** the swift stormwind. The idea seems to be that she is to trust herself to the wings of the wind, which will carry her quick to the bottom.

64. **carpere pensum**; Prop. 4. 3. 15

Regius sanguis, dominaeque tradi
Barbarae paelex. Aderat querenti
Perfidum ridens Venus et remisso
Filius arcu.
Mox, ubi lusit satis: Abstineto,
Dixit, irarum calidaeque rixae,
Cum tibi invisus laceranda reddet
Cornua taurus.
Uxor invicti Iovis esse nescis:
Mitte singultus, bene ferre magnam
Disce fortunam; tua sectus orbis
Nomina ducet.

'tristes sua pensa ministrae Carpebant, medio nebat et ipsa loco,' of maidens carding their 'weighed portions' of wool for the mistress to spin.

65. **sanguis**; 2. 20. 6, 4. 2. 13, C. S. 49.

66. **barbarae**, 'foreign,' as though a Greek, and not a Tyrian, were talking. Cp. Conington on Virg. Aen. 2. 504. The 'paelex' will be at the command of the native queen, as Cassandra at Clytemnaestra's in the Agam.

67. **perfidum ridens**; 1. 22. 23, 2. 12. 14, 2. 19. 6. Her 'smile of treachery' is partly at the success of the device which has beguiled Europa; partly (the emphasis being rather on 'ridens,' which comes to some extent παρὰ προσδοκίαν), with a more playful meaning, at Europa's misplaced grief, which she is about to allay. Cupid has his bow unstrung, to show that his work is over.

69. **abstineto irarum**; see on 2. 9. 17.

71. **cum reddet**, i. e. presently, when he gives you the opportunity of doing as you have said that you would do (v. 45).

73. **uxor esse nescis.** Either the Greek construction for 'uxorem te esse nescis'; or, as Orelli prefers, = 'tanquam uxorem te gerere nescis,' 'you know not how to play the wife.'

75. **sectus orbis**, 'half the world.'

76. **nomina**, plural, as 4. 2. 3 'daturus nomina ponto.'

# ODE XXVIII.

THE poet represents himself as about to celebrate the 'Neptunalia' by a carouse, in company with Lyde a 'psaltria.' Cp. 4. 11. 'What can he do better on such a day?' He bids her 'bustle about and bring out the old Caecuban; their sobriety will need a good deal of storming. There is no time to lose; the day is already waning. They will sing in turns: he of Neptune and the Nereids, she of Latona and Diana; then both together of Venus and of Night.'

The Neptunalia were held on July 23. Festus mentions the custom of celebrating the day by erecting booths of boughs called 'umbrae' along the bank of the Tiber.

FESTO quid potius die
  Neptuni faciam? Prome reconditum
Lyde strenua Caecubum
  Munitaeque adhibe vim sapientiae.
Inclinare meridiem
  Sentis ac, veluti stet volucris dies,
Parcis deripere horreo
  Cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram.
Nos cantabimus invicem
  Neptunum et virides Nereïdum comas;
Tu curva recines lyra
  Latonam et celeris spicula Cynthiae,

2. **reconditum**, put safely away in the inner bins: cp. 'interiore nota,' 2. 3. 8.

3. **strenua**, with 'prome,' 'be vigorous and bring'; it almost begins the metaphor of the next verse, 'show vigorous generalship.' The Caecuban is the artillery that must be brought to bear against the strong entrenchments of their seriousness.

**Caecubum**; on 1. 20. 9.

4. **sapientiae**; 3. 21. 14.

5. **inclinare meridiem**, in prose, 'sol meridie se inclinavit,' Liv. 9. 32, 'the noon has passed its full.'

7. **horreo**, a 'store' generally, having lost its original meaning of a store of grain; 1. 1. 9. Here it is = 'apotheca'; see on 3. 21. 7.

8. **cessantem**, as though it were the fault of the wine that it came no quicker.

**Bibuli.** C. Calpurnius Bibulus, cos. with C. Julius Caesar, B.C. 59. There is doubtless a play on his name.

9. **nos cantabimus invicem.** Either 'nos' = 'ego,' 3. 11. 51, 3. 27. 14, and 'invicem' meaning 'in my turn'; or, more likely (as Orelli), 'We will sing in turn ('carmine amoebaeo') of Neptune,' &c., the sentence beginning as though 'invicem' would have been enough to point out that 'Neptune and the Nereïds' were to be the subject of one's song, Latona and Diana of the other's, and then 'tu recines' having been inserted to make the antithesis more clear. For the division cp. 1. 21.

11. **recines**, of an answering song, as in 1. 12. 3 of an echo. The correspondence of the songs is indicated by the metrical correspondence of vv. 10 and 12.

Summo carmine, quae Cnidon
Fulgentesque tenet Cycladas et Paphum
Iunctis visit oloribus;
Dicetur merita Nox quoque nenia.

13. **quae.** What is the antecedent? 'eam,' sc. 'recines' or 'cantabimus'; or 'ea,' sc. 'dicetur'? In any case, probably, it is not intended to limit to Lyde the song addressed to Venus.

14. **fulgentes**; 1. 14. 19.

15. **oloribus.** For Venus' car drawn by swans see 4. 1. 10.

16. **Nox**; 3. 19. 10.

**nenia**, not necessarily a mournful song, as we see from Epp. 1. 1. 63 'puerorum nenia.'

---

# ODE XXIX.

THE Ode begins with an invitation to Maecenas to visit the poet apparently at his Sabine farm. 'Everything is ready for his reception. Why does he delay, look out of his window on the distant country, yet stay amid the grandeur and discomforts of the city? Change is pleasant, even from luxury to simpler life. It smooths the brow of care. The dog-days are beginning: in the country they are thinking only of getting into the shade and to the river-banks. Maecenas is still full of his cares for home and foreign politics.' Here Horace takes a wider sweep, and expresses with some dignity his philosophy of life, such as it is. 'The future is purposely hidden from us. Live in the present; make the best of it, you cannot control or foresee anything else. This is *αὐτάρκεια*, and happiness. If you have really tasted life to-day, you may defy Jupiter himself to rob you of that pleasure. Fortune delights in changing men's outward condition: the philosopher is independent of her. If his outward happiness is shipwrecked, he can get ashore unharmed himself.'

On the place of the Ode in the three Books see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 11. 2; on its probable date see ibid. § 8.

TYRRHENA regum progenies, tibi
Non ante verso lene merum cado

1. **Tyrrhena regum progenies**; see on 1. 1. 1. The correspondence is perhaps not accidental, but intended to help the feeling that he comes back at the end of his task to the theme with which he began it—his patron: 'prima dictus, summa dicendus, Camena.' That Maecenas was proud of his Tuscan ancestry, and that his friends were in the habit of setting it in relief against the self-chosen humility of his rank in Rome, are the explanation of Horace's selecting this special form of expressing his friend's state and greatness. 'My great friend' is the natural address, when the poem is an invitation to him to exchange the weary pomp of his city life, for the humbler country pleasures of the poet's home. For the hypallage cp. 'Graia victorum manus,' Epod. 10. 12.

2. **verso.** The 'cadus' or 'amphora' had to be tipped to pour its contents into the 'crater' which was set on the table.

Cum flore, Maecenas, rosarum et
Pressa tuis balanus capillis
Iamdudum apud me est. Eripe te morae;
Nec semper udum Tibur et Aefulae
Declive contempleris arvum et
Telegoni iuga parricidae.
Fastidiosam desere copiam et
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis;
Omitte mirari beatae
Fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.
Plerumque gratae divitibus vices
Mundaeque parvo sub lare pauperum

4. **tuis**, 'expressly for you': in the same way 'non ante verso lene merum cado,' wine which has not been opened, but left year after year to grow mellow, is paired with 'tibi': it was kept for you, and is good enough for you.

**balanus** = 'myrobalanus,' Plin. N.H. 12. 46, the Arabian 'behen nut,' giving a fragrant oil.

5. **iamdudum**, antithetical to 'morae,' as 'me' to 'te.' My part is done long ago; the delay is on your side.

6. **nec**. The good MSS. are divided between 'nec' and 'ne.' B has 'nec,' and g also, from which we may perhaps suppose with Munro that V had it. If we choose 'ne' it is final, 'that you be not for ever looking.' 'Nec' is quite Horatian; cp. 1. 9. 15 'nec sperne,' 1. 11. 2 'nec temptaris,' 2. 11. 4 'nec trepides.' Munro quotes for the change from the imperative to the subjunctive of advice or entreaty, both with negative and positive conjunctions, Martial 1. 70. 13 'Hanc pete, nec metuas,' 1. 117. 13 'Illinc me pete, nec roges'; Tibull. 4. 4. 9 'Sancte veni, tecumque feras,' 'pray, bring.' The places named are all such as we view from Rome. Missing this obvious sense, Lachmann altered 'nec' to 'hic,' and others have suggested 'ut'; but did they suppose that Horace had residences at all these places, or that they were visible from his farm in the Sabine hills, or that he was inviting Maecenas to a tour about Latium?

**Aefulae**, evidently on the slopes of the hills near Tibur; its exact position is not known. It has been identified with Monte Affliano, two miles S. E. of Tivoli. Livy (26. 9) names the 'arx Aefulae' as one of the strongholds garrisoned on the approach of Hannibal; and Pliny (3. 9) mentions it as one of the cities of Latium which had ceased to exist before his time. There is a doubt as to the form between Aefula and Aesula.

8. **Telegoni iuga**; Epod. 1. 29 'Tusculi Circaea moenia.' Legends assigned its foundation to Telegonus, the son of Ulysses by Circe, who unwittingly slew his father. Arist. Poet. 14.

9. **fastidiosam**, act. which causes 'fastidium,' 'which tires.'

10. **molem**; cp. 2. 15. 1 'regiae moles.' Perhaps the 'domus alta' (Epod. 9. 3) of Maecenas on the Esquiline. Conington, quoting as parallel Virg. Aen. 1. 421 'Miratur molem Aeneas magalia quondam, Miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum,' prefers to take 'molem' of the buildings of Rome generally.

11. **beatae**, ὀλβίας; cp. 1. 4. 14. Often used, as here, for a happiness vouched for by public opinion, rather than by the speaker. Cp. Sat. 2. 8. 1 'Ut Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?'

12. **fumum et opes strepitumque**, the elements which, Horace would say, make up that 'happiness' of Rome which as a whole Maecenas is supposed to admire. The point is the mixture of magnificence and annoyance; but Horace, as he indicates by the collocation, would count the magnificence among the annoyances. For 'strepitum' cp. Epp. 2. 2. 72 foll.

13. **vices**, a change of life.

14. **mundae**, the meaning of the

Cenae sine aulaeis et ostro
Sollicitam explicuere frontem.
Iam clarus occultum Andromedae pater
Ostendit ignem, iam Procyon furit
Et stella vesani Leonis,
Sole dies referente siccos:
Iam pastor umbras cum grege languido
Rivumque fessus quaerit et horridi
Dumeta Silvani, caretque
Ripa vagis taciturna ventis.
Tu, civitatem quis deceat status,
Curas, et Urbi sollicitus times,
Quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors.

adjective is well defined in Sat. 2. 2. 65 'Mundus erit qua non offendat sordibus atque In neutram partem cultus miser.' Cp. Pyrrha in Od. 1. 5. 5 'simplex munditiis.'

15. **aulaeis.** These are explained to be an awning between the roof and the table. At Nasidienus' supper they fall and bring down the accumulated dust with them on the table; Sat. 2. 8. 54. Cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 697 with Conington's note.

**ostro**; ib. 700 'stratoque super discumbitur ostro,' of the purple coverings of the couches.

16. **explicuere**; Sat. 2. 2. 125 'Explicuit vino contractae seria frontis.' The tense is regular, 'have often ere now,' &c. As Madvig points out (Opusc. Acad. 2, p. 114), the so-called 'aoristic' use of the perfect is its use without 'plerumque' (which is present here) or some word of similar generalizing force, as though such a word had been present; see Od. 1. 34. 16.

17. **clarus** is predicative, 'shows brightly the fire he had hidden before.'

**Andromedae pater**, Cepheus. According to Columella, this constellation rose in the evening on July 9.

18. **Procyon**, in Latin 'Antecanem' or 'Antecanis' (Cic. N. D. 2. 44), and sometimes 'Canicula,' the Little Dog, which, on the same authority, rose in the morning on July 15.

19. **stella Leonis.** The Lion, the sign of the Zodiac, into which the sun passed on Aug. 1, Columel. 11. 2, § 51. The loose use of 'stella' for a constellation is found in Virgil also, as G. 1. 222.

22. **horridi** = 'hirsuti.' The epithet serves to recall his image, and perhaps also to suggest the depth of the forest 'where the "uncouth" inhuman wood-god lives.'

25. **status**; cp. Cicero's division, Mur. 11 'omnia quae sunt in imperio et in statu civitatis,' almost = 'foreign and home politics.'

27. **Seres**; see on 1. 12. 56.

**regnata Cyro Bactra**, for construction cp. 2. 6. 11 'regnata Laconi rura Phalanto.' 'Bactra' is used for the Parthian empire, as are 'Persia' and 'Media'; 'Cyro' as 2. 2. 17 'Cyri solio.' Probably (as Kiessling) the suggested or expressed epithets in each case are intended to imply the needlessness of anxiety—the Seres [distant in place], the Scythians, occupied with quarrels of their own; and so this description of the Parthian is meant to suggest a distance of time, they belong to the old world.

28. **Tanais discors.** The Tanais (hod. Don) stands for the Scythians (cp. 3. 10. 1, 4. 15. 24). For the embassy of the Scythians, which, according to Orosius (6. 21. 19), came to Augustus while he was at Tarraco, see on Od. 2. 9. With the argument contained in the epithet 'discors,' cp. 3. 8. 19 'Medus infestus sibi luctuosis Dissidet armis.'

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit deus
Ridetque, si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat. Quod adest memento
Componere aequus; cetera fluminis
Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
Cum pace delabentis Etruscum
In mare, nunc lapides adesos
Stirpesque raptas et pecus et domus
Volventis una non sine montium
Clamore vicinaeque silvae,
Cum fera diluvies quietos
Irritat amnes. Ille potens sui
Laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse Vixi: cras vel atra
Nube polum Pater occupato,
Vel sole puro; non tamen irritum,
Quodcumque retro est, efficiet neque

29. **prudens**; 1. 3. 22.

32. **trepidat**; 2. 11. 4.

33. **componere aequus** = 'aequo animo ordinare.' The editors quote from Suidas the words of Cratinus: *ἄνδρας σοφοὺς ἐχρῆν τὸ παρὸν πρᾶγμα εἰς δύναμιν θέσθαι καλῶς.* 'Componere,' however, has more distinctly the idea of 'reducing to order' (as in 'componere lites,' and in less matters 'componere togam'); it has reference to the coming metaphors. 'The present, if you yourself are equable, may be kept in some order: the future is like a rushing river—it may be calm in its strength: it may be flooded and carrying everything before it.' The vagueness of 'quod adest' and 'cetera,' suggests that they include nearness and farness of place as well as time, and so form something of a link between vv. 25–28 and what follows. 'You, Maecenas, are scheming about the distant and the future; but the present in all senses is all that we can control.'

34. **alveo.** Some good MSS. have 'aequore,' which Orelli adopts as the less common word, and the less likely therefore to have been substituted by a copyist. He refers to Virg. Aen. 8. 86 and 96, where 'aequor' and 'placidum aequor' are used of the surface of the Tiber. But there they distinctly mean the 'level surface'; here this meaning is barred by the epithet 'medio.'

35. **cum pace**; Madv. § 257, obs. 2.

**Etruscum.** For the elision cp. 2. 3. 27.

36. **adesos**, worn or broken by the stream; *οὕς τε κυλίνδων | χειμάρρους ποταμὸς μεγάλαις περιέξεσε δίναις.* Mitsch. compares 'levia saxa,' 1. 17. 12.

39. **clamore**, as Virg. Aen. 3. 566 'Ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere,' and Hom. Il. 17. 165 *ἠϊόνες βοόωσιν.*

40. **diluvies**; 4. 14. 28. A poetical word for the usual 'diluvium.'

41. **amnes**, the rivers generally, or possibly the lesser streams that feed the river of which we are speaking.

**potens sui**, *ἐγκρατὴς ἑαυτοῦ, αὐτάρκης.*

42. **in diem**, as Bentley pointed out, with 'dixisse,' not with 'vixi.'

43. **dixisse**, a simple perfect; see on 3. 4. 51. It is the net result when each day is summed up.

**vixi**; Virg. Aen. 4. 653. Seneca (Ben. 5. 17) seems to put the two passages together, 'Quis extremo die dicere audet: Vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi?' The idea is that to have lived in the full sense, to have felt the pleasure of life, for one day, makes a man independent of the future; he has had something which cannot now be taken from him.

Diffinget infectumque reddet,
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.
Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo manentem; si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quae dedit et mea
Virtute me involvo probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quaero.
Non est meum, si mugiat Africis
Malus procellis, ad miseras preces
Decurrere et votis pacisci
Ne Cypriae Tyriaeque merces
Addant avaro divitias mari:
Tunc me biremis praesidio scaphae
Tutum per Aegaeos tumultus
Aura feret geminusque Pollux.

47. **diffinget**, 'alter'; see on 1. 35. 39. For the sentiment cp. Agathon in Ar. Eth. N. 6. 2 *μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται | ἀγένητα ποιεῖν ἅσσ' ἂν ᾖ πεπραγμένα.*

48. **vexit**, probably best, with Ritter, 'has brought'; Virg. G. 1. 461 'quid vesper serus vehat.' 'Semel' is to be taken with 'vexit,' the hour flies, but what it has brought abides for ever. Orelli makes 'vexit' = 'avexit.'

50. **ludum**; 2. 1. 3 'ludum Fortunae.'

54. **resigno**. Festus vouches for the use of 'resignare' as = 'rescribere'; and 'rescribere,' as we see from Sat. 2. 3. 75 (cp. the opp. 'scribe,' ibid. 69), had the sense of 'to pay back,' 'to cancel a bond by payment.' Horace uses the same word again in Epp. 1. 7. 34 'Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno'; but no other Roman writer is quoted for this use of it, which has passed into modern languages.

55. **virtute me involvo**. He has given up the external gifts of Fortune; so far he is 'nudus' (3. 16. 23), but she cannot rob him of what is internal, and so his own. The expression is parallel to Plato's *ἀρετὴν ἀντὶ ἱματίων ἀμφιέσονται* of the women of his state, Rep. 5. p. 457 A.

56. **quaero**, seek as my bride.

58. **miseras**; Juv. 3. 276 'votum miserabile.'

59. **decurrere**; Virg. Aen. 5. 782 'preces descendere ad omnes,' Hdt. 1. 116 *καταβαίνειν εἰς λιτάς*.

62. **biremis**, not a ship with two banks of oars, but = 'duorum scalmorum navicula,' Cic. ad Att. 10. 10. 5, a little two-oared boat attached to a larger vessel. The two stanzas are metaphorical. 'If my fortune fails me, I am not like the merchant who in a shipwreck wastes his time in abject prayers for his cargo; I can get ashore with all I care for.'

64. **geminus Pollux**. 'Pollux, the twin-brother,' is as much as to say, 'Pollux, with his twin-brother Castor.' Cp. 1. 3. 2, 1. 12. 25, 4. 8. 31.

# ODE XXX.

'THE task is done; the monument is built which will immortalize my name. While Rome stands men will tell how one born by the Aufidus rose from a humble rank to greatness: the first Roman lyric poet. Melpomene, give me the crown which I have earned.'

Cp. Od. 1. 1 and 2. 20 and notice the growth of poetic self-confidence in the three Odes. The Ode is paraphrased by Ovid, Met. 15. 871 foll.

Metre—*First Asclepiad.*

EXEGI monumentum aere perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.
Non omnis moriar multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera
Crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.
Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus

1. **exegi**, 'finished.'

**aere** = 'aereis statuis.'

2. **situ**, 'construction,' an unusual sense of the word, as it is generally used of the site of a building, not of its erection. Dill$^{r}$. quotes Tac. Ann. 3. 38 'Philippopolim a Macedone Philippo sitam.'

3. **impotens**, of unrestrained violence. Cp. Epod. 16. 62 'impotentia astri,' Od. 1. 37. 10.

5. **fuga**; cp. 2. 1. 41, and see on 2. 5. 13. Ritter points out that there is the suggestion of a double metaphor of the destructive effects of time, 'si quidem memoria annorum aut annorum serie obruitur aut fuga temporum abripitur.'

6. **multa**, as Ovid in the same connexion, 'parte . . . meliore mei.'

**que**; see on 1. 27. 16.

7. **Libitinam**; Sat. 2. 6. 19, Epp. 2. 1. 49. Not merely 'death,' but 'the funeral rites.' Cp. Od. 2. 20. 21 foll.

8. **crescam laude**, as 'secundis laboribus crevit,' 4. 4. 45.

**recens**, 'ever fresh,' not half-forgotten. Epp. 2. 1. 54 'Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret Paene recens?'

**dum Capitolium**, &c., 'as long as Rome stands,' which to a Roman is as much as to say 'for ever.' The 'virgo' is doubtless a vestal, the singular number probably having reference to the 'Virgo Maxima.' The special ceremony referred to is thought to be one which took place on the Ides of March, when prayers were offered in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus for the salubrity of the coming year, and other rites were performed under the superintendence of the Pontifex Maximus and the Virgo Maxima, or chief of the Vestals. The fact rests mainly on a statement in the fragment 'De Mensibus,' of Jo. Lydus (a Byzantine writer of the sixth century, quoted by Preller, Römische Mythologie, p. 320).

10 foll. It is a question whether 'qua violens,' &c., qualifies 'dicar' ('many shall say of me on the banks of my native Aufidus, that I was the first,'

Et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
Regnavit populorum, ex humili potens
Princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos. Sume superbiam
Quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.

&c.) or 'princeps deduxisse' ('I shall be spoken of as one who by the banks of Aufidus was the first to,' &c.). The last is the more likely. Horace wishes his birthplace to be remembered in his own fame, 'longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum,' 4. 14. 2; but he is claiming world-wide fame, not merely to be remembered in his birthplace. There is a further question as to the construction of 'ex humili potens.' Most editors have taken it of Horace himself, 'raised from humility to glory,' comparing Epp. 1. 20. 20 'Me libertino natum patre et in tenui re Maiores pennas nido extendisse.' Bentley prefers to refer the words to Daunus, as describing his rise. The story made him an Illyrian exile, who became King of Apulia. If it be taken so, Horace must still be thinking of himself, and seeing a likeness of his own fortunes in those of Daunus.

10. **violens obstrepit**, 'longe sonans,' 'acer,' Sat. 1. 1. 58. Cp. Od. 4. 14. 25. The Aufidus is within ten miles of Venusia, and Horace must have seen it in flood. 'Like most of the rivers of Italy, it has much of the character of a mountain torrent,' Dict. Geog. For the absol. use of 'obstrepit' cp. Epod. 2. 27.

11. **pauper aquae**; Epod. 3. 16 'siticulosae Apuliae.'

12. **regnavit populorum**, a Greek gen. ἦρξε λαῶν.

13. **Aeolium carmen**, &c., 'to have made the lyric poetry of Aeolia at home among Italian measures.' The use of 'deducere' seems akin to that of 'deducere coloniam.'

14. **superbiam.** The Muse who inspires is so identified with the poet that his pride and his merits are hers, though it is she that crowns him. Kiessling makes 'superbiam' abstr. for concr., the proud decoration, but this is unnecessary. For the use of 'sume' cp. Caes. B. G. 1. 33 'tantos sibi spiritus tantam arrogantiam sumpserat.'

15. **Delphica** = 'Apollinari,' Od. 4. 2. 9.

16. **volens**, 'of thy grace,' θέλουσα, ἑκοῦσα: it is common in prayer, but gen. with the addition 'propitiusque,' Liv. 7. 26. 4.

# INTRODUCTION TO BOOK IV.

There is no reason to doubt the account given by Suetonius of the origin of this Book. The occasion and general date of it are fixed clearly on its own evidence. With the exception of Ode 6, which is manifestly written at the same time as the Carmen Saeculare, i.e. in B.C. 17, all the Odes that can be dated refer immediately to two events, viz. (1) the return of Augustus to Rome in B.C. 13, after three years' absence in Gaul, whither he had gone in the year 16, on the news of the defeat of Lollius by the Sygambri; (2) the double campaign of Drusus and Tiberius in Raetia and Vindelicia, which occupied the year 15.

The general tone of the Book, as well as its particular references, suit the period thus assigned to it. Its opening bears witness to the interval which separates it from Horace's last essays in lyric verse. Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 1–10 and 2. 1. 111. That interval has brought marked changes in the poet's fortunes, as well as in the political world. The contrast of 4. 5 or 15 with 1. 12 or 3. 24, is hardly more striking than that of 4. 3 with 1. 1. The sons of Livia have taken the place of Marcellus; the military triumphs, and the moral and social reforms which in the earlier Books were prophecy, are now history; the Cantabrian, 'non ante domabilis,' is no longer a cause of disquiet; the Parthians have restored the standards of Carrhae, and Phraates and his quarrels are forgotten; the vague alarms about the Dacian, or projects of conquest in Britain, have given place to real dangers met on the Rhine, and substantial victories won in the Eastern Alps. The position of one name in the Book marks more clearly still the contrast between the two epochs, both in respect of the outer world and of Horace's own life. Maecenas, whom even in B.C. 19 he addressed as 'prima dicte mihi summa dicende camena,' is mentioned but once in this Book. His birthday is the occasion of Ode 11, and he is spoken of in terms of the old affection; but (1) we have no hint now of his

being still interested in politics, a change which tallies with the date assigned by Dion (54. 19) to his loss of the favour of Augustus and to his retirement from public affairs in B.C. 16; and (2) he is no longer the patron to whose praise Horace looks as his highest reward. The three Books of Odes have been published for some time, and the verdict anticipated in 3. 30 has been accorded to them. Their author is now the intimate of Augustus. He has been selected to compose the hymn for the Secular Games, and the public voice ratified the emperor's choice. He is now writing, not in the hope of winning a name for himself, but at the desire of Augustus, and because his praise will confessedly give lustre to the emperor and his family.

It may be added, that the versification of the leading Odes gives some witness to the lateness of their composition; the Sapphic Odes in the frequency of the hexemimeral caesura, which assimilates them to the Carm. Saec.; and the Alcaic in the greater strictness with respect to the structure of v. 3 of the stanza, and the complete exclusion of the short anacrusis in vv. 1, 2, 3 (see Index of Metres).

It has been said before (p. 26) that Book iv exhibits more proofs of artistic purpose in its arrangement than any other collection of Horace's poems.

1. The most obvious instance, perhaps, is the disposition of the four Odes for the sake of which we may say the Book was composed. They stand in two pairs at the beginning of the Book (after a prelude, which will be noticed presently) and at its end. Each pair is divided between Augustus and one of the young princes; so that any praises of the latter may seem to lead up to and merge themselves in the glory of the former.

2. Scarcely less noticeable is the sequence of thought expressed or suggested in the three Odes which precede the main theme. It has been remarked before (p. 27) that a somewhat similar relation may be traced in the first Ode of Book i; but the prelude here is more elaborate, and the irony is more conscious. He has been asked to take up his lyre again to sing the glory of the emperor and his step-sons, and he begins as usual with 'denial vain and coy excuse.' 'He will take his lyre, indeed, but it is at Venus' bidding, to renew under her compulsion the bitter-sweet themes which he hoped he had laid aside.' Ode 2 is to the same purport, though it carries us a little further by the end. 'He is no swan of Pindaric song, such as is needed for so high a task. Some greater poet, Antonius himself, may sing of Augustus returning in triumph with the Sygambri at his chariot wheels, and of the people's joy. It may be, in the rapture

of that happy day, even he too may find a voice and sing his best, and shout with the shouting people, and make his humble offerings.' And yet—the tone changes in Ode 3—he remembers that 'he is a poet, set apart from his birth by the Muse from common ambitions and glories, recognized as such by the voice of Rome; and so, though all the glory is the Muse's, not his own, he will venture, and somewhat loudly sweep the string.'

3. The middle of the Book is occupied with the expansion of the same theme as that of Ode 3, the only theme besides the triumphs and blessings of the empire which seems to wake him to any of his old lyric fire, the consciousness of his own poetic power, and the immortality which he can confer on others as he has secured it for himself[1]. Odes 6, 8, 9, like Ode 3, while they express Horace's inmost feelings, lead also directly to the main purpose of the Book. In his own words he gives Augustus the panegyric for which he had asked, and 'pretium dicit muneri.' They are divided by Ode 7, which enforces the lesson that no other immortality must be looked for; high blood, eloquence, piety, are alike powerless to save from the ending of all mortality—a handful of dust and a shadow. They are followed by the Ode to Ligurinus, a forced tribute to the professions of Ode 1, and with reference to it. Then he finds a place not too conspicuous for his private friendship for Maecenas. Two more Odes in his old character as a poet of wine and of love, the second manifestly a companion and sequel to an Ode of Book iii, complete what he thinks necessary to give the relief of variety, and he returns to Tiberius' victory and the domestic peace of the reign of Augustus.

---

## SUMMARY OF THE HISTORICAL EVENTS REFERRED TO IN THE BOOK.

1. In B.C. 16 M. Lollius was in command on the left bank of the Rhine as legatus of the emperor, when an important irruption occurred of some German tribes, of whom the most formidable were the Sygambri, a name which is supposed still to survive in the river Sieg, which joins the Rhine opposite Bonn. Lollius met them and suffered a defeat, which, though Suetonius makes less of it ('maioris infamiae

[1] We must remember the great importance which Horace always attaches to this metaphorical 'immortality,' the only immortality apparently in which he believed. Cp. Od. 2. 20, 3. 30. 6 foll. and see on 3. 2. 20 and 3. 3. 12.

quam detrimenti,' Oct. 23) is ranked by Tacitus with that of Varus (Ann. 1. 10). At any rate it was sufficient to make Augustus set out in person from Rome. Before, however, he reached the frontier, the Sygambri, finding that Lollius was rallying his forces, and that reinforcements were on their way from Rome, made a hasty peace, and retired again beyond the Rhine. See Dion 54. 20. Augustus remained in Gaul during the whole of the two following years, and did not return to Rome till the July of B.C. 13.

2. In the meantime, in the year 15, an important and permanent conquest had been effected by Tiberius and Drusus, the sons of Livia by her former husband Ti. Claudius Nero. Merivale recounts (vol. iv, ch. 34, p. 142) the operations by which secure possession was gained by Rome in Augustus' reign of the western passes of the Alps, the Corniche Road, the passes that lead from France to Turin, and the St. Bernard passes into the Val d' Aosta. The work of Tiberius and Drusus was directed to the similar object of obtaining military command of the more eastern passes into the valleys of the Rhine and the Inn, which were still unsafe for the armies of Rome or her allies, and from which the mountain-tribes even issued from time to time to plunder Italian soil. Drusus forced what is now known as the Brenner pass, meeting and overthrowing the Rhaetians in the valley near Tridentum, now Trent. In the meantime, or as soon as Drusus' success was assured, Tiberius was detached from Augustus' army in Gaul, with the purpose of taking the enemy in the rear. He ascended the Rhine valley to the Lake of Constance, where he launched a flotilla of boats, and entering at once several of the valleys which open on the lake, 'penetrated the gorges of the Upper Rhine and Inn in every direction, so that at the conclusion of a brilliant and rapid campaign, the two brothers had effected the complete subjugation of the country of the Grisons and the Tyrol.' 'The free tribes of the Eastern Alps appear then for the first time in history, only to disappear again for a thousand years.' Merivale, vol. iv, ch. 35, p. 222, Dion 54. 22, Vell. 2. 95, Strab. 4. 6, p. 206.

# Q. HORATI FLACCI

## CARMINUM

### LIB. IV.

# LIBER QUARTUS.

## ODE I.

'AGAIN a summons to arms, Venus! No, spare me; it is not with me in my tenth lustre as it was in the days of poor Cinara. Away, then, to the house of Paulus Maximus. High-born, and handsome, and eloquent, and accomplished, he will bear thy colours more wórthily, and, when the victory is won, will pay thee richer honour. I am too old to love, to drink, to play. Yet what am I saying? my heart gives the lie to my words.'

On the meaning which this Ode acquires from its place at the beginning of this Book see Introd. p. 280.

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

INTERMISSA, Venus, diu
  Rursus bella moves? Parce, precor, precor.
Non sum qualis eram bonae
  Sub regno Cinarae. Desine, dulcium
Mater saeva Cupidinum,
  Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus

1. The language of this Ode answers to that of 3. 26, in which Horace declares his love-campaigns at an end. In both places the image is not of Venus attacking the heart of a lover, but of a warfare carried on with her weapons and under her auspices, in which the poet has once served, and is now called to serve again.

**intermissa**, sc. bella.

3. **non sum qualis**; cp. Epp. 1. 1. 4 'Non eadem est aetas, non mens.'

**bonae**. Perhaps, as Dill[r]. thinks (quoting Lucr. 3. 1037 'bonus Ancus'), the epithet implies that she has been some time dead.

4. **sub regno**; see on Od. 1. 36. 8, and compare especially 3. 9. 9 'me nunc Thressa regit Chloë,' 2. 8. 18, 19 'servitus,' 'dominae.'

For **Cinara** see Appendix I 'on the unknown names in the Odes.'

5. **mater saeva Cupidinum**. This line is intentionally repeated from 1. 19. 1. There Venus is invoked at the outset of the love campaign; here, after it was or should have been closed. It is the ἄρχετε βωκολικᾶς and the λήγετε βωκολικᾶς, the altered refrain of the whole. 'Dulcium,' 'saeva,' imply that he is balancing the bitters and sweets of the old life.

6. **circa**, of time, 'hard upon my fiftieth year.' The metaph. of 'flectere' is of breaking horses. He is too old and hard-mouthed now for the soft guidance of Venus' rein. Cp. for the expressions Virg. G. 3. 188 'det mollibus ora capistris Invalidus,' &c., and ib. 165 'Dum faciles animi, iuvenum dum mobilis aetas,' &c.

Iam durum imperiis: abi,
  Quo blandae iuvenum te revocant preces.
Tempestivius in domum
  Pauli, purpureis ales oloribus,
Comissabere Maximi,
  Si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum:
Namque et nobilis et decens
  Et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis
Et centum puer artium
  Late signa feret militiae tuae,
Et, quandoque potentior
  Largi muneribus riserit aemuli,
Albanos prope te lacus
  Ponet marmoream sub trabe citrea.

8. **revocant**, 'call you back,' as to your proper place.

9. **tempestivius**, you will be a more timely guest there.

**in domum.** A rival reading with good support is 'in domo'; but her 'car of swans' implies that 'comissari' is used rather in the Greek sense of *κῶμος*, a moving band of revellers or serenaders (Theoc. 3. 1 *κωμάσδω ποτὶ τὰν Ἀμαρυλλίδα*), than in its more usual Latin sense of a stationary revel. The reading 'comissabere' is quite certain, but the unusual word makes great havoc among the copyists. Some of the best MSS. are at fault. 'Comis habere,' 'comitabere,' 'commutabere,' &c. For the future tense see on Od. 1. 6. 1.

10. **Pauli Maximi.** Two persons have been suggested as possibly intended; (1) Paulus Fabius Maximus, consul B.C. 11; (2) his son or nephew, Ovid's patron, an intimate of Augustus, who was consul twenty years afterwards. Of the two the second must be thought the most likely. 'Puer' could hardly be used even playfully of a man who must have been forty, and Ovid's description of the younger Paulus perhaps recalls the verses, Pont. 1. 2. 118 Vox . . . tua . . . Auxilio trepidis quae solet esse reis.'

**purpureis ales oloribus**, 'on the wings of lustrous swans,' i.e. in a chariot drawn by them. Od. 3. 28. 15. For 'purpureis' see on 3. 3. 12 'purpureo ore,' Virg. Aen. 1. 590 'lumenque iuventae Purpureum.'

12. **iecur**; 1. 25. 15.

**idoneum**, perhaps another reminiscence of 3. 26. 1.

13. **decens**; 1. 4. 6.

14. 'No tongue-tied champion of trembling prisoners.' Cp. 2. 1. 13 'insigne maestis praesidium reis.'

15. **centum artium**, the descriptive genitive; Madv. § 287, with obs. 3. It seems to have been almost a proverbial expression. 'Omnium artium puerulos,' Cic. Rosc. Am. 41.

17. **quandoque**, usually = 'aliquando'; but Horace uses it as = 'quandocumque.' Cp. Od. 4. 2. 34, A. P. 359.

**potentior** seems to some degree to continue the metaph. of 'militiae tuae.' 'So soon as he shall laugh triumphant over the presents of his open-handed rival.' His rival can give richer presents; Paulus fights and vanquishes him with arms which Venus lends him—beauty, youth, &c. 'Muneribus' is the ablative of comparison after 'potentior.'

19. **Albanos . . . lacus**, where Paulus, it is implied, had a villa. The title includes the Lago d'Albano and the Lago di Nemi.

20. **ponet marmoream**; cp. Sat. 2. 3. 183 'aeneus ut stes,' and the promise in Virg. E. 7. 31 'Si proprium hoc fuerit levi de marmore tota . . . stabis.' *χαλκοῦν τινὰ ἱστάναι* is an expression of Demosth., as Fals. Leg. 425. 1.

**citrea.** The reading 'Cypria' found in a few good MSS., seems to be due to the copyist's reminiscence of Od. 1. 1. 23, where the connexion is wholly

Illic plurima naribus
  Duces tura, lyraeque et Berecyntiae
Delectabere tibiae
  Mixtis carminibus non sine fistula;
Illic bis pueri die
  Numen cum teneris virginibus tuum
Laudantes pede candido
  In morem Salium ter quatient humum.
Me nec femina nec puer
  Iam nec spes animi credula mutui,
Nec certare iuvat mero,
  Nec vincire novis tempora floribus.
Sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur
  Manat rara meas lacrima per genas?
Cur facunda parum decoro
  Inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
Nocturnis ego somniis
  Iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor
Te per gramina Martii
  Campi, te per aquas, dure, volubiles.

different. The 'citrus' is mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 13. 16) as much used in temples on account of the durability of the wood. What it was is not so certain; apparently some kind of cypress or cedar; certainly different from the citron, the 'Medicum malum' of Virg. G. 2. 126.

22. It is difficult to be certain about either the reading or the exact meaning. A majority of the older MSS. have 'lyrae,' 'tibiae,' but V is with those which read 'lyra,' 'tibia.' In that case they are ablatives, constructed probably with 'delectabere,' though they also may be taken after 'mixtis.' Against the ablative, there is the unpleasantness, to our ears at least, of four verses out of five ending with a long 'a.' If we read 'ae,' there is still a question both of construction and sense. Are 'lyrae,' 'tibiae' genitives after 'carminibus,' 'mingled strains of harp and flute'; or datives, as Orelli thinks, after 'mixtis'? And in this last case does 'carminibus' mean the joint strains mingled, as we should rather say 'of' than 'with' the harp and flute, or are 'carmina' the voices of singers to be added to the instrumental music? More probably, perhaps, the former, as he is speaking now of the music at a sacrifice (Od. 1. 36. 1); the hymns of praise are mentioned in the next line. For the 'lyra' and 'tibia' see on Od. 1. 1. 32, 1. 12. 1, 3. 4. 1, Epod. 9. 5. 6.

24. **fistula** is the Gr. σύριγξ or Pan's pipe.

25. **bis die**, morning and evening.

28. **in morem Salium**; see on 1. 36. 12.

**ter**; see on 3. 18. 16.

30. 'The fond hope of finding a heart to answer mine.'

33. **cur**, 'Why, if all I have said is true?' Compare the unexpected turn of Od. 1. 26. 11.

34. **rara lacrima**; 1. 13. 6. For the fits of silence cp. Epod. 11. 9.

35. For the elision of the superfluous syllable cp. Od. 2. 3. 27, 3. 29. 35, 4. 2. 22.

40. **volubiles**, used of a river in Epp. 1. 2. 43. With the dream as a whole cp. Od. 3. 7. 25–28, 'gramine Martio,' 'Tusco alveo.'

# ODE II.

'As vain for any of us to imitate Pindar as to soar on wings of Icarus; Pindar rolls down strong and deep, as a river in flood, supreme alike in dithyrambs, hymns, ἐπινίκια, θρῆνοι. He soars on the winds, the swan of song; I fly from flower to flower, like the bee of my native Apulia, and roam from wood to wood gathering my little store of poetic honey. Some day, Antonius, when Caesar comes home, some greater poet such as you must sing his triumph—Caesar, the best and greatest gift which heaven ever gave to earth, even in the golden age, our joy at receiving him back, our games, our holiday. Even I may find a voice then amid the happy multitude. We will all shout and rejoice and offer incense; you will offer a lordly sacrifice, as befits you, I a home-bred calf.'

Julus Antonius was the son of the Triumvir by Fulvia, and was educated by his step-mother Octavia. Through her protection he was spared when his brother Marcus Antyllus was slain, and rose eventually to high favour with Augustus, and was married to Marcella, Octavia's daughter, after her divorce from Agrippa in B.C. 21. Horace's Ode is the only ancient authority for his having been a poet; but the Pseudo-Acron vouches for his having written an excellent Epic poem in twelve Books, called the Diomedeia, some years afterwards. He was made praetor in B.C. 13, and consul in B.C. 10. In B.C. 2 he was condemned to death on the charge of adulterous intercourse with Julia.

On the bearing of the Ode in its place see Introd. p. 280. The exact date of composition is less certain. It may have been written in the year of Augustus' return (B.C. 13) or in anticipation of it at any time after the submission of the Sygambri (p. 282). Franke thinks, that the omission of reference to the successes of Tiberius and Drusus makes it improbable that it was written after the year 15; others see in v. 49 (see note) a reference to the Praetorship of Antonius, i.e. to B.C. 13.

With the form of the Ode, refusing praise in word, yet granting it in the act of refusal both directly and indirectly, comp. 1. 6, and 1. 12.

PINDARUM quisquis studet aemulari,
Iule, ceratis ope Daedalea
Nititur pennis vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto.

2. **Iule.** The use of the praenomen was a mark of familiarity (Sat. 2. 5. 32) which Horace would be likely to avoid. In this case, however, it would be felt as a compliment, as the name (not properly a 'praenomen,' but family names were used as praenomina at this date; cp. 'Paulus' in the last Ode) had been given him (possibly by Octavia) to mark the connexion of his family with the Julian house, through his grandmother Julia, the mother of Marc Antony. In v. 26 we have the gentile name alone. Cp. Epp. 1. 10, where the same person is addressed as 'Fuscus' in v. 1, 'Aristius' in v. 44.

**ope Daedalea**, with 'ceratis,' or perhaps with the whole 'ceratis nititur pennis,' 'he has got some Daedalus to help him.' Probably, as Ritter thinks, there is in the expression the idea of the audacity of the enterprise ('Expertus vacuum Daedalus aera Pennis non homini datis' 1. 3. 34), as well as its danger.

3. **nititur**; Virg. Aen. 4. 252 'paribus nitens Cyllenius alis.'

4. **nomina**, for plural cp. 3. 27. 76.

Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
Quem super notas aluere ripas,
Fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore,
Laurea donandus Apollinari,
Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
Verba devolvit numerisque fertur
Lege solutis;
Seu deos regesque canit, deorum
Sanguinem, per quos cecidere iusta
Morte Centauri, cecidit tremendae
Flamma Chimaerae;
Sive quos Elea domum reducit
Palma caelestes pugilemve equumve

Compare with the stanza the way in which Horace speaks of the enterprise when it is undertaken by a friend, not offered to himself, Epp. 1. 3. 10 [Titius] 'Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus Fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos.'

6. **quem ... aluere.** This seems to be the certain reading, though V is among a few MSS. which have 'cum ... saliere.' The vulg. was the reading interpreted by Acr. and the Comm. Cruq.

7, 8. 'Boils and rushes in a fathomless flood of words.' As so often in Horace, the interpretation of the simile is clothed still in language almost wholly metaphorical and borrowed from the simile itself, see on Od. 1. 35. 19, 2. 2. 1, 4. 4. 59. 'Ore' belongs more to the poet than to the river, 'profundo ore' being the analogue of 'ore rotundo,' A.P. 323, 'magno ore,' Virg. G. 3. 294, of varieties of poetical style. The epithet, on the contrary, belongs primarily to the river, and even 'ore' is a word which was probably felt to be capable of an interpretation in the same connexion, though neither 'fountain-head' (Virg. Aen. 1. 245) nor 'mouth' (Virg. G. 4. 292) is a meaning which would bear pressing here.

10. **audaces** covers, probably, boldness of treatment and of tropes, besides the two points afterwards named—vocabulary and rhythm.

**nova verba**, novel words, long compounds. τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τὰ μὲν διπλᾶ μάλιστα ἁρμόττει τοῖς διθυράμβοις, Arist. Poet. 22. 14.

11. **devolvit**, as the torrent rolls boulders down its bed.

12. **lege solutis.** Two technical expressions possibly contribute to the full force of this phrase: (1) 'legibus solutus,' said of any one exempted from the operation of any law (Cic. Phil. 2. 13), in later times of the emperor as above the laws (Merivale, vol. iii, p. 466); (2) 'soluta oratio,' the common designation of prose, as exempt from strict laws of prosody; so that the words of the text from a sort of oxymoron, 'verse which is as free of law as if it were not verse.'

13. **regesque.** The kings, as the following words explain, of mythology—Pirithous, Theseus, Bellerophon, not the kings of Pindar's day. He is speaking of Hymns and Paeans. 'Que' is the reading of all the best MSS. as against the vulg. 've,' and the change would hardly be necessary, even if it were clear that Pindar's Odes on the mythical exploits of demigods were classed under a different name from those addressed to gods. Horace might rank them together.

17. **Elea palma.** The Olympian Odes are taken as representatives of the ἐπινίκια.

18. **caelestes**, 'very denizens of heaven'; see on 1. 1. 6 'terrarum dominos evehit ad deos.'

**equum**, as Pindar makes mention of Pherenicus, Hiero's horse, Ol. 1. 18, Pyth. 3. 74; but singing of horses may well mean of their riders.

Dicit et centum potiore signis
Munere donat,
Flebili sponsae iuvenemve raptum
Plorat et vires animumque moresque
Aureos educit in astra nigroque
Invidet Orco.
Multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum,
Tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
Nubium tractus. Ego apis Matinae
More modoque
Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
Carmina fingo.

19. **potiore signis.** Pindar makes the comparison himself, Nem. 5. 1 *οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμι . . . ἀλλὰ γλυκεῖ' ἀοιδὰ στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας, κ.τ.λ.*; so Horace, Od. 3. 30. 1, 4. 8. 1–12.

21. **flebili,** 'tearful,' as 'flebilis Ino,' A. P. 123.

**ve** varies the 'sive,' 'sive,' of the last two stanzas, although he is adding a fresh department of poetry, viz. the *θρῆνοι*. Cp. 1. 22. 5–7 'sive . . . sive . . . vel.'

22, 23. For the elision at the end of the verses cp. 2. 2. 18, 2. 16. 34, C. S. 47, and Index of Metres, § 3.

23. **aureos** is predicative, 'as all golden,' 'painted as golden'; cp. 1. 5. 9. The double contrast of the bright stars above, the gloomy shades ('all colours are alike in the dark') below, is indicated by the verb 'educit,' on one side, by the adjective 'nigro' on the other.

**educit in astra,** as 'Musa vetat mori: Caelo Musa beat,' 4. 8. 27, of immortality in fame.

25. **multa aura**; there is no fear of *his* falling; the free and buoyant winds of heaven are beneath him as he soars into the upper air. Horace contrasts Pindar's higher flights and original inspiration with his own humble aims and laborious imitative method, 'gathering honey from flower to flower of Greek lyrics, and enshrining it in the "curiosa felicitas" of his own poetical style'; in v. 29, 'circa nemus . . . Tiburis,' we get a slightly different idea, 'from wood to wood of his Sabine neighbourhood.' The simile was introduced to express the difference in genius and literary habits between Pindar and Horace, but it suggests to the poet his own wanderings in the valley of the Anio. The Matine bee (save in its antitype, the poet of Venusia) has no business at Tibur.

**Dircaeum**; Virg. E. 2. 24 'Amphion Dircaeus' = 'Theban'; but a 'spring' will be specially germane to a 'swan.'

26. **Antoni.** As Orelli points out, the name is repeated to mark the summing up and the practical conclusion. 'You know, Antonius, the difference between Pindar's powers and mine. You will treat this high theme yourself better than I can.'

27. **Matinae**; see Introd. to 1. 28.

28. **more modoque,** a common formula. Cicero's fragment, Timaeus, seu de Univers. 1 'Carneadeo more et modo.'

30. **plurimum,** probably with 'laborem,' and with a slight relation of antithesis, as its position shows, to 'grata.' Dillr., after Bentley, joins 'plurimum nemus'; but the epithet would not be very forcible (Bentley wished to escape from it to 'floreum'), and 'nemus ripasque uvidi Tiburis' is a thoroughly Horatian arrangement.

**uvidi**; 1. 7. 14, 3. 29. 6.

31. **operosa parvus . . . fingo,** probably not without some reference back to the first description of Pindar's poetry, its vast spontaneous rush, 'immensus ruit profundo ore.'

Concines maiore poëta plectro
Caesarem, quandoque trahet feroces
Per sacrum clivum merita decorus
Fronde Sygambros,
Quo nihil maius meliusve terris
Fata donavere bonique divi
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
Tempora priscum.
Concines laetosque dies et Urbis
Publicum ludum super impetrato
Fortis Augusti reditu forumque
Litibus orbum.
Tum meae, si quid loquar audiendum,
Vocis accedet bona pars, et, O Sol
Pulcher! o laudande! canam, recepto
Caesare felix.
Teque, dum procedis, io Triumphe,
Non semel dicemus, io Triumphe,

33. **concines.** We should rather expect an emphatic 'tu.' Cp. 2. 17. 30, 3. 17. 5. The 'ego . . . parvus' of the last stanzas contrasts not only with Pindar before, but with Antonius 'maiore plectro,' who follows. We may note, also, that part of the contrast lies in the occasion. 'Not now, neither you nor I. By-and-by, whenever it is that Caesar comes home in triumph, a greater poet than I shall sing his praises, and even I (v. 45) shall find a voice in my delight.' 'Maiore plectro' occupies a double relation, as instrumental ablative with 'concines,' and descriptive ablative with 'poëta'; see on 1. 3. 6. With the expression itself cp. 'leviore plectro,' 2. 1. 40, 'aureo plectro,' 2. 13. 26.

34. **quandoque** = 'quandocumque'; see 4. 1. 17, A. P. 359.

35. **per sacrum clivum**; see on Epod. 7. 7 'Britannus . . . descenderet sacra catenatus via.' Cp. Mart. 1. 71. 5. The name was given to the slope by which the 'Sacra via' descended, from the spot where its pavement is still visible under the Arch of Titus, into the Forum, a fall of 53 feet.

36. **Sygambros**; see Introd. to the Book, p. 281.

37. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 17 (of Augustus) 'Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.'

42. **publicum ludum.** The technical and usual phrase would be 'ludos,' but Horace varies it slightly, after his custom; 2. 4. 24, 3. 5. 42, 4. 14. 1, 4. 15. 9.

**super impetrato . . . reditu**, in discharge of the vows for his return, which have won their purpose. Orelli mentions the fact that coins have been found of the year B.C. 16 (A.U.C. 738) with the inscription S.P.Q.R.V.S. (vota suscepta) PRO S. (salute) ET RED. AUG. The 'ludi votivi' here anticipated were really celebrated in B.C. 13; Dion 54. 27.

45. **audiendum**, 'that merits hearing.' Horace is speaking, at the moment, not of shouting with the shouting mob, but of singing, i. e. writing poetry; but there is probably a metaphorical play in the expression, 'if I can make my voice heard in the din.'

46. **bona pars**; Sat. 1. 1. 61. A. P. 297; so 'bona copia,' Epp. 1. 18. 109. 'A large part,' i. e. I will raise my voice ungrudgingly.

48. **felix**, 'in my delight.'

49 foll. The difficulties of this stanza are well known, and no solution of them is thoroughly satisfactory. The reading

Civitas omnis dabimusque divis
Tura benignis.
Te decem tauri totidemque vaccae,
Me tener solvet vitulus, relicta
Matre qui largis iuvenescit herbis
In mea vota,
Fronte curvatos imitatus ignes
Tertium lunae referentis ortum,

of the text is that of the great preponderance of good authorities. 'Tuque' is found in some MSS. of secondary value, and adopted by Ritter: 'procedit' is found in the Berne MS. having been proposed, in ignorance of that fact, by Heinsius, and supported by Bentley. To whom does the pronoun refer? Two answers have been given:—

(1) That of the Scholiasts, *'ad ipsum triumphum* conversus haec dicit': 'Thy name will we pronounce as thy procession passes, Ho Triumph! again and again, Ho Triumph'! For 'io Triumphe,' as the cry raised as the procession passed along, cp. inter al. Ov. Trist. 4. 2. 51 'Tempora Phoebea lauro cingentur, Ioque, Miles, Io, magna voce, Triumphe, canent.' That it was held to involve a personification of Triumphus, appears from Livy's expression 45. 38 '[Milites] triumphum nomine cient, suasque et imperatoris laudem canentes per urbem incedunt.' But compare especially Hor. Epod. 9. 21 foll. 'Io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos Currus et intactas boves? Io Triumphe, nec Iugurthino parem Bello reportasti ducem,' &c.; see note there. The objection to this, which I feel more strongly than I did, is the reference of 'te,' in the same emphatic place in two consecutive stanzas to two different subjects. It would be a blot in any writing, and it interferes with the antithesis between Antonius and Horace which gives their framework to these stanzas.

(2) *To Antonius.* (*a*) Those who feel this to be the only possible answer generally accept the slightly supported 'tu.' 'Procedis' is then interpreted either (as by Ritter and Keller) of Antonius taking part in the triumphal procession as 'praetor' in the year 13, or more generally (as Schütz, Nauck) after 'prodeat' in the similar passage 3. 14. 6, of taking a prominent place. (*b*) If 'te' is retained, the only way (and it seems not impossible) is to suppose that it anticipates the 'te' of the next stanza, the intervening words being parenthetical, a picture suggested by the words 'dum procedis.' In that case 'procedit' would be an improvement. Bentley, dissatisfied (and it must be admitted, after all, with some reason) with all the interpretations offered, cuts the knot by reading 'Isque dum procedit,' of Caesar.

51. **civitas omnis.** 'We will shout together in the shouting town, but when we come to offer our thank-offerings, we shall be as unequal as we were in our poetical offering, ten bulls and cows for you, and a little calf for me.'

**dabimus tura**, of altars by the wayside, on which incense was offered as the procession passed.

53. **te decem tauri**; cp. 2. 17. 30 'reddere victimas Aedemque votivam memento: Nos humilem feriemus agnam,' and 3. 23.

54. **solvet**, sc. a voto.

55. **iuvenescit**, is growing to a 'iuvencus'; the common use of the verb is 'to grow young,' when one has been old.

56. **in mea vota**, 'to pay my vow.'

57. 'Whose horns are like the moon three days old.' The homely ending of the Ode has been severely criticized: 'Desinit in *vitulum* ... formosa superne.' It is at least intentional on Horace's part; see Introd. to Odes i-iii, § 11. 3, and on 3. 5. 55. On the immediate topic of the last six lines see on 3. 13. 4. In this place the detailed account of the intended offering increases the contrast of vv. 53, 54, and balances to some extent the inequality. 'You will sacrifice animals brought by the score from your "latifundia," I the calf which I bred myself, whose birthday and marks I know by heart.' It is like his offer to Maecenas in 1. 20. 1-4 q. v.

Qua notam duxit, niveus videri,
Cetera fulvus.

'common wine; but home-made, carefully stored, and with pleasant memories about it.'

59. Perhaps from the horse in Hom. Il. 23. 454 Ὃς τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τόσον φοῖνιξ ἦν, ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ | λευκὸν σῆμ' ἐτέτυκτο.

**niveus videri**, a Grecism; see App. 2, § 2.

---

# ODE III.

'THE poet is one set apart from his birth by the Muse's favour; neither his mode of life nor his objects of ambition are the same as other men's. For *them* are the training and the prizes of Grecian games—the life of a soldier and the triumph on the Capitol; for *him* the woods and waters of Tibur and the glory of song. I, too, am a poet. Rome, the mistress of the world, acknowledges me as such, and the voice of envy is still. It is thy gift, O Muse; both the inspiration and the popular acknowledgement of it.'

Compare with the Ode 1. 1, when he looks to Maecenas' taste to give him the rank which here he assumes as given him by the voice of Rome. There are many parallelisms of thought and expression between the two Odes; there is the same division of the objects of Greek and Roman ambition ('sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum'), the same description of the poet's life (v. 30 'me gelidum nemus,' &c.), and of his hope to be ranked with the Greek lyrists (cp. 'Lesboum ... barbiton,' 'lyricis vatibus inseris,' with 'inter amabiles vatum ponere me choros,' 'Romanae fidicen lyrae').

Metre—*Third Asclepiad.*

QUEM tu, Melpomene, semel
  Nascentem placido lumine videris,
Illum non labor Isthmius
  Clarabit pugilem, non equus impiger

1. **Melpomene**; 3. 30. 16.

**semel**, of that which cannot be recalled and need not be repeated. Cp. 1. 24. 16, C. S. 26.

2. **nascentem . . . videris**; Hes. Theog. 82 Ὅντινα τιμήσουσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο | γεινόμενόν τ' ἐσίδωσι ... | τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἀοιδήν.

3. **labor Isthmius**, as in Pindar κάματος and πόνος. Statius imitates it in Silv. 4. 4. 31 'Elei labores.'

4. **clarabit**, a rare and archaic word, not found elsewhere in this sense of 'make famous.'

Curru ducet Achaico
  Victorem, neque res bellica Deliis
Ornatum foliis ducem,
  Quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,
Ostendet Capitolio:
  Sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt
Et spissae nemorum comae
  Fingent Aeolio carmine nobilem.
Romae principis urbium
  Dignatur suboles inter amabiles
Vatum ponere me choros,
  Et iam dente minus mordeor invido.
O, testudinis aureae
  Dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, temperas,
O mutis quoque piscibus
  Donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum,

5. **ducet**, not in the race, but rather (with 'victorem') in the triumphal procession. The double picture is completed in Horace's way: the chariot of the Roman 'imperator' must be borrowed from the Grecian victor, the olive wreath of the latter from the bay crown of the former.

**Achaico** is opposed to the Roman triumphal chariot described in the following lines. Virgil and Horace (Od. 1. 15. 35) use the word, like the Homeric Ἀχαιοί, generally of the Greeks before Troy; and this would nearly coincide with its prose meaning in their time, as the province of Achaia included all southern Greece.

6. **res bellica**, opposed to 'res ludicra,' 'war and all that belongs to it'; its enterprises and victories.

**Deliis**, i.e. 'Apollineis.'

8. Cp. 2. 12. 11 'ductaque per vias Regum colla minacium.'

9. **Capitolio**, dative case. The notion is of his being the central figure in the procession seen slowly ascending the Capitol, seen by the crowd on the Capitol, or perhaps rather by Jupiter Capitolinus himself.

10. **praefluunt** = 'praeterfluunt'; 4. 14. 26 'Aufidus Qui regna Dauni praefluit Apuli,' Liv. 1. 45 'infima valle praefluit Tiberis.' 'Horace evidently means that the scenery of Tibur contributes to the formation of lyric genius. It is Wordsworth's doctrine in the germ; though, if the author had been asked what it involved, perhaps he would not have gone further than Ritter, who resolves it all into the conduciveness of a pleasant retreat to successful composition,' Conington. Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 77 'Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem,' where nothing but the prosaic explanation is attempted—the bustle and the business of a great town interfere with the poet's proper work.

12. **Aeolio**; 2. 13. 24, 3. 30. 13, 4. 9. 12.

13. **principis urbium**; 4. 14. 44 'dominae Romae.'

14. **suboles**, the sons of Rome. The idea added by this form is apparently the promise of the future: the young, the growing progeny.

15. **vatum**, like the 'lyrici vates' of 1. 1. 35, the roll of poets, which as yet contained few, if any, but the Greeks.

17. **testudinis aureae**; Pind. Pyth. 1. 1 *χρυσέα φόρμιγξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων | σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον*. As with 'aureo plectro,' 2. 13. 26, it is a way of expressing the perfection of the music.

18. **temperas**, 'rulest'; 1. 24. 14 'auditam moderere arboribus fidem.'

19. **mutis quoque piscibus**, and so even to him, unlikely as it might have seemed. Compare the way in which in the preceding Ode he professed to feel

Totum muneris hoc tui est,
Quod monstror digito praetereuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae:
Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

that, unfit as he was to sing of such themes, yet the happiness of Caesar's return might possibly find him a voice.

22. **monstror digito**; cp. Pers. 1. 28 'At pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier hic est.'

23. **Romanae lyrae**; see on 1. 1. 34, 1. 32. 3, a Greek instrument played by a Roman. Cp. Epp. 1. 19. 32 'Latinus fidicen.'

24. **spiro**, of the 'breath' of poetry; see on 2. 16. 38.

---

# ODE IV.

'LIKE a young eagle that leaves the nest, tries his wings, then swoops down, first on sheep-folds, but soon on more dangerous foes;—like a young lion to the eyes of the unsuspecting hind, who is to be the first victim of his unfleshed tooth;—such has Drusus been in his campaign in Vindelicia—noble by inherited excellence, noble also by his royal rearing. Rome's gratitude to the house of the Neros is summed up in the memory of Metaurus, the turning-point of the terrible Punic war, when Hasdrubal was routed, and the traces of war vanished, and Hannibal himself bore witness to Rome's vitality. "It is madness for us to pursue our enemy; more than enough if we can escape their pursuit. From the fires of their native Troy, from the hardships of the long voyage to Italy, they have but drawn strength and stubbornness, like the oak on Algidus which the woodman lops, or the hydra ever growing again to baffle the patience of Hercules. All hope is gone for ever, and buried with Hasdrubal." And the conqueror was an ancestor of the Neros. Jupiter protects the race, and Augustus directs their campaigns. What may we not expect from their arms?'

Nero Claudius Drusus, the younger of the two sons of Livia Drusilla, by her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, was born in Augustus' house, B. C. 38, three months after his mother's divorce and remarriage. He was by far the most popular of the two brothers. In B.C. 16, when Augustus set out for Gaul, taking with him Tiberius, who was praetor at the time, Drusus was appointed to discharge the duties of the office during his brother's absence (Dion 54. 19). Of his expedition in the following year against the Raeti, some account will be found in the Introd. to this Book. He died, six years afterwards, from the effect of a fall from his horse, while engaged in the last of three campaigns beyond the Rhine, which gained for him the posthumous title of Germanicus.

QUALEM ministrum fulminis alitem,
Cui rex deorum regnum in aves vagas
Permisit expertus fidelem
Iuppiter in Ganymede flavo,
Olim iuventas et patrius vigor
Nido laborum propulit inscium
Vernique iam nimbis remotis
Insolitos docuere nisus
Venti paventem, mox in ovilia
Demisit hostem vividus impetus,
Nunc in reluctantes dracones
Egit amor dapis atque pugnae;

1. **qualem**, so v. 13 'qualemve'; the apodosis is in v. 17, 'talem' being suppressed. The purpose of the two similes is different: the first describes the birth and training of the young warrior prince, the second the astonishment of the enemy when they saw him, and knew instinctively that they were to be the first victims of his maiden sword.

**ministrum fulminis**; Stat. Theb. 3. 507 'vector fulminis.'

2. **regnum in aves**; Pind. Pyth. 1. 7 *ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν*, Ol. 13. 21 *οἰωνῶν βασιλέα*, and Aesch. Agam. 115 *οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς βασιλεῦσι νεῶν*. For the construction cp. Od. 3. 1. 5, 'imperium in reges.'

**vagas**, *ἠεροφοίτους*, 'fowls of the air'; perhaps with the feeling of 'truant,' 'wide wandering,'—of the extent and the difficulty of the sovereignty.

3. 'Having proved his loyalty on Ganymede'; 'quem praepes ab Ida Sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis,' Virg. Aen. 5. 255. For the use of 'in' cp. Virg. E. 8. 83, Aen. 2. 541, 'Talis in hoste fuit Priamo,' Madv. § 230, obs. 1.

5. **olim** seems to answer to 'iam,' 'mox,' 'nunc,' which mark stages in the young bird's progress; so that it will mean *πάλαι*, 'long ago,' and is defined by 'laborum inscium,' 'ere yet he knew life's labours.' It is otherwise taken as merely generalizing—*αἰετόν τινα, ποτέ*; see on Epod. 3. 1.

**iuventas et patrius vigor**, 'his young blood and the force of his race.'

6. **propulit**. The larger number of good MSS. have 'protulit.' The time of the perfect tenses is that of the Greek aorist in similes.

**verni**. Bentley feels strongly the objection raised by Jul. Caes. Scaliger, that eaglets are not hatched till late in the spring, and would not be fit to fly far till autumn. He prefers 'vernis,' which has some MS. support, and which he judges to have been the reading of Acron, from his illustration 'ut "ruit imbriferum ver."' Probably 'nimbis remotis' is enough to account for the Scholiast's quotation; the sound and balance of the sentence are in favour of 'verni.' We need not expect Horace to date the eaglet's growth with the accuracy of an ornithologist. He is more likely to use the epithet 'vernus' in a pleasing sense of the soft breezes, than in association merely with storms. 'Verni' need not mean the first days of spring, nor is the eaglet said yet to be fit for hunting; it is of the first stage in the art of flying. For a conj. alteration of Horace's text on somewhat similar grounds see 1. 23. 5.

10. **vividus impetus**, of the actual rush, swoop, of his descent; 'demittit impetus aquilam' = 'aquila cum impetu defertur.' It has also been taken of his impetuous temper; but it suits Horace's economy of words, that the motive in this clause should be gathered from the 'amor dapis atque pugnae' (a dainty banquet, *with* the excitement of fighting for it) of the second clause, the mode of attack in that clause from the 'vividus impetus' of this, as the unresisting weakness of the sheep is left to be inferred from the epithet given to the serpents. See on 2. 3. 9, 3. 4. 45, 3. 13. 6, 4. 3. 5.

11. **dracones**. For the favourite image of a battle between an eagle and a serpent cp. Hom. Il. 12. 200 foll., Aesch. Cho. 247 foll., Soph. Ant. 125.

Qualemve laetis caprea pascuis
Intenta fulvae matris ab ubere
Iam lacte depulsum leonem
Dente novo peritura vidit:
Videre Raeti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici;—quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia securi

14. **fulvae matris ab ubere.** Some awkwardness has been felt in this expression, as, if we construct it with 'depulsum,' either 'ab ubere' or 'lacte' would seem to be redundant (cp. Virg. E. 7. 17 'depulsos a lacte,' G. 3. 187 'depulsus ab ubere matris'), and various modes of treatment have been suggested. 'Ubere' has been taken as an epithet of 'lacte,' but this is to transfer the redundancy from the expression to the thought: or, again, 'fulvae matris ab ubere' has been referred to the hind (Ritter), but it is hard to see how this adds to the picture; the youth of the lion is in point, and the preoccupation of the hind, but we do not want in any way to undervalue Drusus' foes. Bentley led the way of conjectural emendation, 'iam mane' or 'iam sponte,' and has been followed by many others. The simplest method is to separate 'ab ubere' to some extent from 'depulsum,' and to take it in the sense of 'fresh from his mother's teats.' Cp. 'a matre pulli,' Columel., 'recens a vulnere,' Virg. Aen. 6. 450; the place of Virgil's 'recens' is supplied by the more definite 'lacte depulsum.'

16. **peritura vidit,** 'looks up and sees, a moment before she dies by his unfleshed tooth.' The repetition 'vidit,' 'videre,' points the correspondence, and makes it easier to dispense with a more formal introduction of the apodosis; see on 2. 9. 9.

17. **Raeti . . . Vindelici.** It is hard to say which is the adjective. Geographically Raeti is the larger name of the two, being used to cover Vindelicia (Raetia secunda) or the northern slopes of the Alps, from the Lake of Constance to the Inn, as well as Raetia prima, the southern part of the Grisons and the western Tyrol. Horace is supported by Dion 54. 22, in giving the common name of Raeti to the tribes which Tiberius (Od. 4. 14. 14) and Drusus conquered. But it is certainly a perversion of the ordinary usage to assign the Vindelici, both here and in 4. 14, to the invader who approached from the south. The geographical difficulty is unaffected by the question of reading raised by Heinsius, Bentley, and others, as whether we read 'Raetis' or 'Raeti,' the two names will still be given to one locality, and that the scene of Drusus' victory. The MSS. and Acr. are in favour of the nominative. The ablative, distributing the two names between the mountains and the people, would be more in accordance with Horace's style, and it would avoid the awkwardness, however it be explained, of the double designation.

18–22. **quibus . . . sed.** The digression is intended to elevate Drusus' victory, by suggesting an immemorial and legendary antiquity for his enemies. Its prosaic introduction, contrasting awkwardly with the smooth finish of Horace's style, is an intentional, if not very successful, imitation of Pindar. Cp. a slighter instance in 3. 4. 69. Many critics (Lambinus, Buttmann, Meineke, amongst them) have been tempted, by the fact that their excision would cause little or no disturbance of the metre, to condemn the lines as an interpolation, supposing the sentence to have run 'Vindelici diu' or 'Vindelici et diu.' But the faults of the verses are such as the poet is much more likely to have been guilty of than an imitator. They formed part of the text in the time of Servius (on Virg. Aen. 1. 243).

19. **per omne tempus,** 'through all time,' historically.

20. **Amazonia,** such as the Amazons used; 'securigerae puellae,' Ov. Her. 4. 117. Horace would suggest apparently in this word that there is some mythical reason for their carrying the weapon. There need not have been any definite

Dextras obarmet, quaerere distuli,
Nec scire fas est omnia;—sed diu
Lateque victrices catervae
Consiliis iuvenis revictae
Sensere, quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
Posset, quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Nerones.
Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis;
Est in iuvencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus, neque imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilae columbam;
Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant;

legend, such as Porph. imagines, that they had fought with the Amazons, or as Servius, that they traced their descent to them.

21. **obarmet**, 'arms for offence,' a rare word, found in an epigram (25) of Ausonius.

22. The termination of the digression in a moral saying, with a rapid return to the straight course of the narrative, is after Pindar. 'Sed,' like δ' οὖν in the Greek tragedians, implies a return to the thread of the story, 'however that may be.'

24. **revictae**, 'conquered in their turn,' answering to 'victrices.'

25. **mens**, rather of the intellect; **indoles** of the temper and dispositions; **rite, faustis, penetralibus**, are all words with religious associations. The editors are divided on the question whether the sentence should be stopped, as in the text, the construction being 'quid mens rite nutrita ... quid indoles rite nutrita ... posset'; or with the comma after 'mens,' so that the construction would be 'quid mens posset, quid indoles rite nutrita,' &c., a distinction being made between their mental gifts, which were all their own, and their dispositions, which needed the good training of Augustus. Sense, rhythm, and the balance of the verse are alike in favour of the former. For 'posset,' 'nutrita,' with two subjects, see on 1. 3. 10.

29. **fortibus et bonis**, the ablative with 'creantur,' as with 'nasci,' &c. 'Fortis et bonus' is almost a formula; Epp. 1. 9. 13 'et fortem crede bonumque.' Ritter draws attention to the conjunction 'Nerones fortes,' &c., as meaning, 'remember they were Neros to begin with,' the name Nero being, according to Suetonius (Tib. 1), a Sabine adjective signifying 'fortis ac strenuus.' Notice also that 'Nerones' is the climax—Augustus' care, care fatherly, care spent on such a good stock. The thought is, 'It is true that scions of a good stock must be good in men as well as in animals, but yet education improves the native gift.' Bentley points out that a misunderstanding of the first line of the stanza, as though the point was that given good children you may be sure they had good parents (instead of as it is, that given good parents you may be sure of good children), led to the false punctuation of many MSS. and editions, which put a comma after 'fortibus'; so that 'bonis' becomes an epithet of 'iuvencis,' and the sentiment of v. 30, instead of being general, 'good blood tells in bullocks and in horses,' is narrowed to 'good bullocks and horses owe their good qualities to their sires.' As Bentley observes, if this were right, the eagles and the doves ought to change cases, for the important fact then would be, that a dove did not breed eagles, not that eagles did not breed doves.

30. **est**, 'survives,' is something real.

Utcumque defecere mores,
Indecorant bene nata culpae.
Quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,
Testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal
Devictus et pulcher fugatis
Ille dies Latio tenebris,
Qui primus alma risit adorea,
Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas
Ceu flamma per taedas vel Eurus
Per Siculas equitavit undas.
Post hoc secundis usque laboribus
Romana pubes crevit, et impio

35, 36. When there is a collapse of public manners (so that good education becomes impossible), good birth is no protection against the taint.

35. **utcumque** = 'simulac'; see on 1. 17. 10.

36. **indecorant.** The MSS. vary between this word and 'dedecorant.' The Scholiasts support 'indecorant,' which, as the rarer word, was the least likely to be substituted. It is found in a fragment of Accius.

38. **Metaurum flumen,** as 'flumen Rhenum,' A. P. 18. The battle of the Metaurus (a river of Umbria) was fought in B.C. 207, by the consuls C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator (both ancestors of Drusus, one through his father, the other through his mother, Livia), against Hasdrubal, who was bringing reinforcements to his brother Hannibal; Liv. 27. 45 foll.

39. **pulcher dies**; 4. 2. 46 'O sol pulcher!' The daylight is at once literal and metaphorical.

41. **qui primus,** the first day of brightness and victory since Hannibal began his campaign in Italy. There might have been victories before, as that of Nola gained by M. Claudius Marcellus in B.C. 215; but this was the first decisive victory, the turning-point of the war. Appian (p. 344, De Bell. Annib.) speaks of it as ἰσοστάσιον [τῇ ἐπὶ Κάνναις ἀτυχίᾳ].

**adorea.** The recognized meaning of 'adorea,' was 'glory won in war,' and it was derived from 'ador' = 'corn.' 'Gloriam . . . a farris honore adoream appellabant,' Plin. N. H. 18. 3. The original connexion is more doubtful. Pliny explains it of the donative of corn given to the soldiers after a victory, N. H. 2. 18. Festus, s. v., refers it, like such words as 'pecunia,' to an agricultural age: 'adoream laudem sive gloriam dicebant quia gloriosum eum putabant esse qui farris copia abundaret.' Servius on Virg. Aen. 10. 677, has a still wilder derivation for it, from 'adoro.'

42. **dirus**; see on 2. 12. 2.

**ut,** 'ever since,' as in Epod. 7. 19, Cic. Brut. 5 'ut illos libros edidisti nihil a te postea accepimus.'

43. **ceu.** This is the only place where this word is used by Horace. The images are of the speed and victoriousness of Hannibal's progress: 'like fire through a pine-forest, or the east wind sweeping the Sicilian sea.'

44. **Siculas**; see on 2. 12. 2. Horace may be referring to his own experience (see 3. 4. 28), but it is also possible that both the 'Sicilian' waters and the metaph. of 'equitavit' are due to Eur. Phoen. 209 περιρρύτων | ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστων πεδίων | Σικελίας Ζεφύρου πνοαῖς | ἱππεύσαντος, κ.τ.λ. In its simple sense, and as a matter of construction, the verb belongs to Hannibal; metaphorically and with a zeugma, it supplies also the verb of 'flamma' and 'Eurus.'

45. **secundis laboribus crevit,** grew ever more and more successful in its enterprises; the ablative as in 3. 30. 8 'crescam laude.'

46. **impio,** because they affronted Roman gods.

Vastata Poenorum tumultu
Fana deos habuere rectos,
Dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal:
Cervi, luporum praeda rapacium,
Sectamur ultro, quos opimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphus.
Gens, quae cremato fortis ab Ilio
Iactata Tuscis aequoribus sacra
Natosque maturosque patres
Pertulit Ausonias ad urbes,
Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.

47. **Poenorum tumultu.** A 'tumultus' was a sudden and dangerous war on or within the borders, usually a Gallic or Italian one. Cicero explains its nature in Phil. 8. 1. Cp. especially, 'Itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum tumultum nominabant.' The expression, then, in the text is almost an oxymoron, 'a war with Carthaginians, but yet a war in our own borders.'

48. **deos rectos**, of the images thrown down by Hannibal, and now set on their pedestals again.

49. The speech of Hannibal is founded on the saying actually attributed to him by Livy on learning of Hasdrubal's defeat and death: 'tanto simul publico familiarique ictus luctu, agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginis fertur dixisse,' Liv. 27. 51.

**perfidus.** It was the stock charge against him. Livy speaks of his 'perfidia plus quam Punica,' 21. 4.

51. **ultro**, agressively, needlessly.

**opimus triumphus**, 'a rare triumph,' a phrase coined by Horace to the model of 'spolia opima.'

53. **gens.** 'These armies that we have been provoking are to us as wolves to deer. Remember the story and character of the Roman people generally.' The stanza is a *résumé* of the story of the Aeneid. Cp. especially Aen. 1. 1–7, 67, 68.

**cremato fortis ab Ilio.** Grammatically 'ab Ilio' answers to 'ad urbes Ausonias,' and 'fortis' qualifies 'pertulit'; but the collocation which pairs 'fortis' with 'cremato,' and makes 'ab Ilio' follow closely and apparently depend on 'fortis' ('stepping forth in strength from the ashes of Ilium'), is meant to suggest the idea of the next stanza, that their very calamities only gave them fresh heart and vigour. They rise like the Phoenix from its pyre. Vv. 53, 54 contrast the perils of fire and of water.

54. **iactata**, probably agreeing with 'gens,' 'for all their tossing on the Tuscan sea.' 'Multum ille et terris iactatus et alto,' Virg. Aen. 1. 3.

**sacra**; Virg. Aen. 1. 68, 2. 293.

56. **pertulit**, of perseverance through difficulty, and of success.

57. **duris**; see on 3. 11. 31, Epod. 5. 30.

58. **nigrae**; 1. 21. 9. See there also for M$^t$. Algidus: its holm-oaks are celebrated in 3. 23. 10.

**feraci frondis**, as 'fecunda culpae secula,' 3. 6. 17; cp. C. S. 19.

59, 60. The subject of 'ducit' is 'gens,' but here, as commonly in Horace (see on 1. 35. 19, 2. 2. 1, 4. 2. 7), the interpretation cannot shake itself clear of the language of the allegory. 'For every bough it loses, for every cut the knife gives, aye, from the very edge of the steel itself, it draws fresh power and spirit.' 'Opes' and 'animus,' or 'animi,' were joined in this way almost proverbially, Virg. Aen. 2. 799, Caes. B. G. 7. 76.

Non hydra secto corpore firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem,
Monstrumve submisere Colchi
Maius Echioniaeve Thebae.
Merses profundo: pulchrior evenit:
Luctere: multa proruet integrum
Cum laude victorem geretque
Proelia coniugibus loquenda.

61. The stanza has been pronounced an interpolation by Meineke and other critics, on the ground of its introduction of mythological lore, which seemed to them frigid, and such as we find rather in Propertius and in the Alexandrine poets. Horace possibly had in mind the saying of Pyrrhus recorded by Florus, 1. 18 'Video me (inquit) plane Herculis sidere procreatum, cui quasi ab angue Lernaeo tot caesa hostium capita de sanguine suo renascantur.'

**firmior.** The adjective is more appropriate to the resolution of the Roman people, and the firm front of their legions, than to the hydra; but, in reference to it, it would seem to be antithetical to 'secto corpore,' and to mean 'sounder'; when he slashed its body it faced him in a moment entire as before.

62. **vinci dolentem,** 'chafing at the foil,' Conington. It is the measure of the unexpected persistence of the foe.

63. **monstrum,** of the armed warriors that sprang from the dragon's teeth, sown by Jason in the furrows which the fire-breathing bulls had ploughed (Ov. Met. 7. 121 foll.), or by Cadmus at Thebes (Ov. Met. 3. 24 foll.). So new soldiers seem to spring from the earth for Rome.

**submisere**; Lucr. 1. 8 'tellus submittit flores.'

**Colchi,** of the country, as 'Sabini,' 3. 4. 21, &c.

64. **Echioniae,** in reference to the particular story, for Echion was one of the five of the Sparti who survived the mutual slaughter; Ov. Met. 3. 126.

65. **merses,** 'plunge it if you will.' For the construction cp. Epp. 1. 10. 24. Some good MSS. (including Bern.) have the corruption 'mersus,' which, as Bentley points out, is impossible, since 'gens' must be the subject. Ritter thinks this line and the next have a definite historical reference to the disasters of the Romans by sea in the First Punic War, and on land in the Second, and their subsequent recovery in each case. With the thoughts of the stanza compare the sayings attributed to Hannibal by Livy (27. 14), 'cum eo nimirum hoste res est qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam potest. Seu vicit, ferociter instat victis: seu victus est instauret cum victoribus certamen,' and by Justin. 31. 6 'cum Romano seu occupaveris prior aliqua seu viceris tamen etiam cum victo et iacente luctandum esse.'

**evenit**, so all the good MSS. 'Exiet,' which Orelli accepts from very little MS. authority, in order to harmonize with 'proruet' and 'geret,' is a form of the future unparalleled in any classical writer. There is more MS. authority for converting the other verbs into presents; but this only shows that the difference of tense was felt as a difficulty. Dr. Postgate has lately proposed 'exiit' ('has in a moment come forth') as accounting for the variation.

66. **multa cum laude,** 'amid loud applause,' of a feat in a wrestling match. It is also taken with 'integrum,' 'with all his laurels.'

**integrum,** 'fresh,' 'with all his powers unbroken.' We have to understand from 'integrum victorem,' that the subject of the sentence, on the contrary, has just been thrown.

68. **coniugibus loquenda.** It is hard to say whether this is to be taken, with Orelli, of their own wives, 'for their wives to tell of,' i.e. in pride; or, with Ritter, of the Carthaginians' wives, 'which only wives will live to tell of,' the husbands being all slain. The latter gives a more definite climax to the stanza; but it must be allowed that if this is the meaning, we should have expected some word to imply either that the 'wives' would be widows, or that their 'talk' would be by way of mourn-

Carthagini iam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos: occidit, occidit
Spes omnis et fortuna nostri
Nominis Hasdrubale interempto.
Nil Claudiae non perficiunt manus,
Quas et benigno numine Iuppiter
Defendit et curae sagaces
Expediunt per acuta belli.

ing. Catullus puts the idea more distinctly, 'Illius egregias virtutes claraque facta Saepe fatebuntur gnatorum in funere matres,' 64. 349.

69. **iam non . . . superbos**, as after Cannae. Cp. Livy's account of Mago's mission to Carthage to announce that victory, and carry the proof of it in three bushels of gold rings taken from Roman knights, 23. 12.

72. **Hasdrubale interempto**; Liv. 28. 12.

73–76. It is a question whether the stanza is a continuation of Hannibal's speech or the poet's summing up. The latter seems more likely. A quiet ending of the Ode is part of Horace's art (see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 11. 3), but he would hardly put into Hannibal's mouth a dull prophecy of the glories of the house of Nero. It is pretty certain, also, that Ritter is right in supposing that the 'curae sagaces' belong to Augustus. Cp. 4. 14. 16 and 32 'Te copias, te consilium et tuos Praebente Divos.' Horace's intention is to unite the praises of the emperor with those of the young Neros. Here the compliment is intensified by the conjunction of his protection and that of Jupiter. This is the only interpretation which will give the last line and a half sufficient weight to balance the line and a half which precede.

73. **perficiunt**. This was the reading of Bland. Vet., though most other good MSS. have 'perficient.' When once the stanza was taken as a prophecy, there was an obvious motive for altering the tense to the future.

76. **acuta belli**, the difficulties, anxieties of war. Cp. 'aspera belli,' Liv. 6. 32. Perhaps there is an image of a ship threading the sharp rocks which beset a channel. For the use of 'expediunt' cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 632.

# ODE V.

'Too long already, Augustus, art thou absent from thy trust. Return, then, remembering thy solemn promise. Thy face is spring to the year and brightness to the day. As a mother watches for her sailor-boy's return, so Rome for her Caesar. To thee we owe security by land and sea; peace and plenty; the restoration of honesty and of pure morals. No fear of Parthian or Scythian, of German or Spaniard. From morn till night a man works in his own vineyard, and then goes home to thank thee among the gods to whom he pours libations after supper. Long be the happy holiday that Italy enjoys under thy auspices; such is our prayer in the morning as well as in the evening.'

For the occasion and length of Augustus' absence see Introd. to the Book.

DIVIS orte bonis, optime Romulae
Custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu;
Maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
    Sancto concilio redi.
Lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae:
Instar veris enim vultus ubi tuus
Affulsit populo, gratior it dies
    Et soles melius nitent.
Ut mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido
Flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora
Cunctantem spatio longius annuo
    Dulci distinet a domo,
Votis ominibusque et precibus vocat,
Curvo nec faciem litore dimovet:

1. **divis orte bonis**, 'whose birth was the good gift of heaven.' Cp. 4. 2. 38: opposed to 'iratis natus dis,' Sat. 2. 3. 8; the ablative absolute, not the ablative with 'orte.'

**Romulae**; Carm. Saec. 47, Virg. Aen. 6. 877 'Romula tellus'; see on Od. 1. 15. 10.

2. **custos**; 4. 15. 17 'custode rerum Caesare.'

4. **sancto concilio**. The epithet is an habitual one of the senate; Virg. Aen. 1. 426 'Iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.'

7. **affulsit**, like sunshine. it, as 2. 14. 5 'quotquot eunt dies,' 'passes.'

9. **quem Notus**, &c. Compare the picture of Asterie waiting for Gyges in 3. 7. The young sailor may be supposed to be in Egypt or Syria. Navigation was suspended from early in November to early in March; so that, having failed to get away in the autumn, he has to stay into the following year. The 'mare Carpathium' is the sea east of Crete; 'spatium annuum' is the sailing time of one year.

13. **ominibus**. Her impatience is shown by frequently consulting omens.

Sic desideriis icta fidelibus
Quaerit patria Caesarem.
Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
Nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,
Pacatum volitant per mare navitae,
Culpari metuit Fides,
Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,
Laudantur simili prole puerperae,
Culpam poena premit comes.
Quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen,
Quis Germania quos horrida parturit
Fetus, incolumi Caesare? quis ferae
Bellum curet Hiberiae?
Condit quisque diem collibus in suis,
Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores;

16. **quaerit**, of longing for the absent, as 3. 24. 31 'Virtutem incolumem odimus, Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.'

17. **etenim.** The results of Caesar's happy reign are felt all round us, and *therefore* we wish to have him back again.

**rura perambulat**, of grazing cattle; more likely than of ploughing, as Ritter takes it. 'Perambulat' implies that he 'stalks about' as if he felt his security. The repetition of 'rura' is intentional, but it has offended many critics. Tan. Faber proposed 'prata perambulat'; Bentley 'nutrit farra,' objecting to the phrase 'nutrire rura.' It is, however, imitated by Silius, 12. 375 'Arva ... Cereris nutrita favore.'

18. **Faustitas**, an ἅπαξ λεγ. = 'Fausta Felicitas' = the personification of Good Fortune, and especially of Plenty. Felicitas is represented on medals with the cornucopia.

19. **pacatum**, freed from pirates. Suet. Oct. 98 'Vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina Augusto acclamarunt, per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.'

**volitant**, Virgil's 'pelago volamus,' the frequentative giving the idea of number and frequency.

20. **culpari metuit**, 'shrinks from all possibility of blame'; cp. 2. 2. 7 'penna metuente solvi.' It is the opposite to the state of things described in 3. 24. 59 'Cum periura patris fides Consortem socium fallat et hospitem,' &c.

22. **mos et lex**, 'opinion,'—'fashion,' —'habit'; and 'positive law'; the union that was desiderated in 3. 24. 23 'Quid leges sine moribus Vanae proficiunt?' The reference is to the 'Lex Iulia de Adulteriis coercendis' passed in B.C. 17; Dict. Ant. s.v. 'adulterium.'

23. **simili prole**; Hes. Ἔργ. 233 τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἐοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν.

26. **Germania.** The reference is to the Sygambri: see Introd. to the Book.

**horrida**, in reference both to the forests and their rude inhabitants.

**parturit.** The form of the verb seems to imply 'breeds in swarms': 'numquam contenta est pariendo.' Cp. 1. 7. 16 'neque parturit imbres Perpetuo.'

27. **ferae Hiberiae**; 4. 14. 50 'Durae ... tellus Hiberiae.' For allusions to the long resistance of the Cantabri see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 6. They had been finally subdued by Agrippa in B.C. 19; Epp. 1. 12. 27.

29. **condit ... diem**, 'sees the sun down.' Virg. E. 9. 81 'cantando ... condere soles.' There is emphasis on 'suis.' He is not disturbed in his occupations by war, nor in his possessions by violence.

30. **viduas.** For the metaph. cp. Od. 2. 15. 4, Epod. 2. 9.

Hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris
Te mensis adhibet deum;
Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
Defuso pateris et Laribus tuum
Miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
Et magni memor Herculis.
Longas o utinam, dux bone, ferias
Praestes Hesperiae! dicimus integro
Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi,
Cum Sol Oceano subest.

31. **ad vina,** he goes back with a light heart to make merry at home.

**alteris,** as 'mensae secundae,' Virg. G. 2. 101, where also perhaps the custom of commencing the second course, or that with which drinking began, by libations, is alluded to.

32. For **adhibet** cp. Virg. Aen. 5. 62 'adhibete Penates . . . epulis,' 'invoke,' 'invite their presence'; see Conington, in loc. For the fact referred to the edd. quote Dion 51. 19 *ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντας αὐτῷ σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν, ἔς τε τοὺς ὕμνους αὐτὸν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγγράφεσθαι.* This was after the victory of Actium.

34. **Laribus.** 'The worship of Augustus, or rather, perhaps, of the Lar of Augustus. as a demigod or genius, is to be distinguished from the later cult of the Caesars as deities, which Augustus himself interdicted at least in Rome,' Merivale, vol. iv, ch. 33, p. 75. See ib. for the account of Augustus' restoration of the chapels and worship of the Lares, and compare with him Ov. Fast. 5. 145 'Mille Lares geniumque ducis qui tradidit illos Urbs habet.'

35. **Castoris.** The genitives were probably felt to be dependent both on 'numen' and on 'memor.' If we must choose between them, doubtless Orelli and Dill$^{r}$. are right in preferring 'memor'; 'like Greece in her pious recollection of Castor,' &c.

37. 'The reign of Augustus is a perpetual holiday; may it be a long one!'

38. **integro die,** 'while the day is fresh, unbroken.'

39. **sicci;** Od. 1. 18. 3, Epp. 1. 19. 9.

**uvidi,** *βεβρεγμένοι*. The whole = 'at all hours and in all conditions'; perhaps with a remembrance of such sayings as that of the Persians, who, according to Herodotus (1. 133), deliberate on every important matter twice, *μεθυσκόμενοι* and *νήφοντες*.

# ODE VI.

'Apollo, terrible to thine enemies, as Niobe, Tityos, and great Achilles felt; yet even in thy wrath the friend of Rome, for if Achilles had lived Troy would have perished, not, indeed, by treachery, but in open war, which would have left no remnant to fly to Italy;—Apollo, whom we know teaching the cithara on Parnassus, and bathing thy locks in the Xanthus;—uphold to-day the honour of the Daunian Muse. Aye, it is Apollo that inspires, teaches, selects me. Listen to me, boys and maidens of the chorus; take time from me, as you sing in turn Apollo and Diana and their kindly offices to man. Some day the matron will tell her children proudly "when the last Ludi Saeculares were held, I took my part in them, and sang the strains which the poet Horace taught me."'

The Ode is, on the face of it, a sort of prelude to the Carmen Saeculare; a poetical expression of the pride of the poet in his selection to write the Hymn, and of his anxiety that it may receive justice in its public performance. His professed purpose is to claim the good offices first of Apollo, the powerful god to whose intervention Rome owed her very existence, the god of Greek song; and then, when this aid is assured, of the chorus of performers.

Dive, quem proles Niobea magnae
Vindicem linguae, Tityosque raptor
Sensit, et Troiae prope victor altae
    Phthius Achilles,
Ceteris maior, tibi miles impar,
Filius quamvis Thetidis marinae

1. Apollo is invoked first by virtue of his sterner attributes as an avenger of ὕβρις. Three instances are given from mythology (according to the well-known formula of Greek poetry), the last being skilfully turned into a glorification of him as a θεὸς σωτήρ, the saviour of the Aeneadae, whose inveterate foe he thus removed.

**magnae linguae**, 'a vaunting tongue'; Soph. Ant. 127 Ζεὺς γὰρ μεγάλης γλώσσης κόμπους | ὑπερεχθαίρει. The boast of Niobe was that she had given birth to more children than Latona. The story is told in Hom. Il. 24. 602.

2. **vindicem** is grammatically limited to the first clause by its connexion with the genitive 'linguae'; but to be extended in sense to the other two, the kind of ὕβρις, of which he was the avenger, being expressed in the first by the epithet of 'Tityos raptor,' in the second by the fuller account of Achilles' bearing towards the vanquished.

**Tityos**; 2. 14. 8, 3. 4. 77, 3. 11. 21, Pind. P. 4. 90. His offence, an assault on Latona, and his punishment in Tartarus, are told in Hom. Od. 11. 576.

3. **prope victor**, 'before he could complete the victory which, by slaying Hector, he had all but won.' The death of Achilles is treated by Homer (in Hector's prophecy, Il. 22. 358) as the joint work of Paris and Apollo; Virgil follows him, Aen. 6. 56 'Phoebe, graves Troiae semper miserate labores Dardana qui Paridis direxti tela manusque Corpus in Aeacidae'; Sophocles attributes it directly to Apollo, Phil. 334 NE. τέθνηκεν, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός, θεοῦ δ' ὕπο | τοξευτὸς ὡς λέγουσιν ἐκ Φοίβου δαμείς.

**altae**. The Homeric Ἰλίου αἰπεινῆς.

4. **Phthius**. Phthia is Achilles' country in Homer, Il. 1. 155, &c.

Dardanas turres quateret tremenda
    Cuspide pugnax.
Ille, mordaci velut icta ferro
Pinus aut impulsa cupressus Euro,
Procidit late, posuitque collum in
    Pulvere Teucro.
Ille non inclusus equo Minervae
Sacra mentito male feriatos
Troas et laetam Priami choreis
    Falleret aulam;
Sed palam captis gravis, heu nefas! heu!
Nescios fari pueros Achivis
Ureret flammis, etiam latentem
    Matris in alvo,

7. **Dardanas.** For the form see on 1. 15. 10.

8. **cuspide**, his famous spear; Hom. Il. 19. 387 *Ἐκ δ' ἄρα σύριγγος πατρώϊον ἐσπάσατ' ἔγχος | βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν· τὸ μὲν οὐ δύνατ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν | πάλλειν, κ.τ.λ.* The ablative can hardly be independent either of 'quateret' or of 'pugnax,' 'made the towers of Troy quake before the repeated onset of his terrible spear.'

9–13. **ille . . . ille** supply the want of any more definite contrast, by logical conjunctions, of the two pictures, of what *was* and what *might have* been if Apollo had not interfered.

9, 10. 'As a pine cleft by the axe, or a cypress blown down by the east wind.' Perhaps the double simile is meant to touch two stages in the same action: 'so Achilles was stricken down, and so he fell.' Cp. the double simile at the beginning of 4. 4.

**mordaci**, eating into the wood at every stroke.

11. **procidit late**, Agamemnon, of Achilles' death, in Hom. Od. 24. 39 *σὺ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης | κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί.*

13. **Minervae sacra mentito**, 'that feigned Minerva's worship'; Virg. Aen. 2. 17 and 183.

14. **male feriatos**, 'keeping ill-timed holiday'; Virg. Aen. 2. 248, 9, Eur. Troad. 515 foll.

16. **falleret**, for 'fefellisset,' Sat. 1. 6. 80. Madv. § 347, obs. 2, gives instances of the substitution even in rhetorical prose. Cp. Virg. Aen. 5. 325, 6. 293, 'he was not one to surprise,' &c.

17. **palam captis gravis.** His foemen would have been taken in open day, in fair fight; but when taken they must not have looked for quarter. Perhaps the position of 'palam,' where it answers to the key-note of the last stanza, 'mentito . . . falleret,' is meant to enable it in thought to qualify both 'captis' and 'gravis.' 'He was open throughout; he resorted to no stratagem, and he affected no clemency.' Some MSS. leave a gap in the place of 'captis'; a few have 'victor,' one 'raptor,' and 'captos' is found as a v. l. in one MS. of Horace, and in the Med. MS. of Acron's Comm. a diversity of testimony, which seems to Bentley to show that all are alike conjectural restorations of a word lost in early copies. Compare a similar case in Epp. 2. 2. 199. 'Captis' is the reading of B.

**heu nefas! heu!** Compare the sigh in 'Heu pervicacis ad pedes Achillei,' Epod. 17. 14.

19. **latentem.** The singular, which Lambinus and Cruquius had altered, is very likely due, as Bentley pointed out, to Hom. Il. 6. 58, Horace having accommodated to Achilles the words of Agamemnon, *μηδ' ὅντινα γαστέρι μήτηρ | κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι μηδ' ὃς φύγοι· ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες | Ἰλίου ἐξαπολοίατ,' κ.τ.λ.*

Ni tuis victus Venerisque gratae
Vocibus divum pater annuisset
Rebus Aeneae potiore ductos
    Alite muros.
Doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae,
Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines,
Dauniae defende decus Camenae,
    Levis Agyieu.
Spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
Carminis nomenque dedit poëtae.

21. **victus.** V had the otherwise unsupported reading, apparently from a gloss, 'flexus.' The Comm. Cruq. himself had read 'victus,' and interprets it by 'flexus.'

22. **annuisset**; Virg. Aen 1. 257 'Parce metu, Cytherea; manent immota tuorum Fata tibi: cernes urbem et promissa Lavini Moenia.'

23. **rebus Aeneae**, the fortunes of Aeneas and his house, as 'res Asiae,' Virg. Aen. 5. 1, 'res Troiae,' Aen. 8. 471.

**potiore alite**; 1. 15. 5.

**ductos**, either 'carried along,' 'built,' or only 'traced.' See Conington on Virg. Aen. 1. 423 'pars ducere muros.'

25. **argutae**, λιγείας, predicative. She learnt her clear singing, as well as her harp-playing, of Apollo. Some MSS. of inferior value have 'Argivae,' which was intended to be antithetical to 'Dauniae' = 'Latinae'; see note on v. 28.

26. **Xantho.** The Lycian, not the Trojan, Xanthus; 3. 4. 62. Virg. Aen. 4. 143 'hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta Deserit.' For the practice of introducing into prayers the names of the sacred haunts of the god addressed cp. 1. 30. 1, 3. 26. 10. Apollo's long hair is at once the sign of his perpetual youth (as in v. 28 'levis,' i.e. 'imberbis') and part of the costume of the bard; see Virg. Aen. 1. 740 'crinitus Iopas.'

27. **Dauniae**, in the first place, doubtless, Horace's own Muse (cp. 3. 30. 10, and 'Calabrae Pierides' of Ennius, 4. 8. 20), as is shown by the immediate transition to himself, 'spiritum Phoebus mihi,' &c. But it is not a purely local designation. Horace would not have said here 'Venusinae Camenae.' He speaks of 'Daunian blood' for Roman or Italian in Od. 2. 1. 34, and uses the Apulian as the typical representative of all Roman virtues (Od. 3. 5. 9, 3. 16. 26, Epod. 2. 42); and so here the 'Daunian Muse' is the 'Italian Muse,' though he would remember the special appropriateness of the local name, when the chosen representative of Roman poetry is a Daunian born.

28. **Agyieu.** Ἀγυιεύς was a Greek name of Apollo as guardian of streets, ἀγυιαί, Aesch. Agam. 1081, Arist. Vesp. 875. Ritter explains the choice of the title by the fact that the Carmen Saeculare would be sung 'sub dio.' This seems far-fetched. The associations of the name were to Horace, probably, purely literary, and his purpose, as in the first two lines of the stanza, is mainly to make it clear that it is the Greek god in all his attributes whom he claims as the protector of his Daunian Muse (the antithesis is present, though we need not in v. 25 read 'Argivae,' to make it too obtrusive); and to this end the thoroughly Greek name contributes. Cp. the force of a Greek form 1. 1. 34. The unusual name makes great havoc among the copyists. V had oddly 'Laetus Agylleu.'

29, 30. These verses form the transition to the last part of the Ode. He has prayed to Phoebus, the Greek god of poetry, to defend from disgrace, through failure of the poet or performers or audience, the honour of the Italian Muse. 'Yes, it is Phoebus that inspires him; that teaches him his art; that gives him the fame which has caused him to be selected for this great task.' Strong in that persuasion, he calls on the chorus to obey and learn of him.

**spiritum**; see on 2. 16. 38.

Virginum primae puerique claris
Patribus orti,
Deliae tutela deae fugaces
Lyncas et cervos cohibentis arcu,
Lesbium servate pedem meique
Pollicis ictum,
Rite Latonae puerum canentes,
Rite crescentem face Noctilucam,
Prosperam frugum celeremque pronos
Volvere menses.
Nupta iam dices: Ego dis amicum,
Saeculo festas referente luces,
Reddidi carmen docilis modorum
Vatis Horati.

31. Carm. Saec. 6. The chorus consisted of boys and girls, all of good birth (ἐπιφανεῖς, Zosimus; see Introd. to C. S.), and with both parents alive.

33. **tutela**, passively = 'qui in tutela Dianae estis.' The use is found in Propertius 4. 8. 3. Diana is the patroness of chastity. Cp. Catull. 34. 1 'Dianae sumus in fide Puellae et pueri integri.'

34. **cohibentis** = 'sistentis,' 'who stays in their flight.'

35. **Lesbium servate pedem**, i.e. observe the ictus of the Sapphic metre.

**mei pollicis**, of the thumb of the poet beating time in his capacity as *χοροδιδάσκαλος*. The Scholiasts take it of his striking the lyre in accompaniment; but Horace would not accompany his chorus.

37. **rite**, according to the traditional ceremonial of the Ludi Saeculares. The repetition emphasizes the equality of the alternate addresses.

38. **crescentem face**, 'with her crescent light.' For the ablative cp. 4. 4. 46 'secundis laboribus crevit.'

**Noctilucam**; Varro, L. L. 5. 68 'Luna . . . dicta Noctiluca in Palatio.'

39. **prosperam frugum** = 'prosperantem fruges.' It is the same Gr. gen. of relation as 'fertilis frugum,' Carm. Saec. 29.

**celerem volvere**; App. 2, § 2.

**pronos**, running smoothly, swiftly.

41. **nupta iam**, 'some day when you are a wife.' He imagines himself addressing one of the girls in the chorus.

42. **saeculo**; see Introd. to C. S.

**festas luces**, the three days of the festival.

43. **reddidi**, 'rendered,' 'performed.'

**docilis modorum**; 1. 15. 24 'sciens pugnae.'

# ODE VII.

'SPRING has returned to earth, and with it foliage and light and warmth. It will not last for ever: this is the lesson of revolving seasons. Only *they* pass to return again; *we*, when we pass where the great and good are gone before us, are dust and nothing. To-day may be your last; who knows? Take your fill of enjoyment. What you spend on yourself is at least so much the less for your greedy heir. When once you are dead and passed Minos' grand tribunal, neither race, Torquatus, nor eloquence, nor goodness, will restore you to the light. Think of Hippolytus and Pirithous, and learn this lesson from their fate.'

Torquatus is the same person, doubtless, whom Horace addressed in Epp. 1. 5, to much the same purpose as in this Ode; but more than that it is difficult to say, notwithstanding the many guesses that have been offered on the subject. The two most plausible ones are, (1) that of Estré, who identifies with him the Aulus Torquatus mentioned in Corn. Nep. Atticus, as amongst those who were compromised by their share in Brutus and Cassius' campaign. This would give an occasion for Horace's acquaintance with him. (2) That of Weichert, who thinks that he was no member of the Manlia gens, but the C. Nonius Asprenas mentioned by Suetonius (Oct. 43 and 56), the intimate friend of Augustus, who had assumed for himself and his family the cognomen of Torquatus by permission of the emperor, and in memory of a golden 'torques' with which Augustus had presented him on the occasion of his injuring himself by a fall while performing in the Ludus Troiae. His assumption of the name has been held to prove, what there are no other facts to disprove, that the old family of Torquati was extinct.

The Ode is remarkably parallel to 1. 4; so much so, that Macleane is inclined to think that it was omitted on this account from the first three Books, and only published under the necessity of making up a respectable number to meet Augustus' requirement of a fourth Book. There is nothing to indicate its date.

DIFFUGERE nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
  Arboribusque comae;
Mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
  Flumina praetereunt;

1. **diffugere**, 'like an army defeated,' as Wordsworth paraphrases it.

3. **mutat vices** = 'mutationem annuam patitur'; 'vice annua' (cp. 'grata vice veris,' 1. 4. 1, 'benigna vice,' Epod. 13. 8) 'mutatur,' 'is passing its orderly change.' 'Mutat condicionem' would not express the *orderly succession* of the conditions. 'Vices patitur,' 'peragit,' Ov. Met. 15. 238, would not express the complete *change* which that orderly succession is at this moment bringing about.

**terra** is probably the 'dry land,' in which case 'mutat terra vices' sums up the changes of the two preceding lines, as the next line and a half deal with the 'streams.'

4. **praetereunt**, 'flow past (i. e. within) their banks,' instead of pouring over them.

Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros.
Immortalia ne speres, monet annus et almum
Quae rapit hora diem.
Frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas
Interitura, simul
Pomifer Autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
Bruma recurrit iners.
Damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae:
Nos, ubi decidimus,
Quo pater Aeneas, quo dives Tullus et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra sumus.
Quis scit, an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae
Tempora di superi?
Cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico
Quae dederis animo.

5. **Gratia cum geminis sororibus**, i. e. the three Graces. For the form cp. 3. 19. 16. For the Graces dancing as a picture of returning spring, 1. 4. 6.

7. **annus et . . . diem**, the revolution of the year, and the rapidity with which sunny days fly past us. 'Hora,' not so much the evening hour (which would be to introduce a new image) as the flight of time, the passing hours. Cp. 2. 16. 32. It is not night, but winter which he sees approaching.

9. Compare the procession of the seasons in Lucr. 5. 736.

**proterit**, *καταπατεῖ*, 'tramples before it,' of the advance of a victorious army; 3. 5. 34.

11. **effuderit**, 'has scattered broadcast.'

13. **damna caelestia**, 'all that is lost in heaven': primarily of the waning of the moon itself, 'damna' being commonly used in this sense by Manilius and others; but we are to understand also the whole waste and damage of the year as it passes back into winter. With the whole thought cp. Catull. 5. 5 'Soles occidere et redire possunt: Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux Nox est perpetua una dormienda.'

15. **pater**. The reading of V, though a majority of MSS. read 'pius.' As the more habitual Virgilian epithet, the latter is the more likely to have been substituted. The MSS. also vary between the order 'Tullus dives' and 'dives Tullus.' The epithet is intended, probably, for both kings, princely wealth being part of the traditions of the monarchy. The general expression (cp. Epp. 1. 6. 27 'Ire tamen restat, Numa quo devenit et Ancus') is after Lucr. 3. 1037 'Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancus reliquit,' that being from Ennius, Ann. 150.

16. **pulvis et umbra**, the conjunction perhaps from Soph. El. 1158 *ἀντὶ φιλτάτης | μορφῆς σποδόν τε καὶ σκιὰν ἀνωφελῆ*.

17. **adiciant**, 'may be adding,' in their counsels.

**hodiernae summae**, the total of our days, as it stands to-day. The Bland. V. (cp. the last Ode, v. 21) had, this time in company with several other MSS., 'vitae' instead of 'summae,' which can hardly be anything but a gloss. For 'summae' in this connexion cp. 1. 4. 15.

19. **manus avidas heredis**; the Epicurean moral of the Ode, though it comes incidentally—'enjoy, do not hoard.' Newman remarks on this and similar expressions (as 2. 3. 20, 2. 14. 25), that the state of feeling which they indicate belongs to the bachelorhood of the wealthy Romans. 'Amico dare animo' is apparently a translation of *φίλῃ ψυχῇ χαρίζεσθαι* = 'genio indulgere'; Simonides, § 85, enforcing the same

Cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
Fecerit arbitria,
Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
Restituet pietas;
Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
Liberat Hippolytum,
Nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
Vincula Pirithoo.

lesson from the shortness of life, *σὺ ταῦτα μαθὼν βιότου ποτὶ τέρμα | ψυχῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλήθει χαριζόμενος.*

21. **splendida.** The magnificence, stateliness, of Minos' court is transferred to the decrees he passes. Homer describes him Od. 11. 568 *Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν | χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσσιν.*

23. **Torquate.** The personal address implies that Torquatus possesses the gifts of which Horace speaks. With 'facundia' Orelli compares the hint in Epp. 1. 5. 9, 'Moschi causam,' that Torquatus was a forensic orator.

25–28. Two instances from mythology of the irrevocable nature of death. The emphatic words are 'pudicum' and 'caro,' and there is a certain antithesis between the two stories. Hippolytus, innocent and the victim of his chastity—yet Diana, the goddess of chastity, could not save him; Pirithous the guilty one of the pair (see 3. 4. 79)—Theseus' love made him share Pirithous' enterprise, and for a time he shared his punishment; but when he was set free himself by Hercules, all his love could not free Pirithous also. In the story of Hippolytus as told by Virg. Aen. 7. 765 foll. and Ov. Met. 15. 479 foll., Diana's efforts are successful, for he is the person whom Aesculapius recalled to life; but this is unknown to the Greek legend as it appears in Euripides' Hippolytus, which Horace here follows.

# ODE VIII.

'UNDER other circumstances, Censorinus, I would send my friends bronzes and pictures, and you should have the best of them. As it is I have none to give, and you would not care for them. Verse you will value and verse I can give; and hear now the value I set on the gift. Statues and inscriptions, the great feats of the Punic wars, do not throw such lustre on generals like the Scipios, as do the verses of Ennius. Would father Romulus have lived without a grateful posterity to tell of him? Would Aeacus have won the happy islands but for Pindar's Muse? The Muse gives immortality, and instals her favourites in a place in heaven; witness Hercules, the Tyndaridae, Bacchus himself.'

C. Marcius Censorinus was consul in B.C. 8, and died, amid general regret, A.D. 2. Vell. Paterculus calls him 'vir demerendis hominibus natus.'

Metre—*First Asclepiad.*

DONAREM pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
Donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
Graiorum, neque tu pessima munerum
Ferres, divite me scilicet artium,
Quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,

1. **donarem.** This reference is to the custom of exchanging presents ('strenae') on certain occasions, such as the Calends of March or the Saturnalia. Cp. the Pseudo-Tibull. 3. 1. 1 'Martis Romani festae venere Kalendae . . . Et vaga nunc certa discurrunt undique pompa Perque vias urbis munera perque domos,' and read Stat. Silv. 4. 9. The condition to 'donarem' must be understood from the protasis of the following sentence 'divite me,' &c., although the construction there has been changed and we are speaking no longer of bronzes but of pictures and sculpture, but it is helped also by the words 'grata commodus,' which answer to one another, 'grata' meaning 'pleasing to their taste,' 'commodus' (cp. 3. 19. 12, Epp. 2. 1. 227, A. P. 257) 'consulting their taste.' 'I would give . . . if I had them, and my friends cared for them.'

2. **aera,** works in bronze, such as vases.

3. **fortium Graiorum,** in reference to such passages as Hom. Il. 23. 259, 264, &c. (cp. Virg. Aen. 5. 110, 9. 265), and to the use of a tripod as a prize at the Pythian and other games; Herod. 1. 144.

5. **ferres,** 'acciperes,' sc. 'a me'; Od. 3. 16. 22, Sat. 2. 1. 12, Epp. 2. 2. 14.

**scilicet** emphasizes the condition, the stubbornness of the 'if.' 'All this would happen, *supposing*, you mark me, I were rich,' &c.

**artium,** 'works of art'; Epp. 1. 6. 17, 2. 1. 203. It goes somewhat beyond Virgil's use, 'clipeum . . . Didymaonis artes,' Aen. 5. 359, which is after such expressions as Soph. O. C. 472 κρατῆρες . . . ἀνδρὸς εὔχειρος τέχνη.

6. **Parrhasius,** a painter of Ephesus, a contemporary of Zeuxis, and therefore living about the time of the Peloponnesian war. Xenophon describes Socrates as paying a visit to his studio. Quintilian (12. 10. 5) calls him 'legumlatorem' in the art of painting, and Pliny (N. H. 35. 36) praises him as the first who 'symmetriam picturae dedit.'

**Scopas,** of Paros, belongs to the first half of the fourth century B.C., being an

Hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
Sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
Sed non haec mihi vis, nec tibi talium
Res est aut animus deliciarum egens.
Gaudes carminibus; carmina possumus
Donare et pretium dicere muneri.
Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis

elder contemporary of Praxiteles, and with him at the head of the 'later Attic school' of sculpture, which is distinguished from the earlier school, of which Phidias was the representative.

8. **ponere**, to 'represent,' properly of sculpture; to set up, to leave standing before you. Cp. A. P. 36 'Infelix operis summae, quia ponere totum Nesciet,' Od. 4. 1. 20 'ponet marmoream,' Virg. E. 3. 46, and the correlative 'stare,' Sat. 2. 3. 183 'aeneus ut stes.' It is transferred to poetical representation Juv. 1. 155 'Pone Tigellinum.'

9. **haec vis** can hardly be (as Düntzer) = 'harum deliciarum vis,' as 'hederae vis' 4. 11. 4, nor can 'vis' be used simply = 'facultas,' sc. 'dandi talia,' but it is used with a certain play, 'this is not where my force lies.'

**nec** is the reading of V against the more common 'non.'

10. **res . . . animus**, you are too rich to want such dainty presents, too simple in your tastes to care for them.

12. **pretium dicere muneri**, i. e. tell you how much it is worth. The construction as in Sat. 2. 3. 23 'Callidus huic signo ponebam milia centum,' Ter. Hecyra Prol. 41 'si numquam avare pretium statui arti meae.' The remainder of the Ode is occupied in setting its value on the gift,' i. e. in setting forth the 'deathless powers' that 'to verse belong.'

13. **notis publicis**, inscriptions graven by order of the State. There seems to be an allusion to an act of Augustus (Suet. Oct. 31), who had erected in his Forum statues of the great generals of the Republic, with laudatory inscriptions.

13–20. The general meaning of these lines is clear, though the literature which they have occasioned is a sufficient proof that their expression is somewhat confused. 'No other record of great deeds, such as statues and inscriptions (which may be destroyed and obliterated), not the great deeds themselves (which may be forgotten), can confer immortality of fame as poetry can.' The expression begins generally as if he were going to talk of all great generals; the second clause narrows it to Scipio Africanus Major. The chief difficulty lies in v. 17. Attempts have been made to explain that verse of the burning of the camp of Syphax by the elder Scipio, Liv. 30. 5, or the burning of the Carthaginian ships surrendered at the end of the Second Punic War, 'quarum conspectum repente incendium [tradunt] tam lugubre fuisse Poenis quam si tum ipsa Carthago arderet,' Liv. 30. 43; and if Ennius himself had used such a phrase, we might have explained it in one of these ways as a natural exaggeration; but, after the actual event, the 'burning of Carthage' in a Roman's mouth can hardly mean anything but its burning by Scipio Africanus Minor at the end of the Third Punic War, in B.C. 146, seventeen years after the death of the elder Scipio, and five years after the death of his friend the poet Ennius, who in his Annales wrote a poetical account of the Second Punic War. We cannot accuse Horace of confusing the two Scipios, and (as Bentley points out) the critical contemporaries who heard and read his poems, of tolerating the confusion. Nor are the conjectural emendations 'impendia' (Cunningham), 'stipendia' (Döring), 'In dispendia' (Hermann), likely or happy. Bentley condemns the line as a monkish interpolation, on metrical as well as historical grounds, and it is the first and most obvious victim of those who wish to reduce the Ode to conformity with Meineke's canon; see Index of Metres, § 6. It remains to interpret the lines as they stand, and the difficulties do not seem to be as great as they have been

Post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
Reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
Non incendia Carthaginis impiae
Eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes quam Calabrae Pierides: neque,
Si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
Mercedem tuleris. Quod foret Iliae
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
Obstaret meritis invida Romuli?
Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum
Virtus et favor et lingua potentium

represented. If we wish (with Ritter) to make Africanus Major the subject of the whole comparison, then the burning of Carthage will be adduced, not as his act, but as the crown and completion by one of his name of his victories, as something which might be supposed to revive and keep alive his fame. 'Not marble monuments, not his great feats of arms, not the completest posthumous success of his policy and hereditary transmission of his fame, win for him the glory that Ennius' poetry wins for him.' The truth, however, is perhaps that Horace is (not confusing, but) consciously uniting the two Scipios. 'What throws most glory on the name of Africanus? Zama and the destruction of Carthage, or Ennius' poetry?' 'Eius qui ... rediit,' is merely a periphrasis for the name 'Africanus,' and Horace could have used it apparently of the younger Scipio, as he uses of him in Sat. 2. 1. 65 the periphrasis 'qui Duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen.' Cp. the words which Cicero puts into the mouth of Scipio Africanus Major as addressed to his grandson, 'Hanc [Carthaginem] evertes, eritque cognomen id tibi per te partum quod habes adhuc a nobis hereditarium,' Somn. Scip. 11. In favour of this view is the fact already pointed out, that the sentiment is really general, 'famous deeds' are specialized, after Horace's manner, into 'the deeds of the two Scipios,' and poetry is specialized into the poetry of (or such as that of) Ennius; but we may remember that Scipio's exploits were only the last in the long series of glories which formed the subject of Ennius' poem. That it stopped short of Africanus Minor is a fact that Horace might ignore.

15. **fugae ... minae.** The flight of Hannibal from Italy, and the return on his own head, by Scipio's invasion of Africa, of the threats he had offered to Rome by his invasion of Italy.

17. **impiae**; 4. 4. 46 'impio Poenorum tumultu.'

20. **Calabrae Pierides**, from Rudiae, a village of South Calabria, the birthplace of Ennius.'

21. **chartae sileant**; cp. 4. 9. 31.

22 foll. Instances from mythology of the immortalizing power of poetry—Romulus, Aeacus, Hercules, the Tyndaridae, Bacchus.

22. **Iliae Mavortisque puer**, i.e. despite his royal and divine ancestry.

23. **taciturnitas invida**; cp. 4. 9. 33 'lividas Obliviones.' Verses are quoted from Ennius in honour of Romulus; but the thought is not limited to any particular poem. 'Rome itself, with all its greatness and history, would not tell us who Romulus was unless poetry kept the legend alive.'

26. **virtus**, generally taken of the poet's power; but it is perhaps better to take it of Aeacus: 'His virtue, yes, and the goodwill and the tongue of poets.' 'Et ... et' will imply that the last conditions are at least as necessary as the first; their reinforcement by the epithet 'potentium,' 'who can do so if they will,' give them preeminent importance. Aeacus' merits, like Romulus' birth, only heighten our sense of the poet's power, in that without it even they would have been powerless.

Vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori:
Caelo Musa beat. Sic Iovis interest
Optatis epulis impiger Hercules,
Clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis
Quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates,
Ornatus viridi tempora pampino
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

27. **insulis**, the local abl.: 'divitibus,' Epod. 16. 42; *ὀλβίαις . . . μακάρων νήσοις.*

28. He gathers the moral of the preceding instances. The Muse does not only protect her favourites from death, she also confers on them a place in heaven. The illustrations are the same as in 3. 3. 9–16; for the meaning, such as it is, of the doctrine, see there in note on v. 12.

29. **sic**, by the power of poetry.

30. **optatis**, he has attained his wishes. 'Enisus arces attigit igneas.'

31. Cp. 1. 3. 2, 1. 12. 27.

33. This line has been suspected on account of its similarity to 3. 25. 20 'Cingentem viridi tempora pampino'; but 'Liber' (as Orelli remarks) would stand baldly with no qualifying clause. It means 'as a god,' 'in the insignia by which we always recognize him.'

---

## ODE IX.

'Do not despise the office of the lyric poet, Lollius. Pindar's poems live, unextinguished by Homer's greater name; and so do those of Simonides, Alcaeus, Stesichorus, Anacreon, Sappho. Before Homer sang, many a Helen loved, many a Troy was besieged, many a Hector or Deiphobus fought and died for wife and children. Why are they unwept, unknown? Because they had no inspired chronicler; and, when once forgotten, what good is left of their heroism? It shall not be so with you, Lollius, if I can help it. You have the mind of a statesman—clear sighted, well balanced, proof against avarice, ruler of all things, because it rules itself. Such is the one wise and happy man, who is independent of circumstances, who can use prosperity well, and not shrink from poverty or death in a good cause.'

Lollius ('M. Lollius M. F.' His cognomen is unknown; see on Epp. 1. 2. 1) had been consul B.C. 21 (Epp. 1. 20. 28). For his temporary defeat by the Sygambri in B.C. 16 see Introd. to this Book. His character stands very low with other writers. Pliny, H. N. 9. 35. 58, and Vell. Paterc. 2. 9, accuse him specially of avarice and venality. This is in strange contradiction to Horace's panegyric, in which such stress is laid on his freedom from these particular vices. The public voice can hardly, at the time Horace wrote, have endorsed the accusations, or the boldness of meeting Lollius' calumniators on their own ground would have raised ridicule rather than sympathy. Something no doubt must be deducted from Velleius' testimony on the score of his partiality to Tiberius, whose enmity Lollius had specially incurred (Suet. Tib. 12, 13), and Pliny would very likely have followed Velleius. But Lollius, notwithstanding the failure of his German campaign,

continued in the intimacy and confidence of Augustus, as is shown by the fact that he was sent by him to the East as the companion and adviser of his grandson Caius Caesar in B. C. 2. The issue of Lollius' campaign on the Rhine had not been unsuccessful; and it is likely enough that Horace would rush to the rescue of a friend of his own and of the emperor's, against whom, in the moment of what may have seemed a single and undeserved failure, the world had begun to breathe graver charges, possibly such as were subsequently shown to be true, but such as his friends in Rome could still discredit.

NE forte credas interitura, quae
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
  Non ante vulgatas per artes
    Verba loquor socianda chordis:
Non, si priores Maeonius tenet
Sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent
  Ceaeque et Alcaei minaces
    Stesichorique graves Camenae;
Nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,
Delevit aetas; spirat adhuc amor

1. **ne forte credas**, not a direct prohibition, in which sense Horace would rather say 'ne credideris' (see on 1. 33. 1), but as in Epp. 1. 1. 13 ('Ac ne forte roges quo me duce quo lare tuter: Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri, Quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes'; cp. Sat. 2. 1. 80), giving the negative purpose of the following statement. 'To prevent your fancying, as perhaps you might, that my poetry will die, let me remind you of the fame of other lyric poets.' The preamble serves to connect the discourse on lyric poetry with the stanzas about Lollius personally. 'Lest you should undervalue an Ode from me, I will proceed "pretium dicere muneri".'

2. **longe sonantem**; 3. 30. 10 'qua violens obstrepit Aufidus,' 4. 14. 25 foll., Sat. 1. 1. 58. **ad Aufidum** must not be pressed too closely. The Aufidus was ten miles from Venusia.

3. **non ante vulgatas per artes**: the plural, of the rules of an art. 'Vulgatas,' rather 'known to the world,' in its products, than 'divulged' as secrets to a special artist; but there is intended to be a certain mystical air about the words, a suggestion of the metaphor of 3. 1. 2, 3 'carmina non prius Audita musarum sacerdos,' &c. The words qualify the whole clause 'quae natus ad Aufidum . . . verba loquor,' &c., 'verba socianda chordis' being merely a periphrasis for lyrical poetry, and there being the usual antithesis between his birth-place and his claim. It is Latin lyric poetry which he professes to have invented, or popularized, as he puts it, when he is speaking more responsibly in Epp. 1. 19. 24 'Ostendi Latio . . . vulgavi.'

5. **Maeonius**; 1. 6. 2, the adjectival form of 'Maeonides.' Tradition was divided on the question whether Homer was so called as literally a son of Maeon, or only as a Lydian.

6. **latent**, are hidden from sight, forgotten.

7. **Ceae**; 2. 1. 38, the Muse of Simonides.

**Alcaei minaces**, the poems in which he attacked Myrsilus and other tyrants of Mitylene. 'Pugnas et exactos tyrannos,' 2. 13. 30–32.

8. **Stesichori graves Camenae.** To us who do not possess his poems, the epithet is best interpreted by Quintil. 10. 1. 62 'Stesichorum quam sit ingenio validus materiae quoque ostenderunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem. Reddit enim personis in agendo simul loquendoque debitam dignitatem.'

9. **lusit**, as παίζειν, of light and playful poetry. It contrasts with the dignity

Vivuntque commissi calores
Aeoliae fidibus puellae.
Non sola comptos arsit adulteri
Crines et aurum vestibus illitum
Mirata regalesque cultus
Et comites Helene Lacaena,
Primusve Teucer tela Cydonio
Direxit arcu; non semel Ilios
Vexata; non pugnavit ingens
Idomeneus Sthenelusve solus
Dicenda Musis proelia; non ferox
Hector vel acer Deïphobus graves
Excepit ictus pro pudicis
Coniugibus puerisque primus.
Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

of Stesichorus and the passion of Sappho, see on 1. 32. 2.

11. **commissi**, confided as secrets. Sat. 2. 1. 30 'Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim Credebat libris.' 'She told her secret to the lute, And yet its chords with passion thrill,' Conington.

12. **Aeoliae**; 2. 13. 24.

13 foll. Horace passes from the defence of lyric poetry as contrasted with epic, to the power of verse generally. He employs a variety of forms to express the central thought, viz. that the persons and deeds which are Homer's theme, had their counterparts in the age before him, as worthy of record as they, yet which all perished as though they had never been. 'Non sola,' 'primusve,' 'non semel,' 'non solus,' 'non primus.' Then the same thought is stated affirmatively in v. 25.

13–16. The construction is 'non sola arsit crines, mirata et aurum cultusque et comites,' 'que' coupling the things more closely connected, 'et ... et' those which are more distinct, 'his dress and his suite.'

14. **crines**; 1. 15. 14.

16. **Lacaena**. The epithet recalls the whole story of the Trojan war. It would not have been in place a stanza later; but here the complete identification, as though he had said 'Homer's Helen,' helps the transition.

17. **Teucer**; 1. 15. 24, Hom. Il. 13. 313 ὃς ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν τοξοσύνῃ.

**Cydonio**, Cretan, a perpetual epithet, 1. 15. 17 'calami spicula Cnosii,' Virg. E. 10. 59 'torquere Cydonia cornu Spicula.' Cydon or Cydonia was an important city of Crete; Herod. 3. 44, Thuc. 2. 35.

18. **non semel Ilios**, not referring, as Ritter and others have taken it, to any legend of two sieges of Troy, but meaning 'the siege of Troy was not unprecedented.' 'A Troy,' a city as great as Troy, has often stood as long a siege.

21. He passes from the gallantry of attack to that of defence; from Grecian heroes to Trojan.

26. **illacrimabiles**, 'where none can weep for them.' The adjective is used actively in 2. 14. 6.

27. **urgentur nocte**, as of a tomb lying heavy on them; 1. 24. 5.

28. **sacro**, he is the favourite of Apollo, of Bacchus, of Mercury, the 'Musarum sacerdos,' who can confer immortality by his poetry; 'sacrare plectro,' 1. 26. 11, 'Caelo Musa beat,' 4. 8. 29.

Paulum sepultae distat inertiae
Celata virtus. Non ego te meis
Chartis inornatum silebo,
Totve tuos patiar labores
Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones. Est animus tibi
Rerumque prudens et secundis
Temporibus dubiisque rectus,
Vindex avarae fraudis et abstinens
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniae,
Consulque non unius anni,
Sed quotiens bonus atque fidus

29. foll. He sums up the moral of the preceding stanzas, and applies it to the special case of Lollius. 'The pre-Homeric heroes are dead and forgotten, and, being forgotten, what difference does it make whether they were heroes or cowards? We will not allow such a mistake to occur again now.' In the words **paulum sepultae**, &c., both the participles really belong equally to both substantives. 'If you hide them (i. e. do not give them fame through poetry), valour differs little from cowardice, so soon as they are both in the grave.' The appropriation of a participle to each substantive is only a poetical artifice to obtain point and preciseness in sound. We gain from it the additional suggestion of the equivalence of the two conditions. 'All colours are alike in the dark;' 'buried in oblivion, buried in the grave, there is little difference in the conditions, even if the things in question are as far apart as valour and cowardice.' On Horace's practice of dividing between two subjects qualities which are meant to be attributed to both, see on 2. 10. 6, 2. 11. 1, 2. 15. 18, 20, 3. 4. 18, Epod. 5. 37. Bentley, missing this explanation, finds great difficulty in the text, complaining that 'sepultae' is superfluous. '"Forgotten virtue differs little from baseness," but if you substitute "buried baseness," the point of the comparison is gone.' He ingeniously proposed to remedy it by reading 'inertia,' ablative, 'Virtue, if concealed by [the poet's] remissness, is as though it were buried.'

**inertiae**, 'cowardice'; see on 3. 5. 36.

31. **silebo**; cp. 4. 8. 1. Some good MSS. read 'sileri.' There is a similar variance between 'perire' and 'peribit' in v. 52.

33. **impune**, without an effort to resist it.

**carpere** is not inappropriate, as describing the action of 'obliviones,' 'wearing away,' 'obliterating feature after feature'; but it is intended specially to recall the 'tooth' of envy. Od. 4. 3. 16, Epod. 6. 15, Epp. 1. 18. 82, Cic. pro Balb. 26 'maledico dente carpere.'

**lividas obliviones**; cp. 'taciturnitas invida,' 4. 8. 23, but it implies here that if Lollius is forgotten, it will be the result of envious detraction.

34 foll. On the general relation of the remainder of the Ode to Lollius' historical character see Introd.

35. **rerum prudens.** This and the following verse seem to imply 'the qualities of a commander,' and to have special though delicate reference to Lollius' military disaster. 'Foresight, and a mind not to be thrown off its balance either by success or temporary failure.'

37. 'Quick to punish greed and wrong in others, and proof itself against the universal temptation.'

**abstinens pecuniae**, the Greek relative genitive for the Latin ablative, as 'sceleris purus,' 1. 22. 1.

39. **consul non unius anni.** Cp. 3. 2. 17 foll. 'Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae Intaminatis fulget honoribus, Nec sumit aut ponit secures Arbitrio popularis aurae'; see note there. It is, in a Roman metaphor, the Stoic paradox that the wise man is always a king, and it has the more point that Lollius had

Iudex honestum praetulit utili,
Reiecit alto dona nocentium
Vultu, per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua victor arma.
Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum: rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti
Duramque callet pauperiem pati
Peiusque leto flagitium timet,
Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patria timidus perire.

actually been consul;—'not that one year only, but always.' There is no difficulty, so far, in the substantives, 'vindex,' 'consul,' as applied to 'animus,' and not to the man himself; no more than in the passage just quoted, where 'virtue' = 'the virtuous man,' is said to be always consul. Bentley has collected a number of similar instances from all Latinity; 'animus lucis contemptor,' Virg. Aen. 9. 205, 'animus liberator,' 'carnifex,' 'proscriptor,' &c. Cp. Sat. 1. 4. 18 'animi, raro et perpauca loquentis.' But the expression becomes harsh and embarrassed when the mind is said to be a 'consul of more than one year,' by virtue of its behaviour as a judge. Ritter thinks that this was softened by a consciousness in the poet and his readers of the current etymology of 'consul' as ='qui bene consulit,' Varr. L. L. 5. 80. At any rate the harshness is softened by the distance of the words from 'animus.' With 'consul' we take up the notion of Lollius, himself the ex-consul, and cease to feel that we are speaking of his mind, not of him.

40–44. **sed quotiens ... arma.** 'Sed quotiens' answering to 'non unius anni,' 'consul, not of one year, but in perpetuity, so often as,' &c., 'quotiens' being understood before the second and third clauses. Orelli compares 3. 24. 40 foll. where 'si,' and 4. 8. 31 foll. where 'sic,' are similarly omitted. Of the Scholiasts Porph. alone takes the stanza in a different way, making 'explicuit ... victor' the apodosis to 'quotiens iudex ... praetulit ... reiecit.' 'So often as on the judgement-seat it resists the temptations of expediency and bribery, it is a conqueror as much as if it were scattering foemen in real battle.' The construction is not any easier, and the flow of the lines is less easy, than if 'sed quotiens' gave at once the full antithesis to 'non unius anni,' and started us on a fresh thought; but Porph. seems to be followed, among recent editors, if we may judge by their punctuation, by Keller and Munro. The question is partly mixed up with the further doubt as to the reference of the whole stanza. Porph.'s construction is only admissible on the view (which Orelli supports) that it refers entirely to Lollius' civil life, his conduct as a 'iudex selectus' (Sat. 1. 4. 123), the last two lines being metaphorical. It must be allowed, however, that under the circumstances of Lollius, and seeing how lightly his military exploits would in that case be passed over, it would be a somewhat double-edged compliment to speak of him as 'a great conqueror,' with the tacit addition of 'metaphorically and in a moral sense.'

44. **explicuit**, much like 'expedivit,' 'has carried safely through.' Livy has 'explicare fugam,' 1. 30.

45 to end. A picture of the ideal 'wise man'; cp. 2. 2. 17. Horace at once holds it out for Lollius' own contemplation, and suggests to his calumniators that such had been Lollius' real bearing in his province.

# ODE X.

'THE day will come, Ligurinus, when your youthful good looks will pass away, and you will repent that you ever gave yourself such airs on the strength of them.'

See Introd. to this Book, p. 281.

Metre—*Second Asclepiad.*

O CRUDELIS adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens,
Insperata tuae cum veniet pluma superbiae,
Et, quae nunc umeris involitant, deciderint comae,
Nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae,
Mutatus Ligurinum in faciem verterit hispidam,
Dices, heu, quotiens te speculo videris alterum:
Quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae?

2. **pluma**, 'down,' of the first beard. No other instance of the use is quoted. Dacier understood is as = 'penna,' 'when your youthful pride shall take to itself wings.' Bentley wished to read 'bruma.' **superbiae** is the dative with 'veniet,' and probably, as the collocation shows, also with 'insperata,' 'shall come to thy pride, though it dreams not of it.'

3. **deciderint**, i. e. shall have been cut, the sign of manhood.

# ODE XI.

'MY wine is ready, and we are all astir preparing the feast; for it is the Ides of April, Maecenas' birthday. Come, then, Phyllis, and keep it with me; never mind Telephus. What are such ambitious loves to you? Come, thou last of my flames (it shall be so, I swear), come, and let us sing together.'

Compare 3. 28, where he invites Lyde to spend the Neptunalia with him. The point of this Ode seems to lie, not in the invitation to Phyllis, which is only an incident in the holiday-keeping, but in the occasion, Maecenas' birthday.

Whether the Ode was written at the time of the leading Odes of the Book is perhaps more than we can say; but it characterizes fitly the relations of the poet and his early patron at that time.

See Introd. to the Book, pp. 279, 281.

EST mihi nonum superantis annum
Plenus Albani cadus; est in horto,
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis;
  Est hederae vis
Multa, qua crines religata fulges;
Ridet argento domus; ara castis
Vincta verbenis avet immolato
  Spargier agno;
Cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc
Cursitant mixtae pueris puellae;

1. Alban ranked among the better Italian wines; Sat. 2. 8. 16. It was a strong wine that bore a good deal of keeping.

3. **apium**; 1. 36. 16, 2. 7. 24. For the dative of the gerundive see Madv. § 415.

4. **vis**, a 'quantity'; so in prose Cic. Tusc. 5. 32 'magna vis auri argentique.'

5. **crines religata** means 'with her hair bound in a knot' (1. 5. 11, 2. 11. 23); so that 'qua' must be constructed with 'fulges,' or rather, we must understand from 'crines religata fulges,' that the hair was to be garlanded as well as tied in a knot.

**fulges**, either the future of the archaic form 'fulgo-is,' Virg. Aen. 6. 827 'quem fulgere cernis,' or the present of the more common verb, meaning 'with which you always look so well.'

6. **ridet**, used of anything pleasant and cheerful, to whatever sense it appeals. Catull. 64. 284, of a pleasant scent, 'Queis permulsa domus iucundo risit odore'; Ov. Met. 15. 204, of bright colours, 'florumque coloribus almus Risit ager'; Lucr. 5. 1003, of sparkling water, 'ridentibus undis.'

**ara**, a temporary altar of turf; 3. 8. 3.

7. **verbenis**; see on 1. 19. 13.

8. **spargier**, the only instance in the Odes of this archaic form of the infin.

9. **cuncta manus**, the slaves at the Sabine farm.

10. **puellae**, it is noticed that the word is not elsewhere used as = 'ancillae,' slave-girls.

Sordidum flammae trepidant rotantes
Vertice fumum.
Ut tamen noris quibus advoceris
Gaudiis, Idus tibi sunt agendae,
Qui dies mensem Veneris marinae
Findit Aprilem,
Iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque
Paene natali proprio, quod ex hac
Luce Maecenas meus adfluentes
Ordinat annos.
Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit
Non tuae sortis iuvenem puella
Dives et lasciva tenetque grata
Compede vinctum.
Terret ambustus Phaëthon avaras
Spes, et exemplum grave praebet ales
Pegasus terrenum equitem gravatus
Bellerophontem,
Semper ut te digna sequare et ultra
Quam licet sperare nefas putando
Disparem vites. Age iam, meorum
Finis amorum—

11. **trepidant**, as though, for all their speed, they could not whirl the smoke up the chimney fast enough. Cp. 'obliquo laborat Lympha fugax trepidare rivo,' 2. 3. 11.

12. **vertice**, ablative of the manner, 'in a whirling column.' It is otherwise understood as a local ablative, either = 'in vertice suo,' Ritter, of smoke 'on the top' of a spiral flame, or = 'in vertice aedium.' The genitive in this latter case could hardly be omitted.

13. **ut noris**, the purpose of the forthcoming statement; see on 4. 9. 1.

**tamen**, 'so much your eyes will tell you; still, as you may not know what the cause of all the preparations is.'

15. **Veneris marinae**; 3. 26. 5, and cp. 1. 4. 5. Venus was associated with the spring ('It Ver et Venus'), and especially with the month of April (see Ov. Fast. 4, especially vv. 14, 60, 61, 85 foll.), the name of which was often wrongly derived from ἀφρός, ἀφροδίτη.

16. **findit**, with reference to the etymology of 'Idus,' 'the division' of the month.

18. **ex hac luce**, reckons from this day the years as they are added to his tale; counts them by this day; begins a new year on this day.

21. **Telephum**; see on 1. 13. 1, 3. 19, Introd.

22. **non tuae sortis**, 'not of your condition,' 'in a different rank to you'; it qualifies 'iuvenem,' not 'puella,' which has its own adjectives. 'He is out of your sphere, and he has found a love that suits his tastes.'

25. There is a half comic irony in the array of mythological instances of the folly of misplaced ambition. Cp. Od. 1. 16, 2. 4, Epod. 3. The practical moral drawn is the same as that drawn by the Chorus from Io's sufferings, Aesch. Pr. V. 890 τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀριστεύει μακρῷ.

27. **gravatus** = 'indignatus,' 'ill brooking.'

Non enim posthac alia calebo
Femina—condisce modos, amanda
Voce quos reddas; minuentur atrae
    Carmine curae.

34. **condisce**, 'learn a song,' to sing when you come; or, more probably, as though she were already present, 'let me teach you.'

---

# ODE XII.

'WINTER is past, and Spring reigns again. The ice is gone, the swallow builds, shepherds sing their songs in the open air. Come, then, Vergilius, and inaugurate the thirsty season with a cask of the best wine I can get you. But you shall not come empty-handed; you bring the ointment if I find the wine. Above all, come with a mind void of care, and prepared for free enjoyment.'

The chief interest of the Ode centres in the question to whom it was addressed. Is it a playful letter actually sent by Horace on some occasion to the great poet, and published six years after his death, not so much for its intrinsic merits as for its reminiscences of their friendship? On this theory (and it has been held by Dillr. recently, and was held by Bentley), we may expect there to be allusions in it which are now unintelligible, though they would probably be well understood by Maecenas and the many survivors of the literary circle in which Virgil and Horace met. Döring, who also takes this view, points out that the images of the first three stanzas have a special appropriateness as addressed to a poet, and the poet of the Bucolics and Georgics. The chief difficulties in the way of the theory, apart from the absence of any tradition on the subject (for the Scholiasts all imagine some other Vergilius to be intended), lie in expressions of v. 15 'iuvenum nobilium cliens,' and v. 25 'studium lucri.' Of course these can be disposed of as covering meanings to which we have lost the key; but it is rather hard to imagine any possible meanings. 'Pone moras et studium lucri,' is exactly the style in which Horace would address one of his ordinary friends engaged in the common pursuits of the day; but what can it mean addressed to Virgil? We cannot really refer it to the proposed exchange of wine for nard, and take it to mean, 'Don't haggle about the bargain.' 'Iuvenum nobilium cliens,' again, is natural enough and complimentary enough, when some special 'iuvenes nobiles,' as Drusus and Tiberius, are in Horace's poetical favour, when the fact of the dependency is notorious, and the point is the nobility, in the best sense, of the patrons; but at what period of Virgil's life could it have sounded like a compliment? Macleane is content with the Scholiast's suggestion that Augustus and Maecenas are the 'iuvenes'; but he can scarcely have really thought that the possibility of such an expression was proved by Horace's calling Augustus 'iuvenis' in 1. 2. 41. There is, perhaps, a small indication that the Ode was written near the same time as the last, in the parallel expressions 'Ut tamen noris quibus advoceris Gaudiis,' 11. 13, 'Ad quae

si properas gaudia,' 12. 21. The use of 'gaudia' is sufficiently unusual to be noticeable, and to occur to a writer's mind a second time, but less likely to have been repeated at a distance of time. The Scholiasts and inscriptions of MSS. call Vergilius 'unguentarius,' 'mercator,' 'negotiator,' 'medicus Neronum.' All look as if they were inferences more or less clumsy from words of the Ode itself; but the general impression, in spite of the temptation to identify him with the only well-known Vergilius, that he was a different and later person, is of some value.

The substance of the Ode is very parallel to one of Catullus (13), in which he bids Fabullus come to supper, and bring with him all the materials save the unguent, which he will supply himself, and which he promises shall be so delicious that Fabullus will wish that he were all nose.

Metre—*Fourth Asclepiad.*

IAM veris comites, quae mare temperant,
Impellunt animae lintea Thraciae;
Iam nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt
 Hiberna nive turgidi.
Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens,
Infelix avis et Cecropiae domus
Aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
 Regum est ulta libidines.
Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
Custodes ovium carmina fistula
Delectantque deum, cui pecus et nigri
 Colles Arcadiae placent.

1. **veris comites**, the north winds, as appears from the epithet 'Thraciae,' the designation of the Greek poets for the wind, which to them really blew from Thrace; ἀπὸ Στρύμονος, Aesch. Agam. 192. Columella (11. 2. 21) speaks of the north winds as blowing generally for a month from Feb. 20, and as bearing the name of 'Ornithiae,' 'tum et hirundo venit.' Cp. v. 5.

**temperant**, 'calm' the sea, after its winter disturbance.

6. **infelix avis**. It is difficult to say whether the swallow (Epp. 1. 7. 13 'Cum Zephyris . . . et hirundine prima') or the nightingale (ἦρος ἄγγελος ἱμερόφωνος ἀηδών, Sapph. Fr. 42) is meant. The legend is told in various ways, some poets making Procne the mother of Itys, and some Philomela; see Conington, Virg. E. 6. 78. As Ovid tells it at length (Met. 6. 424 foll.), Procne was the daughter of Pandion, king of Athens ('Cecropiae domus,' v. 6), and married to Tereus, a Thracian prince. To avenge her sister Philomela, whom he had outraged, she served up to her husband the flesh of their child Itys, and when he would have taken vengeance on her, the sisters were changed, one into a swallow, the other into a nightingale, Tereus himself into a hoopoe.

7. **male**, with 'ulta,' 'cruelly,' 'unnaturally.'

**barbaras regum**. The plural generalizes, an act of lust such as barbarian princes used to commit; the poetical transference of the epithet from 'regum' to 'libidines,' does not separate it from the princes, but connects it more closely with their acts. They were true barbarians: their acts were those of barbarians.

9. **dicunt . . . carmina fistula**. Cp. 3. 4. 1 'dic . . . tibia . . . melos.'

11. **deum**, Pan.

**nigri**, covered with black woods; 'nigris Erymanthi silvis,' 1. 21. 7. Erymanthus is one of the 'hills of Arcadia'; others are Lycaeus, 1. 17. 2, Maenalus, Virg. E. 8. 22.

Adduxere sitim tempora, Vergili;
Sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
Si gestis, iuvenum nobilium cliens,
Nardo vina merebere.
Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,
Qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,
Spes donare novas largus amaraque
Curarum eluere efficax.
Ad quae si properas gaudia, cum tua
Velox merce veni: non ego te meis
Immunem meditor tingere poculis,
Plena dives ut in domo.
Verum pone moras et studium lucri,
Nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium
Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
Dulce est desipere in loco.

14. **pressum Calibus**; 1. 20. 9, 1. 31. 9.

**ducere**; 1. 17. 22.

15. **iuvenum nobilium cliens**; see Introd.

17. **nardi parvus onyx.** 'Onyx' is properly a kind of marble or alabaster, so named from its resemblance in colour to the human nail; then a cup or box, first, of this material; lastly, it would seem, of any material. See Prop. 4. 10. 22 'murreus onyx'; 'unguenta optime servantur in alabastris,' Plin. N. H. 13. 3; cp. the ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς of St. Mark 14. 3. Dill[r]., who explains 'studium lucri' in v. 25, of the bargain between the wine and the nard, quotes the story in the Gospels, as showing the costliness of the nard ('300 denarii' = between £9 and £10), for which he also refers to Pliny 12. 26, 13. 2, 16. 59.

18. **Sulpiciis horreis.** 'Horrea' were 'store-houses' of any kind; see on 3. 28. 7. Here the reference is either to vaults where wine was to be bought, or, less likely, to the store-houses in which, in later times, we hear of persons keeping their property of various kinds for which they had not room at home. The name 'Sulpiciis' would refer to the original erector of the buildings, or possibly, as Orelli thinks, to the possessor, the produce of whose farm and vineyard was disposed of in this way. Orelli quotes an inscription which makes mention of some 'horrea Galbana,' which would very probably be the same as the 'Sulpicia,' since 'Galba' was a cognomen of the gens Sulpicia; and Porph. asserts that the name 'Galbae horrea' belonged in his time to a certain store of wine and oil, &c. The form 'Sulpiciis' is, as Orelli points out, regular. Cp. 'Corneliae, Iuliae, leges'; 'Licinia atria,' Cic. pro Quinct. 3. 12.

19. **donare largus**; Append. 2, § 2.

**amara curarum**, as 'vanis rerum,' Sat. 2. 2. 25, 'abdita rerum,' A. P. 49.

21. **gaudia**; 4. 11. 13.

22. **merce**, i.e. the nard.

23. **immunem** = ἀσύμβολον; in Ter. Phorm. 2. 2. 25 'Ten' asymbolum venire!' 'without bringing your share.'

24. **plena**, as 2. 12. 24 'Plenas Arabum domos.'

25. **verum** seems to draw attention to the last and most urgent request.

**studium lucri**; see Introd.

26. **nigrorum**, of the fires of the funeral pile, as Virg. Aen. 11. 186 'ignes atri.'

28. **in loco**, ἐν καιρῷ; Epp. 1. 7. 57 'properare loco et cessare,' the fitting time.

# ODE XIII.

'THE gods have heard my prayers, Lyce. I have my revenge. You are turning into an old woman, yet would fain hide it, and drink and play and love as ever. Love turns away from your wrinkles; nor will purple gauzes and jewellery bring back your youth. Where is the beauty that I remember, the charms which made you second only to Cinara?—Cinara, who died in her prime, while you live on for ever, for young men to moralize on and laugh at.'

The Ode is a sequel to 3. 10, in which he complained of Lyce's high airs, and warned her not to try her lover's patience too long.

Metre—*Fifth Asclepiad.*

AUDIVERE, Lyce, di mea vota, di
Audivere, Lyce: fis anus, et tamen
Vis formosa videri
Ludisque et bibis impudens
Et cantu tremulo pota Cupidinem
Lentum sollicitas. Ille virentis et
Doctae psallere Chiae
Pulchris excubat in genis.
Importunus enim transvolat aridas
Quercus et refugit te, quia luridi
Dentes, te quia rugae
Turpant et capitis nives.
Nec Coae referunt iam tibi purpurae
Nec cari lapides tempora, quae semel

2. **fis anus . . . vis formosa.** There can hardly but be a play on the sound of the two antithetical words 'fis,' 'vis.'

8. **excubat in genis,** 'keeps vigil on her beautiful cheeks.' Probably a reminiscence of Soph. Ant. 782 Ἔρως . . . . | ὃς ἐν μαλακαῖς παρειαῖς | νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις: the metaphor there is sustained.

9. **importunus,** 'rudely,' 'ruthlessly,' very like 'improbus' in its uses.

**aridas quercus,** the metaphor is suggested in 'virentis Chiae'; cp. 1. 25. 19. The oak is chosen as a long-lived tree.

10. **et,** as Dill[r]. points out, has a consecutive force, and shows the application of the metaphor 'and so'; cp. 1. 3. 8, 2. 2. 10.

**te . . . te.** 'Te' in both cases has to do double duty, as the object both of 'refugit' and of 'turpant.'

12. **capitis nives.** Quintil. 8. 6. 17, gives this as an instance of a harsh metaphor: 'dura id est a longinqua similitudine ducta translatio.' He is speaking of oratory rather than poetry, and the metaphor has a special appropriateness here, as giving another image of winter; but, as Macleane observes, it is sufficiently obvious to be current in all languages.

13. **Coae purpurae;** Sat. 1. 2. 102; see Paley's note on Prop. 1. 2. 2. A much-valued silk, of light, gauzy texture, from the looms of Cos, one of the Sporades just S.W. of Halicarnassus. It is now called Stanchio, a corruption, it is

Notis condita fastis
Inclusit volucris dies.
Quo fugit venus, heu, quove color? decens
Quo motus? quid habes illius, illius,
Quae spirabat amores,
Quae me surpuerat mihi,
Felix post Cinaram notaque, et artium
Gratarum facies? Sed Cinarae breves
Annos fata dederunt,
Servatura diu parem
Cornicis vetulae temporibus Lycen,
Possent ut iuvenes visere fervidi
Multo non sine risu
Dilapsam in cineres facem.

said, of ἐς τὰν Κῶ, as Stamboul of ἐς τὰν πόλιν.

14. **cari**, 'precious,' 'costly'; Ov. A. A. 3. 129 'Vos quoque non caris aures onerate lapillis.' This is the reading of V and of Acr., who interprets 'gemmarum pretiis.' Some good MSS. have 'clari.'

15. **notis condita fastis inclusit.** The words convey a double notion: the years which are gone are stored safely where they cannot be got back again, and where all can read the record of their number.

**fastis**, the calendar.

18. **illius, illius**, of the Lyce I remember. Cp. the use of 'Ligurinum' in 4. 10. 5.

20. **surpuerat**, a colloquial syncopated form of 'surripuerat': cp. Sat. 2. 3. 283, 'surpite'; and see on Od. 1. 36. 8.

21. 'Who reigned in Cinara's stead, a fair, fair face, queen of sweet arts,' Conington. 'Felix' = μάκαιρα, 'quam ut divam ac dominam suspiciebam.' For Cinara see Appendix I. 'Post Cinaram' may only mean 'after,' in order of precedence, as 'post Chloën,' 3. 9. 6. Bentley took 'nota artium' together on the analogy of 'notus animi paterni' in 2. 2. 6, and he has been followed by most editors, by myself in earlier editions. In this case 'et' must be taken as = 'etiam.' But if 'que et' in this sense is allowable, the emphasis so given is hard to justify, and the sentence is clumsy. It is better to take it in the simpler sense to which the rhythm leads us, 'felix, notaque, et artium gratarum facies.' 'Nota' will then mean (as Schütz) that her beauty was recognized, she was a general 'toast,' 'publica cura,' Od. 2. 8. 8. With 'artium facies' cp. 'centum puer artium' 4. 1. 15. In speaking of 'winsome wiles,' his mind is perhaps going back to the present wiles, which now are not winsome, of one who 'vult formosa videri.' Both 'felix' and 'nota' agree with 'quae,' sc. Lyce, 'facies' being substituted as the subject only in the last clause. Cp. Epod. 5. 73 'Vare . . . O multa fleturum caput.'

24. **parem**, 'to match the years' of the crow; 'annosa cornix,' 3. 17. 13.

26. **fervidi**, their hearts still warm with youth and passion, to heighten the contrast of the cold, burnt-out torch, that can no longer kindle love.

28. **dilapsam.** This seems to have been the reading of Acron, though the MS. authority is rather in favour of 'delapsam'; the confusion is very common. As Bentley points out, the difference of the image is between a torch burnt down to a heap of ugly ashes ('consumpta in cinerem,' Acr.), and of one 'tumbled in the ashes';—what ashes it would not be quite clear.

# ODE XIV.

'How can senate and people worthily honour thy virtues, Augustus, and transmit their memory to all time? The triumphs of the Nero brothers, of Drusus over the Vindelici, the Genauni and Breuni, of Tiberius over the Raeti, are all owing to thy auspices. How terrible was Tiberius in the pursuit; as the south wind on the waters, or as the river Aufidus when it pours in a torrent from the hills down on the plain. Thine were the plan and provision of the campaign, thine its divinely-ordered success, for the victory came on a day already noteworthy for thy happy fortune—just fifteen years after the capture of Alexandria. Thy reign has been a series of triumphs, and now all the world is at thy feet.'

For some account of Tiberius' campaign in B.C. 15 see Introd. to the Book.

QUAE cura patrum quaeve Quiritium
Plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
  Auguste, virtutes in aevum
    Per titulos memoresque fastos
Aeternet, o, qua sol habitabiles
Illustrat oras, maxime principum?
  Quem legis expertes Latinae
    Vindelici didicere nuper,

1. **patrum . . . Quiritium.** Horace analyzes and gives a poetical form to the common formula for the authority by which such titles or honours would be conferred, S. P. Q. R.

2. **plenis** = 'iustis,' 'adequate.' No heaping upon him of offices and honorary titles will be sufficient for his merits. The force of the adjective must overflow on the other clauses, as the general thought is, 'how can we adequately honour you now, or secure you the immortality of honour which you deserve?' A genitive of the object with 'munus' is not common; but cp. 1. 28. 3 'pulveris exigui munera.'

4. **titulos,** inscriptions on monuments and public buildings; 4. 8. 13.

**memores fastos**; 3. 17. 4.

5. **aeternet,** an archaic word, found in a fragment of Varro.

**qua** = 'over the whole space in which.' Ov. Met. 1. 241 'qua terra patet fera regnat Erinnys,' Virg. Aen. 7. 99 'nepotes Omnia sub pedibus, qua Sol utrumque recurrens Aspicit Oceanum vertique regique videbunt.'

**habitabiles oras,** a translation of ἡ οἰκουμένη.

6. **maxime principum,** not as though 'princeps' had yet become a general title for a ruler in any time or people, as we might say 'greatest of princes,' but only a hyperbolical form of 'maxime princeps.' It is himself and his own office that is generalized: Horace cannot conceive a greater than him in his own character. For the title 'princeps' see on 1. 2. 50.

7. **quem . . . didicere . . . quid posses,** a familiar idiom in Greek, Soph. O. T. 15 ὁρᾷς μὲν ἡμᾶς ἥλικοι προσήμεθα, the subject of the subordinate verb being attracted into the accusative, as though it were the direct object of the leading verb. It is imitated frequently by Terence, as in Eun. 3. 5. 18 'me noris quam elegans siem,' Madv. § 439, obs. 1. The general expression 'didicere quid posses' answers to 4. 4. 23–28 'sensere quid posset.'

Quid Marte posses. Milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis
Deiecit acer plus vice simplici;
Maior Neronum mox grave proelium
Commisit immanesque Raetos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis,
Spectandus in certamine Martio,
Devota morti pectora liberae
Quantis fatigaret ruinis;
Indomitas prope qualis undas
Exercet Auster, Pleïadum choro
Scindente nubes, impiger hostium

9. **milite tuo**; cp. v. 33.

10. **Genaunos, Breunos**, two Raetian tribes. The name of the first is thought to be still traced in the Val di Non, which runs N.W. from the valley of the Adige at S. Michele, half-way between Trent and Botzen; the second in the name of the Brenner Pass itself, and the town of Brunecken.

**implacidum**, a word not found before Horace.

11. **veloces**, moving swiftly from place to place.

13. **deiecit**, a word specially applicable to the forts built on the brink of precipices (v. 12); so that it has here something of the effect of a zeugma, though it is a usual word for 'dislodging' an enemy. Epp. 2. 2. 30.

**plus vice simplici.** 'Quia dupla quam dederant clade perculsi sunt,' Porph., 'with more than a bare requital ("vicem reddere"),' 'with heavy interest.' It corresponds to 'sine clade,' v. 32. Lambinus understood it as = 'more than once.' 'Plus' = 'plus quam'; cp. 1. 13. 20 'suprema citius die,' 'sooner than on the last day.'

14. **maior Neronum**, Tiberius; see Introd. to the Book.

17. **spectandus . . . quantis**, θαυμαστὸς . . . ὅσοις, a brachylogy less common in Latin than in Greek. For its *effect* in bringing the relative clause into closer relation with the leading clause we may compare 1. 33. 1 'doleas . . . cur praeniteat'; for the *method* we may compare v. 7 of this Ode, inasmuch as the passive 'spectandus quantis,' &c., implies a possible active, 'spectare aliquem quantis,' &c. For the violation of the usual caesura see Index of Metres.

18. **devota morti liberae** = 'libere,' they gave themselves freely to death, stood to be killed; or = 'the death of freemen,' death in preference to bondage.

19. **ruinis**, 'shocks,' as of an earthquake.

20. **indomitas**, 'tameless.' The simile is double: the freedom and obstinacy of the waters, the fierce rushes and persistence of the south wind. We need not press the epithet to a contradiction, as Bentley's too logical criticism does, as though it would require that Tiberius should not have conquered the Raeti. He would read (and one MS. supports him) 'indomitus.' The simile depends grammatically on what follows, the construction being 'qualis Auster exercet undas [ita . . . tali modo] impiger hostium vexare turmas,' 'impiger,' &c., grammatically again, qualifying 'fatigaret.'

**prope qualis.** This abatement of the similitude has been complained of (perhaps hypercritically) as more suitable to prose, and so to poems 'sermoni propiora' as Sat. 2. 3. 268 'tempestatis prope ritu mobilia.'

22. **scindente nubes**, 'when they shine through the torn clouds.' The expression combines, in a vague way,

Vexare turmas et frementem
Mittere equum medios per ignes.
Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui regna Dauni praefluit Apuli,
Cum saevit horrendamque cultis
Diluviem meditatur agris,
Ut barbarorum Claudius agmina
Ferrata vasto diruit impetu

the ideas of the *date*, 'when Pleiads are specially noticeable' (the time meant may be near either equinox; see Dict. Ant. Pleiades, s. v. Astronomia), and of *stormy weather*, 'when the sky is full of broken clouds.' Orelli takes 'scindente' of their opening the clouds, i.e. letting the rain fall.

23. **vexare**; 3. 2. 3. For inf. see App. 2, § 2.

24. **per ignes.** Bentley, as usual, is far better than his critics. His way out of the difficulty, by substituting conjecturally 'enses,' is not one in which we can follow him. But he disposes, in advance, of all the parallels which are still quoted on the view that the expression is metaphorical = 'per medium ardorem pugnae,' Com. Cruq. One class, such as Virgil's 'medias acies mediosque per ignes,' Aen. 7. 296, indicate the direct opposite, for they refer to the literal fires of Troy; and Silius' imitations (14. 175 and 15. 41) are just the same—the fires are as literal as the swords. The other class, such as Horace's own 'per mare... per saxa, per ignes,' Epp. 1. 1. 43, 'ignes Per medios fluviosque ruentis,' Sat. 2. 3. 56, establish the proverbial use of 'fire,' as one among many metaphors of extreme dangers or obstacles; but do not parallel the substitution of 'to ride his horse through the middle of the fire,' for 'through the hottest fight.' We have gone too far in the sentence with unmetaphorical language, to tolerate being pulled up suddenly by a bold metaphor. The fires may well be the burning villages of the Raeti through which Tiberius forced his way.

25. **sic volvitur.** The simile is Homeric: Il. 5. 87. Horace particularizes the river of his own birth-place; see on 1. 22. 13.

**tauriformis,** according to the common representation of rivers in poetical language and in works of art (see Orelli's and Ritter's notes). Eur. Ion 1261 ὦ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κηφισοῦ πατρός, Virg. G. 4. 371 'Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu Eridanus,' Aen. 8. 77 'Corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.' It is a disputed question whether the original idea was of the horn-like branchings of a river, or of its violence, or of its roaring; μεμυκὼς ἠΰτε ταῦρος, Hom. Il. 21. 237, of the Xanthus. Cp. 'longe sonans,' of the Aufidus, 4. 9. 2. But whatever was its origin, Horace probably feels the image suggested by the epithet through the following lines; so that there is almost a simile within the simile. Tiberius is like the Aufidus in flood: the Aufidus is like a bull charging down the mountain side.

26. **Dauni Apuli**; 3. 30. 10.

**praefluit**; 4. 3. 10.

28. **meditatur.** The good MSS. are divided between this word and 'minitatur.' Porph. read 'meditatur,' though some little doubt is thrown on his testimony also by variance of MSS., and Servius quotes it to illustrate Georg. 3. 153. 'Minitatur' is the most likely to have been a gloss. The true answer to Porph.'s criticism 'male dixit "meditatur" quia in ipso actu est nec debet cogitare aut condiscere quod iam facit,' seems to be that the image is not of the river actually flooding the lowlands, but of the boiling waters of its upper course filling its channel to the brim, and threatening a flood to the lower levels.

30. **diruit.** This verb, more commonly used of laying buildings in ruin, is justified here, on the one side, by the image of the river, ὅς τ' ὦκα ῥέων ἐκέδασσε γεφύρας (Hom. l. c.); on the other, by the epithet of 'agmina'; the 'steelclad lines' are looked at as fortifications which were to be levelled.

Primosque et extremos metendo
Stravit humum sine clade victor,
Te copias, te consilium et tuos
Praebente divos. Nam tibi, quo die
Portus Alexandrea supplex
Et vacuam patefecit aulam,
Fortuna lustro prospera tertio
Belli secundos reddidit exitus,
Laudemque et optatum peractis
Imperiis decus arrogavit.
Te Cantaber non ante domabilis
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
Miratur, o tutela praesens
Italiae dominaeque Romae.

31. **primos et extremos**, all alike, first rank and last rank.

**metendo**; Virg. Aen. 10. 513 'proxima quaeque metit gladio.' In Hom. Il. 11. 67 it is a complete simile: *οἱ δ' ὥστ' ἀμητῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν Ὄγμον ἐλαύνωσιν, κ.τ.λ.*

32. **stravit humum**, 'strewed the ground.' The ablative of the harvest with which he strewed it, is to be gathered from 'metendo,' &c.

**sine clade**, i. e. without loss of his own troops; v. 13. There is this force also in the preceding metaphors: the enemy went down before him like corn before a mower.

33. Horace returns to the praises of Augustus. With **consilium** cp. 4. 4. 75 'curae sagaces.'

**copias**; see above v. 9.

34. **divos**; v. 16 'auspiciis secundis.' The 'auspicia' belonged to the emperor: it was his 'felicitas' that was in question. Tiberius and Drusus were only his 'legati.'

**tibi, quo die**, &c. The meaning is, that this war was brought to an end just fifteen years after Augustus' victorious entry into Alexandria. This took place on the Kalends of August, B.C. 30. Whether we are to press the words 'quo die' to mean on the very same day of the year, there is nothing to determine.

35. **supplex**; cp. 'genibus minor,' Epp. 1. 12. 26.

36. **vacuam**, the palace left empty by the death of Antony and Cleopatra; see 1. 37.

39. 'And has added to your past campaigns the fresh glory of this much-desired laurel.' 'Laudem et decus,' the second substantive is the vehicle for the qualifications 'optatum,' 'arrogavit,' which thus obtain more force than if they had to share the emphasis in a clause with the main substantive itself. 'Glory, even the one glory that remained to be added to thy triumphs.' That 'imperiis' refers to past campaigns, not to the commands of Augustus, which have been successfully carried out in this one, is evident from what follows. The succeeding stanzas are expansions of 'peracta imperia.'

41. **Cantaber**; see Introd. to Books i–iii, 1. § 6.

42. **Medus**, the Parthians; 4. 15. 6, Epp. 1. 18. They restored the standard in B.C. 20.

**Indus . . . Scythes**; Carm. Saec. 55, 56, Suet. Oct. 21. Augustus (Mon. Ancyr. c. 31) claims to have received more than once embassies from India. See also on Od. 2. 9. 23, 3. 29. 28.

**profugus**; 1. 35. 9, 3. 24. 9.

43. **praesens**; 3. 5. 2. Here, probably, the immediate contrast is between distant nations, who have to send from the ends of the earth to solicit Augustus' favour, and Italy and Rome to which he is an abiding presence of protection.

44. **dominae**; 4. 3. 13 'Romae principis urbium.'

Te, fontium qui celat origines,
Nilusque et Ister, te rapidus Tigris,
Te beluosus qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,
Te non paventis funera Galliae
Duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae,
Te caede gaudentes Sygambri
Compositis venerantur armis.

45. **fontium qui celat origines.** This applies of course primarily to the Nile, the sources of whose waters were a world-old problem (Herod. 2. 28); but the position of the copulatives seems to show that the Danube is included. Herodotus (2. 33) imagines it to be the exact counterpart of the Nile, and the correspondence was extended by others to this special point. Sen. Quaest. Nat. 4. 1 'Danuvium (Nilo) similem natura philosophi tradiderunt, quod et fontis ignoti et aestate quam hieme maior sit,' Auson. Epigr. 4. 1 'Danuvius penitis caput occultatus in oris.' The rivers stand for their respective countries—Egypt, Dacia, Armenia (Epp. 1. 12. 26). The force of the epithet 'qui celat,' &c., is to point the distance to which Augustus' rule extends. It spreads up rivers whose source no traveller has explored.

47. **beluosus**; 3. 27. 26 'scatentem Beluis pontum.' Cp. 1. 3. 18. The adjective is found in no other good author. There is possibly real reference in this case to the whales of the northern seas. Britain was not in the reign of Augustus in any sense reduced, but the princes of different tribes had sent embassies to him with presents and professions of friendship; Strabo, 4. 5. 3.

49. **non paventis funera**; Caes. B. G. 6. 14, Lucan. 1. 454 'quos ille timorum Maximus haud urget, leti metus: inde ruendi In ferrum mens prona viris animaeque capaces Mortis et ignavum rediturae parcere vitae.' The variant 'paventes' is found in a few MSS., and was read apparently by Porph. It is preferred by Bentley, on the ground that the variety 'Galliae (plur. nom. as in Suet. Jul. 49 'Gallias Caesar subegit,' and commonly) non paventes, duraeque tellus Iberiae,' is more Horatian than two genitives dependent on 'tellus.'

50. **audit**, 'obeys.'

51. **Sygambri**; 4. 2. 36, Introd. to Book.

52. **compositis**, 'laid to rest.'

# ODE XV.

'WARLIKE victories, after all, are what Phoebus forbade me to sing of. The glory of Caesar's reign is not war; but peace, plenty, the standards recovered from Parthia, and the gate of Janus closed—morality and the old character that gave Rome her empire restored. While Caesar guards us, there is no fear that citizen will lift hand in civil war, or Dacian, Mede, or Scythian in foreign war. For us, every day over the cheerful family board, when the due libations have been made to the gods, we will sing, as our fathers sang before us, of the great captains of past time, and of the house of Anchises and Venus.'

We can hardly doubt that the Ode is intended as an epilogue to the Book, the final answer to Augustus' request. It has been supposed by many editors to carry internal evidence of having been composed as late as B.C. 10. The sole argument is the mention in v. 9 of the closing of the temple of Janus, which was taken to refer to the third closing in Augustus' reign, which has been placed in that year. Franke shows that the evidence even of this date is very doubtful, and in any case it is admitted that the gate was closed in 29 and 25, and there is no word in the Ode to fix the reference to a third closing.

PHOEBUS volentem proelia me loqui
Victas et urbes increpuit lyra,
Ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
Vela darem. Tua, Caesar, aetas
Fruges et agris rettulit uberes
Et signa nostro restituit Iovi
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus et vacuum duellis

2. **increpuit lyra**, in the common sense of 'increpare,' 'to reprove,' but with reference to its original meaning, 'to make a noise at,' 'thundered at me on his lyre.' This mode of taking the words is rendered certain by Ovid, A. A. 2. 493 'Haec ego cum canerem, subito manifestus Apollo Movit inauratae pollice fila lyrae,' &c. All the Scholiasts took 'lyra' with 'loqui,' and Ritter, of modern editors, follows them. The general image is from Virg. E. 6. 3 'Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem Vellit et admonuit.'

3. **Tyrrhenum**, apparently of a large and wide sea. Virgil had before used the image of a poet's ventures, G. 2. 41 'pelagoque volans da vela patenti,' and Ovid follows, Trist. 2. 328 'Non ideo debet pelago se credere, si qua Audet in exiguo ludere cymba lacu.'

5. The restoration of agriculture; cp. 4. 5. 18.

6. **nostro**, opposed to the foreign gods, in whose temples they have been hanging hitherto. The standards taken at Carrhae were restored in B.C. 20; cp. Epp. 1. 18. 56.

Ianum Quirini clausit et ordinem
Rectum evaganti frena licentiae
Iniecit emovitque culpas
Et veteres revocavit artes,
Per quas Latinum nomen et Italae
Crevere vires famaque et imperi
Porrecta maiestas ad ortus
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.
Custode rerum Caesare non furor
Civilis aut vis exiget otium,
Non ira, quae procudit enses
Et miseras inimicat urbes.
Non, qui profundum Danuvium bibunt,
Edicta rumpent Iulia, non Getae,

9. **Ianum Quirini.** As Bentley shows, the usual name of this gateway (translated on the Mon. Ancyr. by πύλην Ἐνυάλιον), which was opened in time of war and closed in time of peace, was 'Ianus Quirinus,' 'Quirinus' being apparently an adjective, as in 'Ianus Geminus,' 'Ianus Iunonius,' &c. It is open therefore to suppose either that the genitive was used indifferently with the adjective as = 'of Romulus' (to whom the worship of Janus was attributed), 'of Rome,' 'Roman,' or that Horace consciously varies the usual form, as he does technical expressions so often; see on 3. 5. 42.

10. **frena licentiae iniecit**; 3. 24. 29.

12. **artes**; 'Imperium facile his artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est,' Sall. Cat. 2. 4. They are the virtues of old Roman life celebrated in 3. 1–6. For 'artes' cp. 3. 3. 9 'Hac arte Pollux,' &c. As Kritz explains on the passage in Sallust, the word only = 'studia ac mores,' and must draw its positive colour from the context. If the end proposed were bad, 'artes' would be vices.

14. **imperi**; see on 1. 2. 26.

15. **ortus.** There is a v. l. of less authority, 'ortum.' It is a case clearly where either singular or plural is admissible, and where variety is quite a sufficient motive to account for their interchange. Bentley quotes Sall. Cat. 36 'cum ad occasus ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent.'

17. **custode**; 3. 14. 15, 4. 5. 1.

18. **exiget**, in its simple sense, 'drive out,' as 2. 13. 31 'exactos tyrannos.' B has 'exigit'; V, unmetrically, 'exegit.' Some form of the verb was certainly read by Porph., who interprets 'excludet, quasi ἔξω agit, ut Terentius: *spectandae an exigendae*.' There is good MS. authority also for 'eximet,' which is preferred by Ritter, Keller, and Munro; and it is a common Horatian word, Od. 2. 2. 19, 3. 14. 14, Epp. 1. 5. 18, 2. 2. 212, though this is hardly an argument for it here.

20. **miseras**, proleptically, 'to their misery.'

**inimicat**, 'sets at variance,' a word, apparently, as Porph. tells us ('fictum verbum est'), coined by Horace.

21. For the form of expression see on 3. 10. 1; cp. 2. 2. 20 'Rhodani potor.' The peoples meant may be either the Vindelici (4. 4. 18), against whom Tiberius had won some victories, or the Daci (3. 6. 13, Virg. G. 2. 497 'coniurato descendens Dacus ab Istro'), who used to be spoken of as dangerous in the early years of Augustus' reign.

22. **edicta Iulia.** We must no more look for a technical meaning in 'edicta,' than for exact historical facts to correspond with the general statement. 'Edictum,' though limited very much in use to the praetor's edicts, was a general term for any command issued by a magistrate. The form of the phrase is intended to recall 'leges Iuliae,' the name which covered the domestic legislation of Augustus as well as Julius. The

Non Seres infidive Persae,
Non Tanaïn prope flumen orti.
Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
Inter iocosi munera Liberi
Cum prole matronisque nostris,
Rite deos prius apprecati,
Virtute functos more patrum duces
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
Progeniem Veneris canemus.

substance, so far as it had any which can be realized, would be terms of peace, which Augustus has imposed on the various nations.

**Getae**; see Introd. to Books i–iii, 1. § 7.

23. **Seres**; see on 1. 12. 56.

**infidi Persae**; Epp. 2. 1. 112 'Parthis mendacior.'

24. A paraphrase for 'Scythae'; 3. 29. 28.

25. **nosque**, 'and for us, we,' &c.

28. **apprecati**, only found in this place, and twice in Apuleius.

29. **virtute functos**, 'who have lived their lives like men.' Horace adapts the use of 'functus vita,' 'functus laboribus,' 'whose labours are over,' 2. 18. 38, of the dead, substituting a character of the life and its employments. Compare the prose expression in Cic. Tusc. 1. 45 'nemo parum diu vixit qui virtutis perfecto functus est munere.'

**more patrum**, with 'canemus.' Cicero twice (Tusc. 1. 2 and 4. 2) quotes the authority of Cato's 'Origines' for such a custom in earlier generations: 'solitos in epulis canere convivas ad tibicinem de clarorum virorum virtutibus.'

30. **Lydis**. Possibly only a poetical epithet helping 'more patrum,' by suggesting the antiquity of the instrument; but in Epod. 9. 6 Horace seems to lay emphasis on a distinction of the Dorian and Phrygian modes, so that here he may designedly speak of the Lydian as the one most suitable for this occasion. In that case it may harmonize with the 'iocosi munera Liberi,' being classed by Plato (Rep. 3, p. 398) as one of the *μαλακαὶ καὶ ξυμποτικαὶ ἁρμονίαι*.

**remixto**; A. P. 151. The word is only found besides in two passages of Seneca.

32. **progeniem Veneris**; cp. C. S. 50 'Clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis.' So that their topics correspond to those of Od. 1. 12 (cp. 1. 12. 13 with v. 28 of this Ode): the gods, the heroes of Roman story, the Julian house, and Augustus its crowning glory.

# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

# CARMEN SAECULARE.

In the Mon. Ancyranum (Mommsen, c. 22) Augustus tells us that he celebrated the Secular Games in the consulship of C. Furnius and C. Silanus (B.C. 17) with Agrippa as colleague, and on behalf of the 'college of Quindecimviri.'

Suetonius (Oct. 31) mentions the 'Ludi Saeculares' amongst 'nonnulla ex antiquis caerimoniis paulatim abolita' which Augustus revived. Dion also (54. 18) mentions the celebration, giving the year, and saying that it professed to be the fifth time of the observance.

The first extant account of their origin and earlier celebrations is in the treatise of Censorinus (in the second half of the third century A.D.) 'de die Natali,' c. 17.

The games of which they professed to be the revival went under the Republic by the name of Tarentini (or Terentini) and Taurii, the former name being connected by all writers with the 'stagna Tarenti' or 'Terenti,' a spot at the north edge of the Campus Martius, near the river, once a swamp, and probably a warm spring (see Burn's Rome and the Campagna, p. 300), the locality of some of the chief ceremonies even in Augustus' celebration.

Their origin according to some of the authorities, according to others their second celebration, was ascribed to Val. Publicola. All agree that they had only been celebrated four times before the age of Augustus. There is no trace of the name 'Saeculares' before that date, and what is said of the different celebrations goes to show that they were called forth by special emergencies, not by any recurrence

of epochs. Still, there would seem to have been some tradition of such recurrence to justify Augustus' revival. On the dates of the celebrations Censorinus' authorities differed. The length of the 'saeculum' itself was diversely given at 110, as by Horace, and 100 years, as by Val. Antias, Livy, and Varro, whom Censorinus quotes.

The historical performances are at varying periods, but all with some reference to an intended secular date. Merivale writes, 'The emperor Claudius repeated the games in the year A. U. C. 800, disregarding those of Augustus as irregular. Claudius was disregarded in his turn by Domitian, who renewed the celebration in 841, anticipating in his impatience, by six years, the period prescribed by Augustus. To the Augustan computation Severus conformed precisely, and repeated the solemnity in 957, after two intervals of 110 years each. Philippus, however, returned once more to the precedent of Claudius in the year of the City 1000. This was the last celebration.'

The occasion of Augustus' revival or institution of these games was the close of what may be considered the first decade of the empire, the renewal to him (though professedly only for five years more), at his own request, of the 'imperium,' which in B.C. 27 he had, apparently with difficulty, been persuaded to accept for ten years.

The 'quindecimviri' (see on v. 70, and cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 73), the custodians of the Sibylline Books, found in them the requisite instructions. Ateius Capito, a great jurist and antiquarian, was appointed to settle the ceremonies. What these were we should have known with exactness if we had possessed the account which Tacitus gave (see Ann. 11. 11), in a book of the Histories now lost, of the celebration in Domitian's reign, on which occasion he was himself one of the quindecimviri and a praetor. As it is, the earliest extant account in literature is that which is printed below from the historian Zosimus (in the middle of the fifth century). He claims, as it will be seen, for it the authority of inscriptions (*ἀναγέγραπται*), and a fortunate discovery has recently enabled us to verify and in one or two points to supplement or correct his description.

In September, 1890, there were found built into a mediaeval wall near the river bank in the old Campus Martius, by the present Church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, the fragments of two columns which were erected in accordance with a 'senatus consultum' ('eo loco ubi ludi futuri sint') to record severally the celebrations of the Secular

Games under Augustus and under Septimius Severus. These fragments have been pieced together, and are now to be seen in the Museo Nazionale by the Baths of Diocletian [1].

According to this inscription the games of B.C. 17 took place on the 1st of June and two following days. The sacrifices described in it as offered by the Emperor and by Agrippa, who is associated with him throughout, are—

I. On three successive *nights*, 'in campo ad Tiberim.'

1. To the Moerae, an offering of ewe-lambs and goats.
2. To the Ilithyiae, an offering of cakes ('popana,' cp. Juv. 6. 541, 'liba,' 'phthoides').
3. To Terra mater.

II. On three successive *days*.

1. On the Capitoline to 'Iuppiter optimus maximus,' an offering of two 'boves mares.'
2. Also on the Capitoline to Juno, two 'boves feminae.'
3. On the Palatine to Apollo and Diana, an offering of cakes, as in the case of the Ilithyiae.

On the last day it is added, 'sacrificioque perfecto pueri XXVII quibus denuntiatum erat patrimi et matrimi et puellae totidem carmen cecinerunt; eodemque modo in Capitolio [words possibly lost] carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus.'

It will be noticed that the list of sacrifices omits those to Dis and Proserpina, which are mentioned by Zosimus. In this it is in accord with Horace's Ode which knows nothing of those deities. Dis and Proserpina were, according to Censorinus, the deities to whom the original 'ludi Tarentini' were dedicated, but Augustus, though linking his 'ludi saeculares' to these in respect of place and much of the ceremonial, gave them a new turn, substituting in the nightly sacrifices the more beneficent for the darker of the Chthonian Powers, the Moerae Ilithyiae and Demeter for Dis and Proserpina, and adding the sacrifices by day to the greater deities, the place of honour being given to Apollo and Diana.

[1] The Augustan inscription has been edited and commented on by Mommsen (Ephemeris Epigraphica, 1891, pp. 225–274). There is a valuable paper upon its relation to Horace's poem, by Prof. Slaughter, of Iowa, U. S., in the Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. 26, 1895.

*Account of the Ceremonies from Zosimus* (2. 5).

Τοιοῦτος δέ τις ὁ τρόπος ἀναγέγραπται τῆς ἑορτῆς. Περιϊόντες οἱ κήρυκες εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν συνιέναι πάντας ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ θέαν, ἣν οὔτε πρότερον εἶδον, οὔτε μετὰ ταῦτα θεάσονται [1]. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ θέρους, πρὸ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τοῦ τὴν θεωρίαν ἀχθῆναι, ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον οἱ δεκαπέντε ἄνδρες ἐπὶ βήματος καθήμενοι τῷ δήμῳ διανέμουσι τὰ [2] καθάρσια· ταῦτα δέ ἐστι δᾷδες καὶ θεῖον καὶ ἄσφαλτος· δοῦλοι δὲ τούτων οὐ μετέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐλεύθεροι μόνοι. Συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἔν τε τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι τόποις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὃ ἐν τῷ Ἀουεντίνῳ λόφῳ καθίδρυται, σῖτον καὶ κριθὴν ἕκαστος φέρει καὶ κύαμον [3]. Καὶ ταῖς Μοίραις ἄγουσι παννυχίδας μετὰ σεμνότητος ἐν (ἐννέα Heyne) νυξίν. Ἐνστάντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἣν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐπιτελοῦσι πεδίῳ, καὶ ταῖς ἴσαις νυξί, καθιεροῦτο τὰ τελούμενα παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Θύμβριδος ἐν τῷ Τάραντι. Θύουσι δὲ θεοῖς, Διὶ καὶ Ἥρᾳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι, καὶ προσέτι γε Μοίραις καὶ Εἰλειθυίαις καὶ Δήμητρι καὶ Ἅιδῃ καὶ Περσεφόνῃ. Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν θεωριῶν νυκτὶ δευτέρας ὥρας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν παρασκευασθέντων βωμῶν τρεῖς ἄρνας θύει μετὰ τῶν δεκαπέντε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς καθαιμάξας ὁλοκαυτοῖ τὰ θύματα. Κατασκευασθείσης δὲ σκηνῆς δίκην θεάτρου φῶτα ἀνάπτεται καὶ πυρά, καὶ ὕμνος ᾄδεται νεωστὶ πεποιημένος, θεωρίαι τε ἱεροπρεπεῖς ἄγονται. Κομίζονται δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μισθὸν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καρπῶν, σίτου καὶ κριθῆς καὶ κυάμων· αὗται γάρ, ὡς εἴρηταί μοι, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παντὶ διανέμονται. Τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀναβάντες κἀνταῦθα τὰς νενομισμένας θυσίας προσαγαγόντες, ἐντεῦθέν τε ἐπὶ τὸ κατεσκευασμένον θέατρον ἐλθόντες τὰς θεωρίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι. Τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμέρᾳ γυναῖκες ἐπίσημοι κατὰ τὴν ὥραν, ἣν ὁ χρησμὸς ὑπηγόρευσεν, εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον συνελθοῦσαι λιτανεύουσι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὑμνοῦσιν ὡς θέμις. Ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ τρὶς ἐννέα παῖδες ἐπιφανεῖς μετὰ παρθένων τοσούτων, οἱ πάντες ἀμφιθαλεῖς, ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς

[1] This is literally from the inscription, if it be rightly completed, 'quod tali spectaculo [nemo iterum intersit].'

[2] In the inscr. 'purgamenta' and 'suffimenta.'

[3] Cp. Sibyll. v. 27.

*γονεῖς ἔχοντες περιόντας, ὕμνους ᾄδουσι τῇ τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καὶ παιᾶνας, δι' ὧν αἱ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις σώζονται πόλεις· ἄλλα τε κατὰ τὸν ὑφηγημένον παρὰ τοῦ θείου τρόπον ἐπράττετο, ὧν ἐπιτελουμένων διέμεινεν ἡ ἀρχὴ Ῥωμαίων ἀλώβητος.*

*Ὡς ἂν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἶναι πιστεύσωμεν, αὐτὸν παραθήσομαι τὸν Σιβύλλης χρησμόν, ἤδη πρὸ ἡμῶν παρ' ἑτέρων ἀνενηγμένον·*

> *Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μήκιστος ἵκῃ χρόνος ἀνθρώποισι*
> *Ζωῆς, εἰς ἐτέων ἑκατὸν δέκα κύκλον ὁδεύων,*
> *Μέμνησ', ὦ Ῥωμαῖε, καὶ οὐ μάλα λήσεαι αὐτῶν*
> *Μεμνῆσθαι τάδε πάντα. Θεοῖσι μὲν ἀθανάτοισι*
> *Ῥέζειν ἐν Πεδίῳ παρὰ Θύμβριδος ἄπλετον ὕδωρ,*
> *Ὅππῃ στεινότατον, Νὺξ ἡνίκα γαῖαν ἐπέλθῃ,*
> *Ἠελίου κρύψαντος ἑὸν φάος· ἔνθα σὺ ῥέζειν*
> *Ἱερὰ παντογόνοις Μοίραις ἄρνας τε καὶ αἶγας.*
> *Κυανέας δ' ἐπὶ ταῖσδ' Εἰλειθυίας ἀρέσασθαι*
> *Παιδοτόκους θυέεσσιν, ὅπῃ θέμις. Αὖθι δὲ Γαίῃ*
> *Πληθομένῃ χοῖρός τε καὶ ὗς ἱεροῖτο μέλαινα.*
> *Ζάλευκοι ταῦροι δὲ Διὸς παρὰ βωμὸν ἀγέσθων*
> *Ἤματι, μηδ' ἐπὶ νυκτί· θεοῖσι γὰρ οὐρανίοισι*
> *Ἡμέριος πέλεται θυέων τρόπος· ὣς δὲ καὶ αὔτως*
> *Ἱρεύειν· δαμάλης δὲ βοὸς δέμας ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης*
> *Δεξάσθω νηὸς παρὰ σεῦ. Καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,*
> *Ὅστε καὶ Ἠέλιος κικλήσκεται, ἶσα δεδέχθω*
> *Θύματα Λητοΐδης· καὶ ἀειδόμενοί τε Λατῖνοι*
> *Παιᾶνες κούροις κούρῃσί τε νηὸν ἔχοιεν*
> *Ἀθανάτων· χωρὶς δὲ κόραι χορὸν αὐταὶ ἔχοιεν*
> *Καὶ χωρὶς παίδων ἄρσην στάχυς, ἀλλὰ γονήων*
> *Πάντων ζωόντων, οἷς ἀμφιθαλὴς ἔτι φύτλη.*
> *Αἱ δὲ γάμου ζεύγλαισι δεδμημέναι ἤματι κείνῳ*
> *Γνὺξ Ἥρης παρὰ βωμὸν ἀοίδιμον ἑδριόωσαι*
> *Δαίμονα λισσέσθωσαν. Ἅπασι δὲ λύματα δοῦναι*
> *Ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξί, μάλιστα δὲ θηλυτέρῃσι.*
> *Πάντες δ' ἐξ οἴκοιο φερέσθων, ὅσσα κομίζειν*
> *Ἐστὶ θέμις θνητοῖσιν ἀπαρχομένοις βιότοιο,*
> *Δαίμοσι μειλιχίοισιν ἱλάσματα καὶ μακάρεσσιν*

Οὐρανίδαις· τὰ δὲ πάντα τεθησαυρισμένα κείσθω,
Ὄφρα τε θηλυτέρῃσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἑδριόωσιν
Ἔνθεν πορσύνῃς μεμνημένος. Ἤμασι δ' ἔστω
Νυξί τ' ἐπασσυτέρῃσι θεοπρέπτους κατὰ θώκους
Παμπληθὴς ἄγυρις· σπουδὴ δὲ γέλωτι μεμίχθω.

Ταῦτά τοι ἐν φρεσὶ σῇσιν ἀεὶ μεμνημένος εἶναι,
Καί σοι πᾶσα χθὼν Ἰταλὴ καὶ πᾶσα Λατίνη
Αἰὲν ὑπὸ σκήπτροισιν ὑπαυχένιον ζυγὸν ἕξει.

# CARMEN SAECULARE.

'PHOEBUS and Diana, grant the prayers duly offered at this sacred season (v. 1–8).

O sun, ever changing yet ever the same, let Rome's pre-eminence be as changeless (v. 9–12).

Diana, birth goddess, guard our mothers (v. 13–16).

Bless our new marriage laws to the increase of our people, that each "saeculum" may find us still celebrating this festival (v. 17–24).

O Destinies, fulfil the happy oracles, and add future to past boons; Earth give us all her blessings (v. 25–32).

Apollo, hear us boys (v. 33, 34).

Diana, hear us girls (v. 35, 36).

If Rome is your creation, the remnant saved from Troy for Aeneas' piety, give our youth Aeneas' manners, and our old men his happy old age. Give Rome all blessings (v. 37–48).

And grant [this prayer seems rather to be addressed to Jupiter and Juno] the prayers now offered by Aeneas' great son (v. 49–52).

He has subdued the Mede, the Scyth, the Indian. He has restored peace and virtue and plenty (v. 52–60).

Phoebus, pleased with his Palatine temple, promises another lustrum and increasing years of prosperity (v. 61–68).

Diana listens to the "quindecimviri," and the chorus of boys and girls; and Jupiter and all the gods approve and join in their blessing' (v. 69–76).

---

The Ode is addressed in the first place—as we see in its first and last words, and in Od. 4. 6, which belongs to it—to Apollo and Diana. It was to be sung in the first place 'in Palatio,' after the sacrifice to them, which was meant to be the crown and most characteristic feature of the festival. But it also is evidently intended to gather up and enforce the ideas of the whole celebration. We are reminded of the prayers offered on the three nights to the Ilithyiae, the Moerae or Parcae, and Demeter. It would be strange if it omitted the great deities worshipped especially on the Capitoline, to whom the ceremonies of the first and second day were dedicated, especially as we know from the inscription that in some way or other the hymn was sung also in the Capitol. Mommsen pointed out that vv. 49–52 must belong to them, inasmuch as the inscription speaks of oxen

as being the sacrifice offered to them (cp. Sibyll. 12–16, which adds that the oxen were white), whereas the offering on the Palatine to Apollo and Diana consisted of cakes. He goes further, and interprets the whole passage from v. 37 to v. 52 as addressed to them, and imagines the Ode to have been sung processionally, begun and ended on the Palatine, these middle stanzas being the part sung on the Capitoline. It is difficult to see how the words of the inscription 'eodemque modo in Capitolio,' whether they be complete as they stand or were supplemented by words now lost, can describe such a division of the Ode. Their natural interpretation is of a complete repetition. And indeed it is not true, as Mommsen supposes, that this passage of the Ode, and no other, belongs to the Capitoline deities. There is a symmetry which he does not notice between the earlier part of the Ode which consists of prayer, and the latter part (v. 53 to the end) in which the chorus assures itself that its prayers are heard and granted. In both cases the deities put in the foreground are Apollo and Diana, but in both cases the reference to them generalizes, so that they seem to become representatives of the whole company of gods, and the last stanza in each case indicates or names Jove.

PHOEBE silvarumque potens Diana,
Lucidum caeli decus, o colendi
Semper et culti, date, quae precamur
    Tempore sacro,
Quo Sibyllini monuere versus
Virgines lectas puerosque castos
Dis, quibus septem placuere colles,
    Dicere carmen.
Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis et celas aliusque et idem
Nasceris, possis nihil urbe Roma
    Visere maius.

1. **silvarum potens**; Od. 1. 3. 1 'potens Cypri.' For this attribute of Diana cp. Od. 1. 21. 5, 3. 22. 1, Virg. Aen. 9. 405, &c., Catull. 34. 9 foll.

5. **Sibyllini versus.** The books which were reported to have been bought of the Sibyl by Tarquin had been destroyed in the burning of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, B.C. 82; but a fresh collection of Sibylline prophecies had been made. Augustus had caused them to be examined, and many that were deemed spurious to be burnt. The remainder were deposited by him in two gilt cases at the base of Apollo's statue in his temple on the Palatine (Suet. Oct. 31). They were in the keeping of the 'quindecimviri' (see on v. 70), who alone were allowed to read them.

6. Both epithets apply to each substantive; see on Od. 3. 4. 18, 4. 9. 29. In the inscription they are described as 'patrimi et matrimi' (Zosimus, *ἀμφιθαλεῖς ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γονεῖς ἔχοντες περιόντας*) by Zosimus as also *ἐπιφανεῖς*, and cp. Od. 4. 6. 31 'Virginum primae puerique claris Patribus orti.'

7. **placuere.** The perfect is regular: 'in whose sight the seven hills have found favour.' It is more definite and final than 'placent.'

10. The connexion between the description and the prayer seems to be, 'unchangeable yourself, though you cause change and seem to change, give to the pre-eminence of Rome the same unchangeableness.'

Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres,
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari
    Seu Genitalis.
Diva, producas subolem patrumque
Prosperes decreta super iugandis
Feminis prolisque novae feraci
    Lege marita,
Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis ut cantus referatque ludos
Ter die claro totiensque grata
    Nocte frequentes.
Vosque veraces cecinisse, Parcae,
Quod semel dictum est stabilisque rerum

13. **rite**, probably 'after thine office'; cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 36, 10. 254 'aperire lenis'; see App. 2, § 2.

14. **Ilithyia.** The Greek goddess of birth, identified afterwards with Artemis. As we see in the inscription, and in Zosimus, sacrifice was offered on the second night to Ilithyia or the Ilithyiae, but here Horace seems to identify Ilithyia with Diana, for Lucina was one of her titles. Cp. Catull. 34 'Tu Lucina dolentibus Iuno dicta puerperis.' 'Genitalis,' a title in itself intelligible, is not elsewhere given to her. The relation of stanzas 3 and 4, is pointed by the epithet with which stanza 3 begins: 'Alme Sol'; both deities are addressed as in different ways 'life-giving' powers. Rome's greatness cannot be separated from the well-being and fruitfulness of Roman mothers. In the following stanza the prayer is applied specially to Augustus' legislative efforts to encourage legitimate marriage.

17. **producas**, 'rear,' as κουροτρόφος, Hes. Theog. 452.

18–20. The reference is to the 'Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus,' which appears to have been enacted in B.C. 18. Some uncertainty hangs over its provisions, for we do not know to what extent it was altered by the supplementary law which was passed in A.D. 9, in the consulship of M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppaeus Secundus, and which causes the whole measure to be cited as the 'Lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea.' It forbade marriage between persons of senatorian family and 'libertinae,' imposed penalties on celibacy (to the extent of the forfeiture of all bequests) and even on childless marriages in all ranks, and held out exemptions and rewards to the fathers of legitimate families. Dion briefly mentions its provisions 54. 16; on the whole matter see Merivale, c. 33, vol. iv, p. 85 foll. For another reference to Augustus' legislation on this subject see Od. 4. 5. 21, and cp. Od. 1. 2. 24.

19. **prolis feraci**; Od. 4. 4. 58 'feraci frondis in Algido': cp. 3. 6. 17 and inf. v. 29 'fertilis frugum.'

20. **marita**, as an adjective, 'the marriage law'; so Prop. 4. 11. 33 'facibus maritis,' Ov. Her. 12. 87 'sacris maritis.'

21. **certus . . . orbis**, 'that so the cycle may be unbroken, and there may never fail a thronging people to celebrate the secular games in the hundred and tenth year' (see Introd.). The place of 'frequentes' shows that it is emphatic.

22. For the position of **que** see on Od. 1. 30. 6.

23. **ter die claro**, i. e. on three successive days.

25. **veraces cecinisse**; see App. 2, § 2. The perfect tense, because he is concerned, not with their prophecies generally, but with their prophecies of Rome's destiny; see on 3. 4. 51.

**Parcae**; the Moerae or Parcae, as we have seen, were the deities honoured on the first night. In 'veraces cecinisse'

Terminus servet, bona iam peractis
Iungite fata.
Fertilis frugum pecorisque Tellus
Spicea donet Cererem corona;
Nutriant fetus et aquae salubres
Et Iovis aurae.
Condito mitis placidusque telo
Supplices audi pueros, Apollo;
Siderum regina bicornis, audi,
Luna, puellas:
Roma si vestrum est opus, Iliaeque
Litus Etruscum tenuere turmae,

there is perhaps special reference to the Sibylline prophecies.

26–28. The relative clause seems rightly taken by Ritter and Dill$^{r}$. with 'bona iungite fata,' in a similar construction to 'quod felix faustumque sit,' &c., 'As once and for aye has been promised—and Time's landmark, that may not be removed, protect the promise!—link happy destinies to those already accomplished.' In 'dictum est,' Horace is remembering the etymology of 'fatum.' In 'rerum Terminus' he is possibly thinking of the landmark of Roman empire that might never recede, and its pledge in the statue of Terminus, who would not give way even to Jupiter on the Capitol (Ov. Fast. 2. 667 foll.); but the metaphorical use occurs in Virg. Aen. 4. 614 'Et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret,' where we have reminiscences of Accius, Fr. 'veter fatorum terminus,' and Lucr. 1. 78 'alte terminus haerens.' Orelli reads 'servat,' after the Aldine edition (Lambinus praises, but does not print it). It has the slightest MS. support, and, as Bentley remarks, looks like a correction to suit the mood of 'est.' The sentence 'quod . . . servat,' would then be constructed as the object of 'cecinisse.'

26. **semel**; see on Od. 4. 3. 1.

27. **peractis**; Od. 4. 14. 39.

29. **fertilis frugum**; supra v. 19.

**Tellus.** According to the inscription the sacrifice of the third night was to Terra mater (Zosimus, Δήμητρι).

30. In reference to the ceremonies of the Ambarvalia, the festival when the sickle was to be put to the corn; see the description in Tibull. 2. 1, and cp. v. 3 'Spicis tempora cinge, Ceres.' The Fratres Arvales wore as a badge of office a chaplet of wheat-ears; 'Spicea corona,' Plin. N. H. 18. 2.

32. **Iovis**, the god of the air; Od. 1. 1. 25, &c.

33. **condito telo**; Od. 2. 10. 19 'neque semper arcum Tendit Apollo.' His arrows carried pestilence (Hom. Il. 1. 50 foll.), so that it is a condition of the fulfilment of the prayer of the last stanza. Macleane remarks that the statues of Apollo Actiacus, which Augustus had dedicated in his new temple on the Palatine, represented him in a bard's dress and with a lyre, although on the promontory of Actium he stood with a drawn bow. Cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 274, 8. 704 with Propert. 3. 23. 5, 6 and 15. 16.

35. **bicornis** recalls her form as she is represented on medals, &c., with the crescent on her forehead.

37 foll. In the first clause the idea is put simply, 'Rome is your handiwork'; in the following clauses the same idea is suggested by the emphatic words 'Iliae' (Rome is a colony of Troy, and Apollo and Artemis were guardians of Troy), 'iussa,' 'sospite' (under divine safeguard), 'castus' (and so under the protection of the goddess of chastity). Compare with the whole Od. 3. 3. 18 foll. with the additional note at the end of it. There is the same contrast between the 'remnant' preserved and the guilty city destroyed: 'Castus . . . patriae superstes'; the rest were 'incesti' (see 3. 3. 19 and 23): there is the same emphasis on the fact that they were bidden as a condition of protection

Iussa pars mutare Lares et urbem
Sospite cursu,
Cui per ardentem sine fraude Troiam
Castus Aeneas patriae superstes
Liberum munivit iter, daturus
Plura relictis:
Di, probos mores docili iuventae,
Di, senectuti placidae quietem,
Romulae genti date remque prolemque
Et decus omne!
Quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis
Clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis,
Impetret, bellante prior, iacentem
Lenis in hostem!
Iam mari terraque manus potentes
Medus Albanasque timet secures,
Iam Scythae responsa petunt, superbi
Nuper, et Indi.

'mutare Lares.' That there is a moral meaning here at least, is clear from the petition in which this appeal ends, 'Di probos mores,' &c., the character of Aeneas, not of Paris, and therefore the old age of Aeneas, not of Priam.

38. **litus Etruscum**; Od. 1. 2. 14, Epod. 16. 40.

39. **iussa.** By Apollo himself, Virg. Aen. 4. 345 'Sed nunc Italiam magnam Grynaeus Apollo, Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes.'

41. **sine fraude**; Od. 2. 19. 20.

44. **plura relictis**, 'more than all they left behind,' Rome instead of Troy.

45, 46. **docili, placidae.** Both are predicative, but some variety is obtained by their different relation to the accusative. The 'docility' is a condition of, or at least a prior gift to, the gift of 'honest lives' (cp. the address of Od. 3. 1. 4 'virginibus puerisque,' the unspoilt, who will listen); the 'calm' of temper follows the gift of external quiet.

47. **Romulae**; see Od. 4. 5. 1, and on 1. 15. 10. For the elision of 'que' at the end of the line cp. Od. 4. 2. 22, 23.

49. **quae veneratur.** 'Veneror' is used of prayer, as in Sat. 2. 2. 124, Virg. Aen. 3. 460; here, as in Sat. 2. 6. 8 'si veneror stultus nihil horum,' with an accusative of the thing prayed for. There is another reading of less authority, 'quique,' with 'imperet,' 'may he rule' (absol.), in v. 51.

**bobus albis.** The modal ablative would suit 'veneror' in its usual sense of 'to do homage to' (cp. e.g. Virg. Aen. 5. 745), better than in its new sense of 'to pray.' As has been noticed, the mention of 'boves' as forming the sacrifice indicates that the chorus is addressing Jupiter and Juno.

50. **sanguis**; Od. 2. 20. 6, 3. 27. 65, 4. 2. 14.

51. **bellante prior.** This is part of the prayer, a picture of what Augustus desires to be, the picture drawn by Anchises in Virg. Aen. 6. 852 'Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'

54. **Medus.** This is after the restoration of the standards in B.C. 20; cp. Od. 4. 5. 6, 4. 14. 42, Epp. 1. 18. 56.

**Albanas secures**, the fasces, the emblem of Roman rule. 'Alban' because of the connexion of the origin of Rome with Alba. It is not quite the same as Virgil's 'Albanique patres,' Aen. 1. 7; see Conington in loc.

55. **responsa.** This would be the usual word for any reply given to an embassy sent with a request or reference, as in Liv. 9. 38 'sine responso legatos

Iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque
Priscus et neglecta redire Virtus
Audet, apparetque beata pleno
Copia cornu.
Augur et fulgente decorus arcu
Phoebus acceptusque novem Camenis,
Qui salutari levat arte fessos
Corporis artus,
Si Palatinas videt aequus aras,
Remque Romanam Latiumque felix
Alterum in lustrum meliusque semper
Prorogat aevum.
Quaeque Aventinum tenet Algidumque,
Quindecim Diana preces virorum

dimisit.' Standing here alone, without mention of the 'legati,' it is meant probably to draw a more poetical colour from its use of the answers of gods, oracles, &c.; cp. Virg. E. 1. 45 'Hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti.' For the fact see on Od. 2. 9. 23, 3. 29. 28, 4. 14. 42.

60. **cornu**; see on Od. 1. 17. 16.

65. **si**, with the indicative apodosis (see on v. 68), must = 'if, as doubtless he does.'

**aras**. This was the reading of V, and was found by Porph., who interprets 'si acceptas aras habet quae in Palatio dedicatae sunt.' B supports the vulg. 'arces'; see on Od. 2. 6. 22.

66. **felix**, better taken with 'Latium,' as Dillr. and Ritter, than with 'lustrum,' as Orelli. It is not Rome and Latium that Apollo will prolong, but 'the state and power of Rome and the happiness of Latium.' It is still very likely that, as Orelli suggests, Horace remembered the conjunction of the words in Ennius' verses, 'Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte Qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere voltis'; but even there 'Latiumque' is in its own clause, and not a bald addition to 'rem Romanam.'

67. **lustrum**; Od. 2. 4. 23. The period is named here clearly as the time for which nominally Augustus has re-accepted the 'Imperium'; see Introd.

**meliusque**, 'and for ages that grow ever better.'

68. **prorogat**. This, and the corresponding 'curat,' 'applicat,' are the readings of B and V, against the more common 'proroget,' 'curet,' 'applicet.' It would almost seem that the Scholiasts read the subjunctive in the first case, but the indicative in the other two; for they explain that 'si,' from v. 65, must be repeated before 'curat' and 'applicat' (making them parallel with 'videt'), and the apodosis 'remque . . . aevum' understood again. 'Proroget' they interpret by 'prorogabit,' Acr. and 'melius saeculum futurum tribuet' (with a v. l. 'tribuat'), Porph. Their explanation clearly cannot stand; and, though Keller edits in accordance with their presumed reading, it is hard to see how the change of mood can be justified. The indicatives are accepted, among recent editors, by Dillr., Ritter and Munro. Bentley argues strongly for them, pointing out that the time for urgent prayer and expostulation is past. The chorus has now assumed the tone of confidence and promise (according to the stages named in Epp. 2. 1. 134 'Poscit opem chorus, et praesentia numina sentit'). The last stanza, 'Haec Iovem sentire,' &c., comes naturally to sum up and crown their assertions of Apollo's and Diana's goodwill; it would be abrupt if the prayer continued to v. 72.

69. **Aventinum**. The chief temple on the Aventine was that of Diana; cp. Liv. 1. 45.

**Algidum**; see Od. 1. 21. 6.

70. **quindecim virorum**. The 'xv

Curat et votis puerorum amicas
Applicat aures.
Haec Iovem sentire deosque cunctos
Spem bonam certamque domum reporto,
Doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae
Dicere laudes.

viri sacris faciendis,' or 'sacrorum,' were the 'collegium' who had the custody of the Sibylline books, and the duty of superintending any religious ceremonies prescribed in them. The college at first consisted only of two. It was raised to ten about the year B.C. 367 ('decemviri,' Liv. 6. 37, 42), and subsequently to fifteen, probably by Sulla. Aeneas is made to promise the Cumaean Sibyl the institution of the priesthood in Virg. Aen. 6. 72 'Hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata, Dicta meae genti, ponam, lectosque sacrabo, Alma, viros.'

71. **puerorum**, both boys and girls, quite in accordance with the old use of 'puer' for either sex. Priscian quotes from Naevius, 'Proserpina puer Cereris,' from Livius, 'Saturni puer regina.'

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE EPODES.

'LIBER EPODON,' 'Liber V$^{tus}$ qui Epodon inscribitur,' are the titles by which this Book is headed in MSS., and cited by the grammatical and metrical writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, Marius Victorinus, Diomedes, Fortunatianus. The separate poems are called Odae. The word Epode (ἐπῳδός) was a recognized metrical term for the shorter verse of a couplet, which is as it were the echo (ἐπᾴδεται, 'accinitur') of the longer one, and then συνεκδοχικῶς for the metre or poem (more properly 'carmen epodicum') in which such a sequence occurred[1]. Elegiac verses are thus admitted as Epodic by Victorinus (p. 2500), but in common use the term was appropriated to the couplet metres of Archilochus and their Horatian imitations. It may be noticed that such metres are not peculiar to the so-called 'Epodes.' Two of the couplets known specially by Archilochus' name occur only in the Odes (1. 4, and 4. 7), the latter is the one example of an 'Epodus' quoted from Horace by Terentianus Maurus.

Horace's own name for these poems is 'Iambi' (Epod. 14. 7, Od. 1. 16. 3 and 24, Epp. 1. 19. 25), a term which implied their character at least as much as their metre (cp. the Greek verb ἰαμβίζειν, and see Arist. Poet. c. 4, 5, cp. Hor. A. P. 79 'Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo').

[1] Terent. Maur. (end of first century), p. 2422, Hephaestion (second century), p. 133 (ed. Gaisford), Mar. Vict. pp. 2500, 2618 foll., Diomedes, p. 482, Fortunat. p. 2699. The correlative προῳδός is applied sometimes to the first line of a couplet, as the Hexameter in Elegiacs, sometimes to the first line only when it is the shorter of the two, as in Od. 2. 18; but 'Epodus' is used often to cover such couplets as this. Various attempts have been made to find other meanings for the term 'Liber Epodon' as applied to Horace's poems. Scaliger (Poet. 1. 44), ignoring apparently the chronological difficulty, interpreted it to mean 'after Odes.' Torrentius made the word a case of ἐπῳδή, 'liber incantationum,' a general name given to the book from the character of two of its most important poems, Epod. 5 and 17.

All the indications of date to be discovered in the poems themselves fix them to the first period of his life as an author. Their references to current politics, both positively, as in the allusions to the war with Sextus Pompeius, and negatively, in the vagueness with which they deal with the general situation at home (see on Epod. 7 and 16), belong to the decade between the battles of Philippi and Actium. We notice in their style indications which point the same way—occasional harshnesses of construction, a redundancy of epithets, a tendency even in the best poems to poetical commonplace, we may add a grossness of subject and language, which his mature taste would have pruned away. The Epodes stand with the Satires at the opening of Horace's literary life—not unconnected with them in tone, nor in their literary antecedents, nor in their treatment in his hands. The Roman Satirist, he tells us, looked, for all but the poetical form of his composition, to Greek Comedy. In the Epode he has returned to the personal lampoon, the earliest use of poetry for purposes of attack and caricature, and that of which Comedy, according to Aristotle (Poet. l. c.), was the development. It is in the taste which leads him for models to Lucilius and Archilochus, rather than in any bitterness of special poems, that we may trace probably his own description already referred to (Epp. 2. 2. 51; see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 1) of the personal motives that first drove him to write poetry. In any case it is characteristic of the man that his Satires should mellow and humanize into the Epistles, and that the Epodes should drop so early their ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα, and soften and generalize into the Odes. The process in both cases is nearly complete before the name of the composition is changed.

Horace speaks himself (Epod. 14) of the Book as preparing for publication, and as having occupied some space of time in composition. The date of its publication is generally held to be fixed by the relation between Epod. 9 and Od. 1. 37, to the year B.C. 31–30.

# HORATI EPODON LIBER.

## EPODE I.

'You, Maecenas, are going to expose yourself to all the dangers of war for Caesar's sake—what think you I shall do, to whom you are as much as Caesar can be to you? I shall follow you to the world's end. Do you ask what good I can do? I shall be in less terror if I am with you than if I am absent. I have no selfish motive. Your bounty has made me rich enough already. I don't want more either to hoard or to squander.'

This Epode is usually referred (after the Scholiast) to the spring of B.C. 31, when Octavianus according to Dion (50. 11), before setting out to Actium, summoned the chief men of Rome, senators and equites, to meet him at Brundisium: *τοὺς μὲν ὅπως τι συμπράξωσιν αὐτῷ, τοὺς δ' ὅπως μηδὲν μονωθέντες νεοχμώσωσι, τό τε μέγιστον ὅπως ἐνδείξηται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμογνωμονοῦν ἔχοι.* It would be probable that Maecenas would go with the rest, even if he returned to Rome, as Dion (51. 3) speaks of his having been left in charge of Rome and Italy during the campaign; but see Introd. to Epod. 9.

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
  Amice, propugnacula,
Paratus omne Caesaris periculum
  Subire, Maecenas, tuo.
Quid nos, quibus te vita si superstite
  Iucunda, si contra, gravis?

1. **Liburnis**, Od. 1. 37. 30, ships of a light build, modelled on the piratical vessels of the Liburni, a tribe on the Illyrian coast. They were the strength of Octavianus' fleet at Actium.

**alta propugnacula.** If the scene is Actium, these are the wooden towers on Antony's ships. Virg. Aen. 8. 691 'pelago credas innare revulsas Cycladas aut montes concurrere montibus altos: Tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant.'

4. **tuo**, sc. 'periculo'; 'at your own peril.'

5. **si superstite.** This was read by Porph., who notices the difficulty of construction, and gives the true explanation, viz. that 'sit' has to be understood both with 'te superstite' and with 'contra,' 'if it be spent in thy lifetime.' It is not harder than 'ni tecum simul' just below. A few MSS. omit 'si,' leaving the verse unmetrical, and some of the old editions have 'sit.' Ritter ex conj. 'si est.'

Utrumne iussi persequemur otium,
Non dulce, ni tecum simul,
An hunc laborem mente laturi decet
Qua ferre non molles viros?
Feremus, et te vel per Alpium iuga
Inhospitalem et Caucasum
Vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
Forti sequemur pectore.
Roges, tuum labore quid iuvem meo,
Imbellis ac firmus parum?
Comes minore sum futurus in metu,
Qui maior absentes habet;
Ut assidens implumibus pullis avis
Serpentium allapsus timet
Magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili
Latura plus praesentibus.
Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
Bellum in tuae spem gratiae,

7. **utrumne.** Cicero has (pro Quinct. 30) 'utrum possitne se . . . defendere . . . an . . . addicatur,' where the usage is logically correct, 'which of the two things? this? or that?' The coalescing of the two words is poetical, and does not appear in prose writers till the silver age. Horace uses 'ne' with interrogatives more freely than other writers, e.g. 'uterne,' Sat. 2. 2. 107, 'quone,' Sat. 2. 3. 295, 'quantane,' Sat. 2. 3. 317.

**iussi,** 'as you bid us.'

9. Best taken with Nauck, 'An hunc laborem [persequemur], laturi [eum] mente,' &c. He points out that 'feremus' answers the question of 'laturi,' 'sequemur' (v. 14) of 'persequemur.' Others make 'laturi' = 'laturi sumus,' the verb of the sentence.

12. **inhospitalem Caucasum,** Od. 1. 22. 6.

13. **sinum,** Virg. G. 2. 123 'extremi sinus orbis,' where see Conington. It would seem here to mean the last winding of the shore as it trends westward towards the Atlantic, so that it is the equivalent of 'Gades' in Od. 2. 6. 1.

16. See on Od. 2. 7. 10.

19. **assidens,** of the general time when she has a callow brood, for at the moment, ex hypothesi, she has left them.

21. **ut adsit,** 'even supposing she were present,' Madvig. L. G. § 440 a, obs. 4, so Cic. pro Mil. 17, 'Ut enim neminem alium nisi T. Patinam familiarissimum suum rogasset, scire potuit,' &c., and so also, if the subjunctive be read there, Mur. 34 'si ut suffragentur nihil valent gratia.' Bentley, objecting to the tautology of 'ut adsit,' 'praesentibus,' would adopt 'uti sit,' 'non uti' being = 'non quo,' 'not that she could give,' &c. This was the reading of one of Cruquius' MSS., and he draws support for it from the unmetrical 'ut sit' which is found in several good MSS. The vulg. was interpreted by Porph. Orelli suggests that the tautology is of a kind rather affected by Latin writers, e.g. Ter. Ad. 4. 5. 34 'cum hanc sibi videbit praesens praesenti eripi.'

23. **militabitur bellum,** as 'pugnata bella,' Od. 3. 19. 4, Epp. 1. 16. 25.

24. **in spem,** 'to further my hope,' as 'in honorem,' Od. 1. 7. 8.

**gratiae** is opposed to the more sordid objects which are repudiated in the following lines.

Non ut iuvencis illigata pluribus
  Aratra nitantur mea,
Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
  Lucana mutet pascuis,
Neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi
  Circaea tangat moenia.
Satis superque me benignitas tua
  Ditavit: haud paravero,
Quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam,
  Discinctus aut perdam nepos.

25-28. Compare the imagined objects of prayer in Od. 1. 31. 3 foll. 'Non opimae Sardiniae segetes feraces Non aestuosae grata Calabriae Armenta.' Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 177, in a similar connexion, 'Calabris Saltibus adiecti Lucani.'

26. **nitantur**, 'struggle'; 'aratris nisus poëtice tribuitur qui proprie boum est,' Orelli.

**mea.** The best MSS. have 'meis,' but the copyists seem to have got into confusion between the terminations of 26, 28, and 30; 'pascua' dividing the older MSS. pretty equally with 'pascuis.' Sound and the balance of the adjective between 'iuvencis' and 'aratra' are in favour of the nominative which is given by Orelli, Dill[r]., and Munro; Keller and Kiessling have 'meis.'

27. Orelli quotes Varro R. R. 2. 1. 16 'greges ovium longe abiguntur ex Apulia in Samnium aestivatum,' and ib. 2. 2. 9 'mihi greges in Apulia hibernabant qui in Reatinis montibus aestivabant.' For the construction of 'mutet' see Od. 1. 17. 2.

29. 'Nor that I may have a country house on the outskirts of Tusculum.'

**superni** describes its situation, crowning the Eastern summit of the Alban hills above the modern Frascati.

30. **Circaea**, as he calls the same hill in Od. 3. 29. 8 'Telegoni iuga parricidae,' q. v.

31. Cp. Od. 2. 18. 52, 3. 16. 38.

33. **Chremes**, apparently a miser of comedy, like the Euclio of the Aulularia, but the play or author is not known.

34. **discinctus.** The word is used literally or with no sense further than 'at one's ease,' in Sat. 2. 1. 73. It has got here, and in later authors, the sense of careless, loose, profligate—partly through the association of this mode of dress with idle and luxurious habits, partly through the metaphorical colour borrowed from the already established use of 'dissolutus.' The MSS. are divided between 'nepos' and 'ut nepos.' Ritter thinks the repetition of the 'ut' forcible, quoting Epod. 5. 9, 10.

# EPODE II.

HORACE gives a point to his praises of country life by putting them into the mouth of a money-lender notorious for his keenness in his trade. Cp. the saying attributed apparently to the same person, the 'fenerator Alfius,' by Columella (1. 7) 'vel optima nomina non appellando fieri mala,' 'that the best debtors become bad ones if you let them alone.' There does not seem to be any attempt to make the usurer speak in character through the poem; the pleasures named are those which any Roman poet would have named (cp. Virg. G. 2. 493 foll., Tibull. 1. 1 foll.), and they are no doubt such as Horace feels himself. The irony of the conclusion ('so the most unlikely people say, although their acts again give the lie to it'), as Sellar points out, is like the ironical conclusion of so many Odes: Horace will not press too hard even his praises of country life: but the character of the irony is due to the nature of the poem; it turns an Idyll into an Epode. Its point is rather the strength of the 'ruling passion' (cp. the 'mercator' of Od. 1. 1. 16, who in the storm 'otium et oppidi Laudat rura sui: mox reficit rates Quassas') than, as has been suggested, the elaborate hypocrisy of a money-lender who makes his panegyric on a rustic life an excuse for pressing his debtors for repayment, while he means all the while to put the money out to interest again at the next settlement-day.

The diction of the Epode reminds us constantly of the Georgics.

BEATUS ille, qui procul negotiis,
  Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
  Solutus omni fenore,
Neque excitatur classico miles truci,
  Neque horret iratum mare,
Forumque vitat et superba civium
  Potentiorum limina.
Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
  Altas maritat populos,

3. **exercet**, of continuous labour at anything, Virg. G. 1. 99 'Exercetque frequens tellurem.'

4. **solutus omni fenore.** He has nothing to do with usurers; his land came to him from his father; his bullocks were bred on his farm.

5, 6. He is not a soldier to have his sleep broken by the bugle, nor a trader to fear storms at sea.

7, 8. Cp. Virg. G. 2. 502 'nec ferrea iura Insanumque forum vidit,' and ib. 504 'alii . . . penetrant aulas et limina regum.'

9. **ergo.** 'And so,'—as he is free from these preoccupations, he can enjoy the simple tasks and pleasures of the country.

**propagine**, the technical name for the young vine-plant grown from a layer, Virg. G. 2. 26 and 63.

9–13. **aut . . . aut . . . que.** Compare vv. 15, 16, 17 'aut,' 'aut,' 'vel.' The first triplet of alternatives describes the pleasant tasks of preparation, the second those of gathering the fruits. In each case the last of the three is marked by a change of the conjunction, cp. vv. 31, 33, 35 'aut,' 'aut,' 'que,' Od. 1. 12. 5, 6 'aut,' 'aut,' 've.' Several editors

Aut in reducta valle mugientium
  Prospectat errantes greges,
Inutilesque falce ramos amputans
  Feliciores inserit,
Aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris,
  Aut tondet infirmas oves;
Vel cum decorum mitibus pomis caput
  Autumnus agris extulit,
Ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pira,
  Certantem et uvam purpurae,
Qua muneretur te, Priape, et te, pater
  Silvane, tutor finium!
Libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice,
  Modo in tenaci gramine.

have followed Fabricius in transposing vv. 11, 12 and 13, 14, on the ground that the pasturing of cattle seems out of place between the more cognate operations of transplanting vines and grafting fruit-trees. But it is scarcely possible that the mistake should have vitiated every existing MS. Bentley points out that the two operations are, after all, very distinct, and belong to different times of the year. The feeling of the passage is the great choice of pleasant tasks which the countryman enjoys, and the sense of this would perhaps be diminished rather than increased by sorting them too nicely.

10. **altas** answers to 'adulta'; the plants are now (in three years, Columella de Arb. 7) grown large enough to clamber a tree, which would have been too tall for them before. Ritter points out that 'altas' appeals to the eye, as does 'prospectat' in the next couplet. His labour is associated with pleasant sights and sounds. For the metaphor of 'maritat' cp. Od. 2. 15. 4, 4. 5. 30.

13. **que.** It is better to take 'que' as disjunctive (see on Od. 1. 3. 9 and 3. 11. 49), than with Bentley to alter it here and in v. 63 to 've.'

14. **feliciores**, as Virgil, of the grafted tree, G. 2. 81 'Exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus.'

16. **infirmas.** The Scholiast interprets 'unable to bear the weight of their wool'; but it is probably no more than an habitual epithet = 'molle pecus,' and only in point as helping the general idea of peacefulness, 'the unresisting sheep.'

17. **vel**, see on v. 9–12. Macl. rightly points out that the uses of 'vel cum,' in an elliptical construction with no apodosis (as in Virg. Aen. 11. 406), although quoted by Orelli and others, are not relevant. Sat. 2. 7. 95 is a real parallel. The apodosis here is 'ut gaudet,' 'how he rejoices!' cp. v. 61 'ut iuvat.'

19. **gaudet decerpens**, a Greek use of the participle, ἥδεται δρέπων.

20. **certantem purpurae**, 'rivalling the purple dye': for dative cp. 1. 1. 15 'luctantem fluctibus,' &c.

21. Priapus is to be paid as the protector of gardens. Virg. E. 7. 33, Catull. 20. Silvanus is not only, as in Od. 3. 29. 23, the wild forest-god, but also a patron of country life and pursuits, 'arvorum pecorisque deus,' Virg. Aen. 8. 601, and specially under the title of 'Silvanus orientalis,' like Terminus, a protector of the sacred 'landmark,' the symbol of property, Dict. Biog. s. v.

23. Some good MSS. begin a new Epode here, and Acron supports them, writing at v. 1 'Laus vitae rusticae,' and here 'Introducit quendam feneratorem loquentem et laudantem vitam quietam nec tamen suum propositum deserentem.' Porph. gives no indication. See Introd. to Od. 1. 7.

24. **tenaci** seems to mean 'soft and deep,' that makes a couch from which you do not slip.

Labuntur altis interim rivis aquae,
  Queruntur in silvis aves,
Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
  Somnos quod invitet leves.
At cum tonantis annus hibernus Iovis
  Imbres nivesque comparat,
Aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multa cane
  Apros in obstantes plagas,
Aut amite levi rara tendit retia,
  Turdis edacibus dolos,
Pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem
  Iucunda captat praemia.
Quis non malarum, quas amor curas habet,
  Haec inter obliviscitur?

25. **rivis**, the reading of V and B; though corrected in the latter by a second hand to 'ripis,' the reading of the majority of MSS. Compare against Orelli's objections to 'rivis,' Od. 2. 3. 11. 'Altis rivis' must apparently mean 'in brimming watercourses': 'altis ripis' has been variously rendered; Bentley, who prefers it on the ground that we are speaking of summer or autumn when streams are low, interprets 'with their banks high,' i.e. 'deep between their banks.' Orelli thinks it is not meant as a peculiarity of the time of year, but as a general characteristic of the streams which adds to their beauty and pleasantness, 'between high banks,' i.e. of foliage, rocks, &c. But a comparison of Lucr. 2. 362 (in the same connexion as this) 'summis labentia ripis,' and Quint. 12. 2 'Ut vis amnium maior est altis ripis multoque gurgitis tractu fluentium quam tenuis aquae et obiectu lapillorum resultantis' would suggest that if Horace wrote 'altis ripis' he meant rather 'high up its banks,' so that it comes to the same as 'rivis.'

27. **obstrepunt**, sc. 'audientibus,' see Od. 3. 30. 10. Markland founded on Prop. 4. 4. 4 'Multaque nativis obstrepit arbor aquis,' an ingenious conj. 'frondes' for 'fontes,' 'lymphis' being then the dative.

28. **quod**, sc. 'murmur quod.'

29–36. We pass to winter amusements.

29. **tonantis**, an epithet of the god which has become almost a part of his name; but it serves to recall his influence on the weather and responsibility for storms, although thunder is rather an accessory of summer storms.

**annus hibernus**, the wintry part of the year, as 'frigidus annus,' Virg. Aen. 6. 311. 'Jove's winter' is the winter which in its season Jove brings round again, C. S. 32 'Iovis aurae.'

32. **obstantes**, 'set to stop them.'

33. **levi**, prob. 'smooth,' though as 'ames' does not occur elsewhere in poetry, it is not possible to pronounce certainly on the quantity of its first syllable.

**rara**, 'open,' 'wide-meshed,' see Con. on Virg. Aen. 4. 131. The epithets, though, as has been remarked, more abundant than Horace's maturer taste would have admitted, serve, by recalling the circumstances, to recall the pleasures of the sport.

35. **laqueo**, a dissyllable, not an anapaest, cp. Epod. 5. 79, 11. 23, and see Index of Metres.

37 foll. The 'malae amoris curae,' its follies and fancies and jealousies are left for the idle and luxurious life of the city. The 'pudica uxor' and the pleasures of home are more likely to be found in the country. Virg. G. 2. 523 'dulces pendent circum oscula nati; Casta pudicitiam servat domus.' For the attraction which makes 'curas' agree with the relative, and leaves

Quodsi pudica mulier in partem iuvet
  Domum atque dulces liberos,
Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
  Pernicis uxor Apuli,
Sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum
  Lassi sub adventum viri,
Claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus
  Distenta siccet ubera,
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio
  Dapes inemptas apparet:
Non me Lucrina iuverint conchylia
  Magisve rhombus aut scari,
Si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
  Hiemps ad hoc vertat mare;
Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,
  Non attagen Ionicus

'malarum' without a subst., cp. Sat. 1. 4. 2 'alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,' Virg. Aen. 1. 573 'urbem quam statuo vestra est.'

39. **quodsi.** The apodosis begins at v. 49 'non me.' If I can have all these home pleasures I do not care for the less luxurious diet. Haupt's alteration, 'quid si,' impairs the antithesis between the 'pudica uxor,' &c., and vv. 37, 38.

**in partem,** ἐν μέρει, 'for her share.'

**iuvet,** with a zeugma. It is the appropriate verb only with 'domum,' 'graces,' 'helps.' By uniting closely the two substantives, 'the home with its blooming children,' we can bring 'dulces liberos' into some recognizable relation to it, but still the new substantive breathes into the verb a new idea of 'helping to govern,' which does not belong to it properly, and which was not needed so long as it was only constructed with 'domum.'

41. **Sabina,** Od. 3. 6. 37 foll. Virg. G. 2. 532.

42. **pernicis** = 'strenui'; 'impiger Apulus,' Od. 3. 16. 26. The whole passage is imitated by Statius, Silv. 5. 1. 122 foll.

**Apuli,** see on Od. 1. 22. 13 and 3. 5. 9.

43. **exstruat,** a natural asyndeton, which Lambinus and others needlessly fill up by reading 'sacrum et' or 'sacrumque.'

44. **sub adventum,** 'as her husband's return draws near.'

45. **laetum,** as Virgil's 'laeta armenta,' 'healthy,' 'fruitful.'

47. **horna,** of the simplicity of his rustic fare, 'wine of the year,' and so drunk, as we should say, 'from the wood'; never drawn off from the 'dolium' into 'amphorae' or 'cadi' for storing.

48. **dapes inemptas,** Virg. G. 4. 132.

49–60. Compare Sat. 2. 2, where a 'pernix Apulus' discourses in favour of plain living; most of the dainties named here occur there also.

49. **Lucrina,** from the Lucrine lake; Sat. 2. 4. 32 'Lucrina peloris.'

50. **scari,** Sat. 2. 2. 22.

51. **intonata,** of the noise of the wind. Cp. Virg. G. 1. 371 'Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus.' The deponent form is not found elsewhere.

53. **Afra avis,** Juv. 11. 142. Martial 3. 58. 15 calls apparently the same birds 'Numidicae guttatae.' They are commonly identified with our guinea-fowl.

54. **attagen,** Mart. 13. 61 'Inter sapores fertur alitum primus Ionicarum gustus attagenarum.' It is said to be the heathcock.

Iucundior, quam lecta de pinguissimis
Oliva ramis arborum
Aut herba lapathi prata amantis et gravi
Malvae salubres corpori,
Vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus
Vel haedus ereptus lupo.
Has inter epulas ut iuvat pastas oves
Videre properantes domum,
Videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
Collo trahentes languido,
Positosque vernas, ditis examen domus,
Circum renidentes Lares!
Haec ubi locutus fenerator Alfius,
Iam iam futurus rusticus,
Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,
Quaerit Kalendis ponere.

56. **oliva . . . lapathi . . . malvae,** cp. Od. 1. 31. 15, 16 'Me pascunt olivae, Me cichorea levesque malvae,' where 'leves' answers to 'gravi salubres corpori.' 'Lapathum' is our sorrel.

59. His vegetable diet is varied with meat on rare occasions, on the festival of Terminus (Feb. 23, cp. Ov. Fast. 2. 639 foll.), or when a kid has been torn by a wolf but snatched from his mouth. Cp. Martial's Cenula (10. 48. 14) 'haedus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi,' and Plutarch's saying (Sympos. 2. 9), **τὰ λυκόβρωτα πρόβατα τὸ κρέας γλυκύτατον παρέχειν,** which sounds like our 'the nearer the bone,' &c., a half-humorous excuse for thrift.

65. **ditis examen domus,** i.e. the proof of rustic opulence, Tib. 2. 1. 23 'Turbaque vernarum saturi bona signa coloni.' Cp. Martial's description of Faustinus' villa, 3. 58. 22 'Cingunt serenum lactei focum vernae Et larga festos lucet ad Lares silva.' The 'focus' is in the middle of the 'atrium,' the images of the Lares near it, glowing brightly with the blaze, and the slaves, all born on the estate, are gathered round it.

69. **redegit.** Bentley shows by a large collection of instances, chiefly from Cicero, that this was the usual word for calling in money that had been let or was otherwise due. A few MSS. and the earlier editions have 'relegit.'

**Idibus... Kalendis.** The Kalends, Ides, and Nones were all days of settlement. Cic. Verr. 2. 1. 57 'Nemo Rabonio molestus est neque Kalendis Decembribus neque Nonis neque Idibus.' Compare for the Ides Sat. 1. 6. 75, where they are the monthly pay-day at schools, and for the Kalends Sat. 1. 3. 87 'Qui nisi cum tristes misero venere Kalendae Mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat,' &c. Interest at Rome was calculated by the month.

70. **ponere,** to 'lend' it again. A. P. 421 'dives positis in fenore nummis.'

# EPODE III.

A MOCK heroic invective against garlic. Horace has eaten some dish seasoned with it at Maecenas' table, and he treats it as a practical joke of his host's (v. 20 'iocose Maecenas'). 'Garlic should be substituted for hemlock in the punishment of parricides. What can the reapers' stomachs be made of? He has taken poison—viper's blood, some decoction of Canidia's—the very drug which Medea used to prevent the bulls touching Jason, and to destroy Creüsa. The heat of Apulia in the dog-days, of Hercules' fiery garment, was nothing to it. If Maecenas has the bad taste to have such a dish again, may he be rewarded by finding that he cannot get a kiss if he wishes it.'

Compare the commencement of Od. 2. 13.

PARENTIS olim si quis impia manu
  Senile guttur fregerit,
Edit cicutis allium nocentius.
  O dura messorum ilia!
Quid hoc veneni saevit in praecordiis?
  Num viperinus his cruor
Incoctus herbis me fefellit? an malas
  Canidia tractavit dapes?
Ut Argonautas praeter omnes candidum
  Medea mirata est ducem,
Ignota tauris illigaturum iuga
  Perunxit hoc Iasonem;

1. **olim.** The development, according to the context, from an original meaning 'at that time,' i.e. 'not at this time,' of the definite meanings 'at a past time' (as Od. 3. 11. 5 'nec loquax olim') and 'at a future time' (as Od. 2. 10. 17 'non si male nunc et olim Sic erit'), as well as the colourless meaning 'at any time,' 'ever' (as in this place; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 25 'ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi Doctores,' Epp. 1. 10. 42, &c.), affords a good illustration of the general history of particles the most definite in their eventual meaning, such as 'dum,' 'nam,' and even the negatives; it also illustrates the various uses of the Greek aorist.

3. **edit,** an archaic form of the subjunctive; Sat. 2. 8. 90.

4. **messorum,** for it was a usual ingredient in their messes; Virg. E. 2. 10 'Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu Allia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes.'

6. **viperinus cruor**; Od. 1. 8. 9.

7. **malas,** i.e. poisonous; Virg. Aen. 2. 471 'mala gramina pastus.'

8. **Canidia**; see Introd. to Epod. 5 and 17.

9. **ut,** temporal, as Epod. 5. 11.

**praeter omnes,** with 'mirata est.'

**candidum,** of young beauty, as 'candide Bassareu,' Od. 1. 18. 11.

11. **ignota** expresses the difficulty of the task; none had yoked them yet.

Hoc delibutis ulta donis paelicem
  Serpente fugit alite.
Nec tantus umquam siderum insedit vapor
  Siticulosae Apuliae,
Nec munus umeris efficacis Herculis
  Inarsit aestuosius.
At si quid umquam tale concupiveris,
  Iocose Maecenas, precor.
Manum puella savio opponat tuo,
  Extrema et in sponda cubet.

13. **paelicem.** So Medea would call Creüsa or Glauce, feeling that she herself was his true wife; cp. Epod. 5. 61–66.

14. **serpente alite,** on her chariot drawn by winged serpents; cp. Od. 4. 1. 10 'ales oloribus.'

15. **siderum,** as Epod. 16. 61 'astri... aestuosa impotentia,' of the dog-days.

**vapor,** mist of heat.

16. **siticulosae;** Od. 3. 30. 11.

17. **munus,** the present of Deianira, the robe smeared with the blood of Nessus; Epod. 17. 31.

**efficacis.** Ritter points out that neither 'umeris' nor 'efficacis' are inert: 'those shoulders that had wrought such miracles of strength, were not proof against Nessus' poison.'

# EPODE IV.

A VIOLENT attack on some freedman, who moved the wrath of Horace and of the citizens by his display and arrogance. 'A little while ago flogged as a slave: now with a fine estate in Campania, a pony-carriage on the Appian way, and a seat at spectacles among the "equites"! With what face do we fit out fleets against Sextus Pompey and his runaway slaves, if we let a man of the same stamp hold the rank of "tribunus militum"?'

We can hardly doubt that the Epode was aimed at some real person. The Scholiasts say Menas, or Menodorus, the freedman and friend of Sextus Pompeius (see on Od. 3. 16. 16), who, in B.C. 38, being then in command of a fleet and of the island of Sardinia, deserted to Octavianus, and was received by him with great honour: Dion 48. 45 ἐν τιμῇ μεγάλῃ ἦγαγε δακτυλίοις τε χρυσοῖς ἐκόσμησε καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ἱππέων τέλος ἐσέγραψε. Suetonius (Oct. 74) mentions him as the only 'libertinus' whom Augustus ever invited to his own table. In B.C. 36 he returned for a short time to the service of his old master, but again deserted to Octavianus, and was received, if not to confidence, yet to employment. He died in 35. Various difficulties have been felt in this identification. The absence of any mention of the fickleness and treachery of Menas, has been thought to fix the date of the Epode, if it refers to him, to the period between his first desertion of Sextus

Pompeius and his return to his service in 36. Yet during that time he was serving with the fleet which he had carried over to Octavianus' side; and, though he may have visited Rome, he can hardly have become as familiar a sight to the Roman populace as is implied by vv. 11–16. The office of 'tribunus militum' seems also a strange one to be selected (Horace would choose the highest that he filled) for the commander of a fleet. Several MSS., including B and A, head the Epode with the words 'Ad Sextum Menam libertinum. Vedium Rufum ex servitute miratur usurpasse equestrem dignitatem usque ad tribunatum militum,' with no sign that the two inscriptions are inconsistent or alternative; a common mistake, which seems to lead us back to some common authority of greater antiquity. Of the two names offered, Menas was a likely guess to any one who knew the history of the time, and therefore carries with it less probability than the entirely unknown name of Vedius Rufus, to which there was nothing in the text or in the generally known histories to lead a copyist or annotator. Orelli shows from an inscription that Rufus is found among the cognomina of the Vedii.

LUPIS et agnis quanta sortito obtigit,
  Tecum mihi discordia est,
Hibericis peruste funibus latus
  Et crura dura compede.
Licet superbus ambules pecunia,
  Fortuna non mutat genus.
Videsne, Sacram metiente te viam
  Cum bis trium ulnarum toga,
Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
  Liberrima indignatio?

1. Epod. 15. 7, a proverb for implacable hate; Hom. Il. 22. 263 Οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν, | ἀλλὰ κακὰ φρονέουσι διαμπερὲς ἀλλήλοισιν | ὣς οὐκ ἔστ' ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ φιλήμεναι.

**sortito obtigit**, a phrase of Plautus, Merc. 1. 2. 24.

3. **Hibericis**, of Spanish broom; Plin. N. H. 19. 1 and 7. Quintilian (8. 2.) laughs at an advocate who spoke of 'herbae Hibericae' meaning 'Spartum,' though no one in court knew what he meant. Those who identify the object of the Epode with Menas, notice the connexion of Sextus Pompeius with Spain, and also the appropriateness of the instrument of punishment to one who had spent his life on shipboard. In the army the centurion was armed with a 'vitis.'

**peruste**; Epp. 1. 16. 47 'loris non ureris.'

7. **metiente**, walking from end to end of it. The 'Sacra via' was a lounge of men of leisure; Sat. 1. 9. 1.

8. **trium**, a conjecture—for all the MSS. which write the word in full have 'ter,' which is senseless. B, however, has (acc. to Hirschfelder) t̄, an abbreviation wrongly expanded in the other MSS. The sense of the true reading is given by Acr. and Porph., 'cum sex ulnarum toga.' For the broad 'toga,' spread out by the elbows as a sign of importance, cp. Sat. 2. 3. 183 'Latus ut in Circo spatiere,' Epp. 1. 18. 30 'Arcta decet sanum comitem toga,' Cic. Cat. 2. 10 'velis amicti non togis.'

9. **ora vertat**, 'make them turn away,' Schol.; 'make them turn to look,' Ritter. If we may interpret Horace by himself, it will mean neither, but rather 'make their countenances change'; cp. Sat. 2. 8. 35 'vertere pallor Tum parochi faciem.'

**huc et huc**. In prose it would be rather 'huc et illuc'; cp. Epod. 2. 31 'hinc et hinc.'

10. **liberrima**; Epod. 11. 16 'libera bilis,' 'finding free vent.' The remaining

Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus
  Praeconis ad fastidium
Arat Falerni mille fundi iugera
  Et Appiam mannis terit,
Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques
  Othone contempto sedet!
Quid attinet tot ora navium gravi
  Rostrata duci pondere
Contra latrones atque servilem manum
  Hoc, hoc tribuno militum?

verses represent the actual expression of the indignation. This is clear, as Ritter points out, from the change from the second person to the third.

11. **triumviralibus**; Dict. Ant. s. v. 'Triumviri capitales.' They had the power of inflicting summary punishment upon slaves.

12. **praeconis ad fastidium**, 'till the crier was tired.' What part the crier played in the chastisement does not appear. The editors say that he had to go on proclaiming the culprit's offence, but they allege no adequate authority. Porph.'s note is 'donec . . . praeco cum vellet desinere iuberet.'

13. **Falerni**, some of the best land in Campania. The Scholiasts remark that in Italy the vines are trained on trees, and the ground between them ploughed and sown. The Appian way is perhaps named as the road which he would naturally traverse on his way between Rome and his estate.

15. 'Sits grandly as a knight in the front seats, and snaps his fingers at Otho.' He has no fear of a prosecution under Otho's law for taking a seat in the fourteen rows reserved for the 'equites' and persons 'equestri censu,' for he is possessed of far more than the requisite 400,000 sesterces; cp. Epp. 1. 1. 58, 62. For other references to this law of L. Roscius Otho see Cic. Mur. 19, Juv. 3. 159, 14. 324. It would seem from the allusion here, as well as from other considerations, that the purpose of the law was exclusive and aristocratic.

17. **quid attinet**, 'what good is it?' No exact parallel can be quoted for 'ora navium rostrata' = 'ships with their beaked bows'; but we need hardly alter it with Bentley for that reason to 'aera.' Perhaps we may compare Homer's νῆες μιλτοπάρῃοι, and Aeschylus' converse use of πρώρα and καλλίπρωρος, of the human face.

18. **duci** seems to imply that an expedition was at that time fitting out against Sextus Pompeius and his 'gang of brigands and slaves'; cp. Epod. 9. 9, 10.

# EPODE V.

Canidia, with her crew of witches, Sagana, Veia, and Folia, is engaged in the task of drawing to her, by spells of magic, a miserable old man named Varus. Vv. 1–10, the poem opens with the terrified prayers of a boy, who sees dimly that the hags have some dreadful intent, though he knows not what; 11–14, he is stripped and set in the midst to await their further purposes; 15–24, Canidia gives her orders for the brewing of the magic bowl. 25–28, Sagana sprinkles the house with water from Avernus. 29–40, Veia, meanwhile, is digging in the garden a hole where, if this spell proves insufficient, the boy is to be buried up to his chin, and left to starve, that his marrow and liver may be ingredients in a more potent philtre. 41–46, Folia plays her part in the incantation. What it was, is left to our imagination; we are only told of her power—she could draw the moon and stars from the sky. 47–60, Canidia, half afraid already that her spells are not successful, appeals to the powers that witness her black arts, that her beloved (an old fop, on whom she is made to pour contempt in her very prayer) may come to her. 61–82, 'He comes not; what has happened? No herb has been omitted, nothing that could make him forget other charms. Aha! she sees it all. He is under the spell of some more skilful witch. He shall not get off, however. She has a stronger charm yet to try, and heaven and earth shall change places before she lets his love go.' 85–102, The boy understands her, and interrupts the scene with a burst of despair, in which he threatens his torturers with the vengeance of spirits and men.

The scene is laid in the interior of a house in Rome, apparently in the Subura; see on vv. 25, 30, 58. A misunderstanding of v. 43, led Porph. to lay the scene at Naples.

At, o deorum quicquid in caelo regit
  Terras et humanum genus,
Quid iste fert tumultus? et quid omnium
  Vultus in unum me truces?

1. **at**, a common particle in exclamations. It implies of course a previous train of thought of which the speaker is conscious in himself, or which he imagines in another. The exclamation introduced by it is of the nature of an appeal ('provocatio ad deos'; cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 535 'At tibi pro scelere, exclamat, pro talibus ausis Di,' &c., and cp. the use of ἀλλά, e.g. in Aesch. Cho. 306) or of an answer. Here, if with V and B and Porph., we read 'regit' (the majority of later MSS. have 'regis'), the actual address is not to the gods, but to the witches, the first two lines being an exclamation. 'At' introducing the adjuration, marks the change that has come over him. He can bear it no longer; he must know what they mean.

**deorum quicquid**; Sat. 1. 6. 1 'Lydorum quicquid.'

3. **et quid.** So apparently V, but the other MSS. are fairly divided between 'et' and 'aut'; Orelli, preferring 'aut,' compares Epod. 7. 1.

4. **unum** contrasts with **omnium**, 'so many against one.' With the construction 'vultus in me' cp. Od. 1. 2. 40 'acer Mauri . . . cruentum vultus in hostem.'

Per liberos te, si vocata partubus
  Lucina veris affuit,
Per hoc inane purpurae decus precor,
  Per improbaturum haec Iovem,
Quid ut noverca me intueris aut uti
  Petita ferro belua?
Ut haec trementi questus ore constitit
  Insignibus raptis puer,
Impube corpus, quale posset impia
  Mollire Thracum pectora,
Canidia, brevibus implicata viperis
  Crines et incomptum caput,
Iubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
  Iubet cupressus funebres
Et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine
  Plumamque nocturnae strigis
Herbasque, quas Iolcos atque Hiberia
  Mittit venenorum ferax,
Et ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae canis
  Flammis aduri Colchicis.

5. **te**, singles out Canidia as the principal.

6. **veris**; cp. Epod. 17. 50. The words are doubtless meant in the boy's mouth to have an innocent meaning, 'if you really know what it is to be a mother.'

7. **purpurae**, the 'toga praetexta.' The edd. quote words from one of the declamations attributed to Quintilian (340 extr.) 'sacrum illud praetextarum quo sacerdotes velantur, quo magistratus, quo infirmitatem puerorum sacram facimus ac venerabilem.' It and the 'bulla,' a thin plate of gold hung round the neck (Pers. Sat. 5. 30, 31), are the 'insignia' which in v. 12 are snatched from him.

11. **ut constitit**, when, notwithstanding this appeal, he was stripped and set in the midst to await their further pleasure.

15. **viperis**, 'furiali habitu,' Schol. Canidia and her fellow witches are called Furies in Sat. 1. 8. 45.

17. **caprificos**, a common growth of cemeteries; Juv. 10. 145.

19, 20. The construction is 'uncta ranae sanguine ova strigis plumamque.' Compare a charm for a similar purpose in Prop. 3. 6. 27 'Illuc turgentis ranae portenta rubetae Et lecta exsuccis anguibus ossa trahunt, Et strigis inventae per busta iacentia plumae.' 'Strix' is the screech-owl; the 'rana turpis' is the 'rubeta,' a toad, so called because found in bramble-thickets; it was believed to be poisonous. Plin. N. H. 32. 5, Juv. 1. 69.

21. **Iolcos**, in Thessaly; cp. v. 45, and Od. 1. 27. 21 'Thessalis Magus venenis.'

**Hiberia**, strictly the country lying between the Caucasus on the north, Armenia on the south, Colchis, which separated it from the Euxine, on the west, and Albania, which separated it from the Caspian, on the east. Its inhabitants professed (Tac. Ann. 6. 34) to be descendants of the Thessalians who sailed with Jason; Virg. E. 8. 95 'Has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena.'

23. **ossa**, perhaps human bones, the dogs being those that prowled about a graveyard. Orelli quotes Apul. Met. 1, who mentions among the ingredients of a philtre, 'a skull torn from between

At expedita Sagana per totam domum
  Spargens Avernales aquas
Horret capillis ut marinus asperis
  Echinus aut currens aper.
Abacta nulla Veia conscientia
  Ligonibus duris humum
Exhauriebat ingemens laboribus,
  Quo posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terque mutatae dapis
  Inemori spectaculo,
Cum promineret ore, quantum extant aqua
  Suspensa mento corpora;
Exsecta uti medulla et aridum iecur
  Amoris esset poculum,
Interminato cum semel fixae cibo
  Intabuissent pupulae.

the teeth of a wild beast.' In any case they are appropriate to this 'desideri poculum,' as typical of the rage of disappointed animal passion. Compare in this respect the more potent spell of vv. 37–40.

24. **Colchicis** = 'magicis,' such as Medea might have kindled.

25. **expedita** = 'succincta,' Sat. 1. 8. 23.

26. **Avernales**, as the witch in Virg. Aen. 4. 512 'Sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni.'

28. **currens.** The epithet seemed out of place to Bentley, as the boar's bristles do not rise more when he is running, and he advocates Heinsius' conjecture 'Laurens.' But 'currens' is in point as completing the whole resemblance of the boar to Sagana bustling about. It has the more place, as we have had no definite verb to express her movements.

29. **abacta nulla conscientia**, 'not one whit deterred by her consciousness of what she was doing,' i. e. of its cruelty and wickedness. For the use of 'nulla' see on Od. 3. 20. 7.

30. **duris**, not quite an inert epithet, if we compare Od. 3. 11. 31, 4. 4. 57. The 'hardness' of the iron is in a way identified with the persistence of her purpose—she would dig till the iron was tired.

**humum**, the soil in the 'impluvium' of the house (v. 25) in which the scene is laid.

33. **bis terque.** So all the good MSS. and the editors since Bentley, against the v. l. 'bis terve.' He points out that the two readings differ materially in sense. 'Bis terque' = 'saepe,' cp. A. P. 440 'melius te posse negares, Bis terque expertum frustra'; 'bis terve' = 'raro,' cp. A. P. 358.

34. **inemori spectaculo**, *ἐναποθνήσκειν τῇ θέᾳ*. 'Inemori' is an *ἅπαξ λεγ*.

36. **suspensa mento** explains 'quantum extant aqua,' 'as much as is above water of a swimmer's body, when it floats as though it hung by the chin.'

37. **exsecta.** This (or 'execta') is the reading of V and B, and of the MSS. of Acr. and Porph. Bentley's objection that we require rather an epithet to correspond with 'aridum,' is very well answered by Ritter. We do not require one, for 'aridum' is intended to cover both substantives, as is 'exsecta' also; see on Od. 2. 10. 6, 2. 11. 1, 2. 15. 18, 20, 3. 4. 18, 4. 9. 29. The other MSS. offer many variants: 'exsucta,' 'exsucca,' 'exuta,' 'exerta.' Bentley preferred a conjecture of Heinsius, 'exesa.'

39. **interminato**, pass. part. of the usually deponent 'interminor,' a stronger word than 'interdico,' 'forbidden with threats.'

**semel** with 'cum,' 'as soon as ever,' as 'ut semel,' Sat. 2. 1. 24.

Non defuisse masculae libidinis
  Ariminensem Foliam
Et otiosa credidit Neapolis
  Et omne vicinum oppidum,
Quae sidera excantata voce Thessala
  Lunamque caelo deripit.
Hic irresectum saeva dente livido
  Canidia rodens pollicem
Quid dixit aut quid tacuit? O rebus meis
  Non infideles arbitrae,
Nox et Diana, quae silentium regis,
  Arcana cum fiunt sacra,
Nunc, nunc adeste, nunc in hostiles domos
  Iram atque numen vertite!
Formidolosis dum latent silvis ferae
  Dulci sopore languidae,

41. **non defuisse**, 'was not wanting to her part'; see argument. The mention of Folia of Ariminum (a town of Umbria on the Adriatic), apparently a real person, and the appeal to the gossip of Naples, are intended to give an air of truthfulness to the story.

43. **otiosa**, a town of Greeks and sea-side loungers, who *εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον εὐκαίρουν ἢ λέγειν τι καὶ ἀκούειν καινότερον*: cp. Liv. 8. 22 'gentem lingua magis strenuam quam factis.' The Comm. Cruq. says that Naples was also called 'fabulosa,' 'gossiping.'

45. **sidera excantata**; Epod. 17. 5 and 78, Virg. E. 8. 69.

47. **irresectum**, 'grown long'; Sat. 1. 8. 26 'scalpere terram Unguibus.' It is another attribute of the Furies; see on v. 15, and cp. v. 93.

**dente livido**, black from age, to add to the repulsiveness of the picture; or like 'dente invido,' Od. 4. 3. 16, the passion of jealousy being attributed to the tooth. The action is intended to express her excitement as she awaits impatiently the issue of her spells.

49. **quid dixit aut quid tacuit**, a proverbial way of expressing want of restraint in speaking, whether, as here, from passion, or as in Epp. 1. 7. 72 'dicenda tacenda locutus,' from garrulity; cp. *ῥητὰ ἄρρητά τε*.

50. Cp. Medea's invocation Ov. Met. 7. 192 foll. 'Nox, ait, arcanis fidissima . . . Tuque triceps Hecate quae coeptis conscia nostris Adiutrixque venis,' Theocr. 2. 10. 12.

**arbitrae**, in Cicero's sense of 'witnesses,' Off. 3. 31.

53. **in hostiles domos**, perhaps only the common formula for 'avert from my home'; cp. Od. 1. 21. 15 'in Persas atque Britannos,' 3. 27. 21. If special 'enemies' must be found, they will be her rivals in the love of Varus.

55. **formidolosis**. The MSS. vary between this reading and the nominative 'formidolosae.' B, A, and the Queen's Coll. MS. have the ablative. Bentley interprets the evidence as to V more fairly than Keller. Cruquius found, it appears, the ablative in all the Bland. MSS., and with it the annotation 'propter horrorem noctis et ferarum'; but inasmuch as there was also the contradictory annotation which he prints in the Scholia, 'timendae, quod timorem incutiant,' he did not think it worth while, in a matter of slight importance ('quod parum interesset'), and where the evidence of his authorities was thus divided, to alter the received text. If we read the ablative, it will have an active meaning, as Virg. G. 4. 468 'caligantem nigra formidine silvam.' This is Horace's use of the adjective in Od. 2. 17. 18. If we have the nominative, it will have a passive sense, 'timorous,' as in Ter. Eun. 4. 6. 18, &c.

Senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum
Latrent Suburanae canes
Nardo perunctum, quale non perfectius
Meae laborarint manus.—
Quid accidit? Cur dira barbarae minus
Venena Medeae valent?
Quibus superbam fugit ulta paelicem,
Magni Creontis filiam,
Cum palla, tabo munus imbutum, novam
Incendio nuptam abstulit.
Atqui nec herba nec latens in asperis
Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione paelicum.—
A! a! solutus ambulat veneficae
Scientioris carmine.

In either case its force seems to lie, as the Scholiast implies, in its suggestion of the 'awfulness' of night, 'now that your spell is on the woods and their inhabitants.' The two verses combine the ideas of the hour of midnight as the time when magic powers are strongest, and of the lover awake while all the rest of the world is asleep, as Dido in Virg. Aen. 4. 525 'Dum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres, &c.

57–60. The prayer of the next four lines is not quite clear. Why does she wish the dogs to bark? As a sign that the scented old fop is coming to her door? or to frighten him from the doors of her rivals as he comes through the Subura? The first view would be illustrated by the sign of Daphnis' approach in answer to the spells in Virgil's Pharmaceutria, E. 8. 107 'Hylax in limine latrat.' The second, however, gives a better explanation of 'quod omnes rideant,' and of the care with which she has herself prepared the perfumed unguent, which he uses in his vanity without guessing its purpose. She is meant to make him (and herself thereby) ridiculous to the reader; but she would not wish him to be laughed at, except as a means of keeping him to herself.

58. **Suburanae.** 'Subura' was the broad hollow formed by the junction of the valleys between the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills, and opening on the Fora. It was a busy part of Rome, but has a bad name in the poets; Prop. 4. 7. 15, Mart. 6. 66, Juv. 3. 3. 5.

59. 'Of such sort as my hands could never bring to greater perfection'; cp. Sat. 1. 5. 41 'animae, quales neque candidiores Terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter,' 'souls of such sort as never walked the earth more purely white,' &c.

60. **laborarint**, potential. The reading of V and of the MSS. of Porph., 'laborarunt,' has also strong authority.

61. **quid accidit?** She perceives that her spells have failed.

62. **venena Medeae**, philtres such as Medea's, as 'flammis Colchicis,' v. 24.

63. Cp. Epod. 3. 13.

**superbam** is the reading of V, and sound and sense support it. But 'superba,' the reading of B, has almost better authority, as it was found by Acr., who interprets 'potens.'

67. **latens asperis**; 'I have not omitted any herb of power, because it was hard to find or grew in a difficult place.'

69, 70. The best interpretation seems to be, 'the bed he sleeps on has been smeared with a drug to make him forget all other mistresses.' It is a continuation of her assurances to herself, that no precaution has been omitted.

71. **a! a!** The truth suddenly occurs to her.

**solutus**; Od. 1. 27. 21.

**ambulat**, 'walks where he will'; i.e. is not bound by the spell to come to me.

Non usitatis, Vare, potionibus,
O multa fleturum caput,
Ad me recurres, nec vocata mens tua
Marsis redibit vocibus:
Maius parabo, maius infundam tibi
Fastidienti poculum,
Priusque caelum sidet inferius mari,
Tellure porrecta super,
Quam non amore sic meo flagres uti
Bitumen atris ignibus.—
Sub haec puer iam non ut ante mollibus
Lenire verbis impias,
Sed dubius unde rumperet silentium
Misit Thyesteas preces:
Venena magnum fas nefasque non valent
Convertere humanam vicem;

75. **nec vocata . . . vocibus**, 'nor shall it be at the summons of Marsian spells that thy heart shall come back to me,' 'Marsis vocibus' corresponding to 'usitatis potionibus' in the last clause, both being answered by 'Maius parabo, maius infundam,' &c. This interpretation gives a more continuous sense than the older one, 'nor shall thy heart go back again (i.e. from me), though summoned by Marsian spells.' The Marsi were famous in sorcery; Epod. 17. 29, Virg. Aen. 7. 750 foll.

77. **maius parabo**, sc. 'quiddam.' Only the second 'maius' goes with 'poculum.'

**infundam**, 'I will mix.'

79. **inferius**, the last two syllables coalesce; see on Epod. 2. 35.

82. **atris**, of the smoky flame of the burning bitumen. With these two lines cp. Virg. E. 8. 80–83.

83. **sub haec**, 'on hearing this'; Sat. 2. 8. 43. Canidia's words have made him despair of life, but he will curse her before he dies. The editors compare the behaviour of Drusus towards Tiberius, in Tac. Ann. 6. 24 'ubi exspes vitae fuit meditatas compositasque diras imprecabatur.'

85. **dubius unde**, &c. His doubt was Dido's, Virg. Aen. 4. 371 'Quae quibus anteferam?'

86. **Thyesteas**, such as Thyestes might have uttered against Atreus, the murderer of his children.

87, 88. No interpretation more satisfactory on the whole has been offered of these hard lines, than that suggested by Lambinus, and adopted among recent editors by Dillr., and in its main points by Munro. This makes 'venena,' in the sense of φαρμακεῖαι, 'veneficia,' the subject of the sentence, and understands an affirmative 'valent' with the first clause. 'Sorceries may overset the mighty laws of right and wrong, they cannot overset the law of natural retribution,' i.e. you may disregard divine laws and kill me, but I shall have my turn yet, 'Diris agam vos.' The merits of this interpretation are that the particular expressions 'convertere fas nefasque' and 'humanam vicem' will harmonize naturally, the first with Virgil's 'fas versum atque nefas,' G. 1. 505, the second with Horace's own 'vices superbae,' Od. 1. 28. 32. We may notice the additional parallel of ib. v. 34 'Teque piacula nulla resolvent' to 'dira detestatio Nulla expiatur victima.' Bentley quotes also Ov. Trist. 3. 1. 167 'Humanaeque memor sortis quae tollit eosdem Et premit, incertas ipse verere vices.' That the construction of the sentence, although it is perhaps harsh for Horace, is yet Latin, Lambinus shows from Cic. ad Att. 10. 1 'istum qui filium Brundisium de pace misit, me legatum iri non arbitror' = 'that he, &c.,

Diris agam vos; dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victima.
Quin, ubi perire iussus exspiravero,
Nocturnus occurram Furor
Petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus,
Quae vis deorum est manium,
Et inquietis assidens praecordiis
Pavore somnos auferam.
Vos turba vicatim hinc et hinc saxis petens
Contundet obscenas anus;
Post insepulta membra different lupi
Et Esquilinae alites;
Neque hoc parentes heu mihi superstites
Effugerit spectaculum.

will be sent as envoy, not I.' Munro would amend this version of the lines by separating 'magnum' from 'fas nefasque,' and making it = 'id quod magnum est,' 'sorceries, such is their power, can overset,' &c. Of other interpretations, the best seem to be those which explain 'humanam vicem' by Sallust's 'pecorum vicem obtruncabantur,' Cicero's 'Sardanapali vicem mori,' ad Att. 10. 8, 'after the fashion of men,' ἀνθρώπων δίκην. It would still be a question whether 'venena' was the object of 'convertere' or the subject of 'valent.' In the first case it = 'veneficae,' as 'scelus' is used for a wicked person; there is an obvious point in refusing them a more personal appellation, when the statement is that they have no human hearts to be moved. The line of thought then is, 'Conscience cannot move you, my curses may at least punish you.' If we take it in the second way it will mean, 'The mighty laws of right and wrong are not like human things, that sorceries should have power to overset them. You may kill me, but I shall be revenged on you yet.'

Neither MSS. nor Scholia give any variations of the text, and none of the conjectures are attractive. Bentley (who offers it very hesitatingly) proposes 'magica,' 'non vertere,' Haupt 'maga non,' Keller 'humana invicem.'

89. **diris**, 'curses,' as in the passage of Tacitus quoted on v. 85.

**dira detestatio**, the solemn denunciation of a curse.

92. **Furor** seems to be used as a masculine form of Furia. For the idea of the passage cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 385.

94. **deorum manium**, the spirits of the dead; literally, according to Curtius, Grundz. p. 294, the 'good' powers, 'manis' being the opposite of 'immanis.' Cp. Cic. de Leg. 2. 9 'Deorum manium iura sancta sunto. Hos leto datos divos habento.'

100. **Esquilinae**, the birds of carrion that haunted the 'campus Esquilinus,' still the 'miserae plebis commune sepulchrum,' Sat. 1. 8. 10. For the hiatus, the diphthong being shortened, cp. Sat. 1. 9. 38 'Si me amas inquit,' and such instances in Virgil as Aen. 3. 211 'Insulae Ionio,' &c.

# EPODE VI.

'You are like a watch-dog who flies at a guest but is afraid of a wolf. Turn your impotent attack on *me*: *I* have teeth; *I* follow my quarry to the death. *You* bark loud enough, but will turn aside for a piece of meat. Beware, I am a bull with sharp horns, and ready to attack those who deserve it, as ready as Archilochus or Hipponax. I will not take an insult.'

In assailing the wrong use of the poetry of invective, Horace indicates its right use. The misuser of iambic verse attacks the innocent and defenceless, and is ready to be bought off. What can we wish better than that he should provoke the true wielder of Archilochus' weapon and be the object instead of the writer of an Epode?

The person intended is not known. Acron calls him 'Cassium maledicum poetam.' The Comm. Cruq. further identifies him with Cassius Severus, an orator of name (Quint. 10. 1. 177), but a libellous writer (Tac. Ann. 1. 72). He is known to have died A.D. 32, and it is perhaps hardly probable that he can have written lampoons such as to attract Horace's anger (as this would oblige us to suppose) at the least sixty-three years before. Nor is there any hint elsewhere of his having been a poet. Ritter suggests Furius Bibaculus, who is elsewhere ridiculed by Horace (see on Sat. 1. 10. 37, 2. 5. 41), and who is classed with Catullus by Quintilian (10. 1. 96) as a writer of bitter 'iambi,' '[iambi] cuius acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, non in Horatio reperietur,' and who is named by Tac. Ann. 4. 34 as a lampooner of the Caesarian family.

Quid immerentes hospites vexas canis
  Ignavus adversum lupos?
Quin huc inanes, si potes, vertis minas,
  Et me remorsurum petis?
Nam qualis aut Molossus aut fulvus Lacon,
  Amica vis pastoribus,

1. Compare Cicero's comparison of accusers to watch-dogs who are apt to bark at the wrong persons, pro Rosc. Am. 20. Cp. also Horace's expression for well-directed satire, Sat. 2. 1. 84 'Si quis Opprobriis dignum latraverit.'

3. There is high MS. authority (including V) for 'verte' and (although the reading of V is not so clear) for 'pete.' B has 'vertis' altered to 'verte,' and 'petes.' No MS. gives the transposition 'verte si potes,' which is necessary to make the imperative suit the metre. This seems to turn the scale in favour of the indicative. Either construction is lawful, Virg. E. 2. 71 'Quin . . . paras?' Aen. 4. 547 'Quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.'

6. **amica vis pastoribus**, 'the shepherds' sturdy friend'; 'vis' is taken (as Virgil's 'odora canum vis,' Aen. 4. 132) from Lucretius' 'permissa canum vis,' 4. 681, 'fida canum vis,' 6. 1222, an imitation of the Greek use of *βία*. The dogs of Epirus and Sparta are named in Virg. G. 3. 405. They are used there, as here, both for guarding the fold and for hunting.

Agam per altas aure sublata nives,
  Quaecumque praecedet fera:
Tu, cum timenda voce complesti nemus,
  Proiectum odoraris cibum.
Cave, cave: namque in malos asperrimus
  Parata tollo cornua,
Qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener
  Aut acer hostis Bupalo.
An, si quis atro dente me petiverit,
  Inultus ut flebo puer?

7. **agam,** sc. 'feram quaecumque,' &c., the substantive appearing with the relative instead of in its more natural place as the antecedent, see on Epod. 2. 37.

8. **quaecumque,** whatever it be, even if it shall be you.

**praecedet.** Dill^r. prefers the reading of a few MSS. 'procedet' (in the sense of 'obviam veniat,' just as 'proiectum' in v. 10 seems = 'obiectum'), in order to soften still more the change of metaphor by making the hunting merely a part of guarding the fold, and chasing away of a wolf that comes near. But Horace is intent on the different points of contrast between the good and the bad writer of 'iambi,' and the metaphors change rapidly.

12. Cp. what those who fear his satire say of the satirist, Sat. 1. 4. 34 'Foenum habet in cornu.' Mitsch. compares the Greek ταυροῦμαι, 'I become an angry bull,' Aesch. Cho. 272.

13. Epp. 1. 19. 25–30. **infido,** inasmuch as he had promised his daughter Neobule to Archilochus and broken his promise.

14. **hostis Bupalo.** Hipponax, an iambic poet who used his art to revenge himself on Bupalus and Athenis, two sculptors of Chios, and brothers. who had caricatured his ugliness. Notice that each of the epithets 'infido,' 'acer,' is intended, after Horace's manner, to cover to some extent both cases. They strike again the keynote of the Epode. The masters of iambic verse whom Horace imitates were like him, unlike his opponent: they struck only at those who deserved it, and they struck home.

15. **atro dente,** the 'venomous tooth' of envy or malignity, Od. 4. 3. 16, Mart. 5. 28. 7 'rubiginosis cuncta dentibus rodit.'

16. The order is 'inultus flebo, ut puer.'

# EPODE VII.

'Is civil war to be renewed, and Roman blood to flow again, not for the destruction of a foreign enemy, but to do the Parthian's work and destroy Rome itself? Even wild beasts do not prey on their own kind. Does anger blind you, or fate compel you, or is it mere wanton wickedness? Shame makes them silent, I will answer for them. It is the bitter heritage of fratricidal bloodshed which descends to us from the death of Remus.'

There is nothing to fix with precision the date of the Epode. It expresses horror at the prospect of some fresh outburst of civil war. The idea of the conclusion is Greek not Roman. The explanation offered in it of the succession of civil strife is fanciful and literary, without the definite political meaning which underlies the mythological form of such poems as Od. 1. 2. Compare in this respect, as in others, Epod. 16, which belongs to the same period.

QUO, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
  Aptantur enses conditi?
Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
  Fusum est Latini sanguinis,
Non, ut superbas invidae Carthaginis
  Romanus arces ureret,
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
  Sacra catenatus via,
Sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua
  Urbs haec periret dextera?
Neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus
  Umquam nisi in dispar feris.

5–8. 'Not as our fathers shed their blood for foreign conquest, nor as we might shed ours to complete their conquests.'

7. **intactus** = 'integer,' Od. 4. 4. 66. 'non ante devictus.' Macleane thinks that both couplets refer to exploits already accomplished, 'to achieve such victories as Scipio or Julius Caesar.' But the conquest of Britain is to Horace even in the Odes a triumph still in the future. If we assign even the earliest date to the Epode, Caesar's invasion was long enough past for its small results to have been estimated, and there was no political reason for exaggerating them.

**descenderet**, to be explained in connexion with the expression 'sacer clivus' in Od. 4. 2. 35, see note there. The triumphal procession descended by the 'Sacra via' into the Forum, through which it passed to the foot of the Capitoline hill. Before the ascent of that began the captives were led aside from the ranks. Cp. Cic. Verr. 5. 30 'Cum de foro in Capitolium currum flectere incipiunt illos duci in carcerem iubent; idemque dies et victoribus imperi et victis vitae finem facit.'

9. **sua dextera**, Epod. 16. 2 'Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.'

11, 12. **feris** serves to explain 'hic mos,' as though it were 'ut feri essent,'

Furorne caecus, an rapit vis acrior?
An culpa? Responsum date!—
Tacent et albus ora pallor inficit
Mentesque perculsae stupent.
Sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt
Scelusque fraternae necis,
Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus cruor.

so that it shares in the general negation and exception, 'this was never the wont of wolves or lions to turn their rage save on some other kind.' There is no need with Bentley to read 'numquam.' 'Dispar' is used by Cic. Tusc. 5. 13 for animals of a different species. Bentley compares, for the sentiment, Juv. 15. 159 foll., Plin. N. H. 7. 1 'leonum feritas inter se non dimicat.' Sen. Epp. 95 'cum inter se mutis ac feris pax sit,' and notices the growth of humanity and logic in the interval; 'quo Horatius argumento utitur ne Romanus contra Romanum eodem illi φιλοσοφώτερον utuntur ne homo contra hominem bella gerat.'

15. **tacent.** He turns from the tongue-tied prisoners to the court before which he is arraigning them.

17. **sic est.** He gives the explanation which most exonerates his countrymen. 'It is the power of ἄτη, an interminable inheritance of unavoidable crime dating from the first founder of the state.'

**fata scelusque**, not two things, but one.

19. **ut**, 'ever since,' see on Od. 4. 4. 42. For the thought cp. Lucan. 1. 95 'Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri.'

20. **sacer**, 'ut piaculum luendus,' Orelli.

## EPODE VIII.

ROGARE longo putidam te saeculo,
  Vires quid enervet meas?
Cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis vetus
  Frontem senectus exaret,
Hietque turpis inter aridas nates
  Podex velut crudae bovis.
Sed incitat me pectus et mammae putres,
  Equina quales ubera,
Venterque mollis et femur tumentibus
  Exile suris additum!
Esto beata, funus atque imagines
  Ducant triumphales tuum,
Nec sit marita, quae rotundioribus
  Onusta bacis ambulet.
Quid, quod libelli Stoici inter sericos
  Iacere pulvillos amant?
Illiterati num minus nervi rigent,
  Minusve langueat fascinum?
Quod ut superbo provoces ab inguine,
  Ore allaborandum est tibi.

# EPODE IX.

'WHEN shall we have our feast, Maecenas, in your great house at home, to celebrate Caesar's victory as we celebrated the defeat of Sextus Pompeius a little while ago? Oh, the shame to think of Roman soldiers in Cleopatra's effeminate camp! Even Galatian horsemen deserted her, and her fleet would not fight. Why is not the triumphal procession already moving—the triumph of a captain greater than Marius or the younger Scipio? Our foe has changed his scarlet for mourning, and fled across the sea with no harbour to go to. Bring wine, boy, and the largest cups; let us forget all our qualms for Caesar's welfare.'

Compare Od. 1. 37 Introd., Introd. to Books i-iii, § 1, and Introd. to the Epodes. It has been usual to treat this Epode as written when the news from Actium first reached Rome. Plüss (following the suggestion of Bücheler) has argued with great ingenuity and force for the view that it was written at sea, for an extempore banquet on board Maecenas' galley on the evening of the battle. He certainly shows that the language suits best the theory of composition on or near the spot. It is difficult to explain away 'nauseam' (v. 35). Even if it be in part metaphorical it is most natural in the mouth of one who has or has had the tossing ships before his eyes. The emphasis on 'sub alta domo' points to a contrast with the writer's position at the time. 'Quando' in Horace's usage ('O rus, quando te aspiciam!') suggests a sigh rather than a question. Some expressions, as 'sinistrorsum citae,' find their most natural explanation in the mouth of an eyewitness. The exactness of the moment selected, when the battle is supposed to be over and the flight known though its direction is only guessed,—the rapid change of feelings, disgust, triumph, scarcely veiled anxiety—the precision of some details combined with vagueness in the general picture, all suit a writer close to the scene of action, who sees a part clearly but not the whole, rather than one who hears the news at a distance. The omission of the event which forms so striking a picture in the accounts of the battle by Plutarch and Dion, viz. the burning of the Antonian fleet, is in any case unexplained. It might perhaps be suggested that the Epode represents a moment before the action itself, after the desertion of the Galatians, and when the delay in offering battle led to some premature rumour in the fleet of Octavianus that Antony had fled. On the decisive question whether Horace was actually present at Actium or not we have no conclusive evidence. If Maecenas was, Horace no doubt was also. The professions of Epode 1, and the indications of this one then fall into their place. They certainly raise a presumption that he was. The fact is indeed distinctly asserted in the elegiac poem of uncertain date 'in obitum Maecenatis,' which was attributed, but without sufficient evidence, to Ovid's friend, Pedo Albinovanus, and it is vouched for by Acron on Epod 1. It has been held to be inconsistent with the statement of Dion (51. 3) that he was in charge of Rome and Italy during the campaign, but see the Introd. to Epod. 1.

QUANDO repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes
Victore laetus Caesare
Tecum sub alta—sic Iovi gratum—domo,
Beate Maecenas, bibam
Sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,
Hac Dorium, illis barbarum,
Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
Dux fugit ustis navibus,
Minatus Urbi vincla, quae detraxerat
Servis amicus perfidis?
Romanus, eheu,—posteri negabitis—
Emancipatus feminae
Fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
Servire rugosis potest,

3. **alta domo**, the palace of Maecenas on the Esquiline.

4. **beate**, 'cui omnia ex voto cadunt,' Orelli; 'happy,'—partly in all the splendour about him, an epithet to harmonize with 'festas,' 'alta,' &c., which express Horace's anticipation of the banquet which is to match the occasion,—partly in the news of this crowning victory of his friend and his policy.

5. **tibiis, lyra.** The two instruments are used even at Homer's banquets; Il. 18. 495 αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον. Cp. Od. 3. 19. 16–18. There is a doubt, however, whether 'mixtum' must be pressed to mean that they were used at the same moment, as the next verse would then imply not merely that the two instruments but the two 'modes' or 'scales,' ἡ Δωριστί and ἡ Φρυγιστί, could be played together (see Dict. Ant. end of Article on Greek Music). For the plural 'tibiis' see on Od. 1. 1. 32.

6. **illis**, sc. 'sonantibus,' as though the construction had been 'sonantibus mixtum carmen tibiis et lyra.'

**barbarum**, used instead of 'Phrygium' for the sake of the antithesis to 'Dorium.' The Phrygian mode and its appropriate instrument belong rather to orgies and revelry (Od. 3. 19. 16), the Dorian to martial music. This occasion calls for both.

7. **nuper.** Five years before, when Sextus Pompeius (in Sept. B.C. 36) was totally defeated by Agrippa off Naulochus in Sicily, and driven from the sea to take refuge in Asia.

**Neptunius**; he called himself the son of Neptune and the sea, Appian 5. 100, Dion 48. 19. In the same chapter Dion speaks of the multitude of runaway slaves who joined his fleet, cp. Epod. 4. 19.

10. **servis**, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with 'detraxerat' and 'amicus,' see on Od. 1. 3. 6.

11. **posteri negabitis**, Cp. Od. 2. 19. 11 'credite, posteri,' of something strange.

12. **emancipatus**, 'sold as a slave.' Cic. Phil. 2. 21 'venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum,' and with dative de Sen. 11. 38 'emancipata nemini.' Cp. Plaut. Bacch. 1. 1. 59 'Nunc mulier tibi me emancipo; tuus sum, tibi operam do.' 'Emancipare' abs. is 'to free from "mancipium,"' with a dat. it came to mean 'to transfer from one "mancipium" to another,' 'to sell.' Notice that the word takes up and parallels 'servis' of v. 10. This time it is not only a case of employing slaves. Romans *are* slaves.

13. **fert vallum et arma**, i.e. is a Roman soldier still in discipline and endurance. Compare Cicero's account of what a soldier carried on his march, Tusc. 2. 16 'Militiae nostri exercitus qui labor et quantus agminis, ferre plus dimidiati mensis cibaria, ferre si quid ad usum velint, ferre vallum! Nam scutum, galeam, gladium, in onere nostri milites non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus; arma enim membra militis esse dicunt.' 'Vallus' is a stake for palisading.

**et spadonibus**, see on Od. 1. 37. 9.

Interque signa turpe militaria
  Sol aspicit conopium.
Ad hunc frementes verterunt bis mille equos
  Galli, canentes Caesarem,
Hostiliumque navium portu latent
  Puppes sinistrorsum citae.
Io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos
  Currus et intactas boves?

'Et' from the context acquires the force of 'et tamen.'

14. **potest**, in the sense of τλῆναι, see on Od. 3. 11. 31.

16. **sol aspicit**, a trope common to all nations, 'before all Israel and before the sun.'

**conopium**, a gauze curtain or tent to keep off mosquitoes. The Romans despised it as a sign of effeminacy; see Paley on Prop. 4. 11. 45 'Foedaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo.' Probably there is a special emphasis of scorn on the foreign name as in Juvenal's 'Rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine, Et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.'

17. **ad hunc frementes**, 'chafing at such a sight'; 'hunc' = 'militem spadonibus servientem.' Compare perhaps the use of 'hic' in Od. 3. 5. 37. For the construction we may perhaps quote (with Bentley) Epp. 1. 19. 45 'Ad haec ego naribus uti Formido,' though it is a stronger support to his own reading 'ad hoc.' The general meaning is well given by Porph. '[Gallorum] ideo mentio facta est ut Romanos qui sub praepositis spadonibus aequo animo militarent magis oneraret per comparationem Gallorum qui hoc dedignati ad Caesarem se contulerunt.' The sense is not altered, while the construction is made simpler by Bentley's conjecture, 'ad hoc,' or Fea's 'at hoc,' adopted by Orelli and Dill[r].; but the MSS. give no encouragement to either. 'Ad hunc' is the reading which has the best MS. authority (but B omits most of the Epode, and there is no testimony to the reading of V), and it was interpreted by Acron. The other readings with respectable authority are 'adhuc,' which must be taken with 'frementes,' 'up till this time neighing for the fight'; and 'at huc,' which was read by the Comm. Cruq., and interpreted by him 'but to our side'; cp. Vell. 2. 84 'Hinc ad Antonium nemo; illinc ad Caesarem quotidie aliquid transfugiebat.'

18. **Galli.** These were Galatians, who with their princes Deiotarus and Amyntas deserted to Octavianus shortly before the engagement, Plut. Ant. 63.

**canentes Caesarem**, shouting his name as a war cry. The Scholiasts quote Virg. Aen. 7. 698 'Ibant aequati numero regemque canebant.'

19, 20. These lines obviously describe some naval defection which is matched with the desertion of the Galatian cavalry. It may be noted that Plutarch (Ant. 63) follows his account of the defection of the Galatians with the words τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἐν παντὶ δυσπραγοῦν καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ὑστερίζον βοήθειαν αὖθις ἠνάγκαζε τῷ πεζῷ προσέχειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. The meaning of 'sinistrorsum citae' has not been fully explained. Bentley suggested that 'puppim ciere,' = 'to put the stern in motion,' may have been a Latin equivalent of πρύμναν κρούεσθαι, 'to back water,' and that 'sinistrorsum' may have had some technical meaning as a completion of the phrase. His second explanation seems more likely, that Horace is speaking as one who looks at the scene of war from the north, so that 'to the left' would mean 'eastward,' i.e. back into the Ambracian Gulf. It is however one of the expressions which strongly suggest an eyewitness.

21. **io Triumphe.** 'Triumphus' is personified, as in Od. 4. 2. 49, see note there. There is an emphasis on 'tu,' 'It must be the Triumph-god himself that delays the starting of the procession, all else is ready.'

22. **intactas**, 'never yoked,' and so fit for sacrifice; 'intacta cervice iuvencas,' Virg. G. 4. 540, 'grege de intacto mactare iuvencos,' Aen. 6. 38.

Io Triumphe, nec Iugurthino parem
  Bello reportasti ducem,
Neque Africanum, cui super Carthaginem
  Virtus sepulcrum condidit.
Terra marique victus hostis punico
  Lugubre mutavit sagum.
Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus
  Ventis iturus non suis,
Exercitatas aut petit Syrtes Noto,
  Aut fertur incerto mari.
Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos
  Et Chia vina aut Lesbia:
Vel, quod fluentem nauseam coërceat,
  Metire nobis Caecubum:

23. **Iugurthino bello**, i. e. Marius. We notice that the two triumphs which Horace compares with the triumph over Antony and Cleopatra are over an African enemy. The danger escaped now, he would suggest, is more odious and greater than those.

24. **reportasti.** 'Reportare' is more commonly used with 'praedam' or 'victoriam,' but Orelli quotes Cic. post Red. in Sen. 11. 28, when speaking of his own return in terms of a triumph 'equis insignibus et curru aurato reportati.'

25. **Africanum.** The difficulties of these lines cannot be said to be solved. For the reading, the MSS. are divided between 'Africanum' and 'Africano.' The Comm. Cruq seems to have read the latter. If (with Bentley, Orelli, Munro, Schütz, Keller) we retain 'Africanum,' which is more likely to have been altered by a copyist to 'Africano,' in order to harmonize with 'Iugurthino,' than vice versa, the constr. is 'neque A. reportasti parem ducem'; 'sepulcrum' must be taken in a metaph. sense, for 'monumentum.' Bentley justifies this by the metaph. uses of *τάφος*, *στήλη*, *μνῆμα*, and by such expressions as that of Statius Silv. 2. 7, who says that Lucan's poem is to Pompey 'Pharo superba . . . altius sepulcrum.' It cannot be pretended that this is quite satisfactory. In all the cases quoted there is something in the occasion or context which makes the metaphor less abrupt than it is here. The change of construction 'nec Iugurthino bello . . . neque Africanum' is (as the alteration, if so it be, to 'Africano' bears witness) rougher than we expect; and after Africanus has been named, the rhetorical description of him lacks evident point. Yet the alternatives (see additional note at the end of the Epode) have at least equal difficulties in their way.

27. **punico**, a less usual form of 'puniceo.' Either scarlet or white was the proper colour of the 'paludamentum,' or general's cloak.

28. **sagum** was the cloak of the common soldier on service, opp. to 'toga,' the dress of a citizen; as understood with 'punico' it loses its special sense. For the construction of 'mutavit' with the accusative of the thing taken, see on Od. 1. 17. 1.

29, 32. Three conjectures as to Antony's flight. He is gone to Crete or to Africa, or he is beating about on the sea. All these are qualified by words to express his helpless state. If he wishes to go to Crete he cannot command the winds: the Syrtes are 'still vexed' by the south wind: the sea drives him hither and thither.

31. **petit** governs 'Cretam' as well as 'Syrtes.'

33. **capaciores**, cp. Od. 2. 7. 21-23.

35. **nauseam.** The Schol. explain it by 'quod multum vini et dulce, ut est Lesbium, bibetur.' The editors till recently either followed this (as Orelli and Ritter) or (as Düntzer and Dill^r.) took it metaphorically of disgust, referring

Curam metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat
Dulci Lyaeo solvere.

to vv. 11 foll. Since Bücheler's suggestion (see introd. to the Epode) it has been generally taken literally; Horace either is or imagines himself at sea. In any case the coarse touch is probably intentional at the end of an Epode.

36. **metire**, 'mix in due proportions with water.'

**Caecubum** was dry, and tonic, εὔτονον, Athen. 1. 18.

37. **curam metumque.** It is to be noted that the anxiety is not represented as entirely over.

**rerum**, for the genitive case cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 462 'lacrimae rerum,' 2. 784 'lacrimas Creusae.'

38. **Lyaeo solvere**, with a clear reference to the etymology of Λυαῖος, see on Od. 3. 21. 16.

---

## ADDITIONAL NOTE

### ON VERSES 25, 26.

The Comm. Cruq. seems to have read 'Africano,' for it stands so not only in the lemma, but also in the construction of the sentence in his note '*neque Africano* triumpho reportasti parem Augusto ducem.' With this reading the lines have been taken in two ways:

1. Ritter and Nauck make 'Africano [bello]' the antecedent to 'cui,' 'in [that] war in Africa for which Valour made a burial-place in the ruins of Carthage.' This has the advantage of avoiding the gravest objection which Bentley takes to the reading: 'Africano' is not made by itself the antithesis to 'Iugurthino,' for the clause 'cui,' &c., indicates what 'war in Africa' is meant. 'Africano' however remains in this case, it must be confessed, in a place where we look for a word of emphasis, somewhat tame and needless. The phrase 'sepulcrum condere bello' may have had literary antecedents which if we knew them would explain it. In itself it does not read quite like Horace, and Cicero's 'bellum sublatum et sepultum' (Leg. Man. 11. 30), which is quoted, falls much short of it.

2. Plüss, in the chapter of his Horaz Studien already referred to, gives a new turn to the whole passage by making the antecedent to 'cui' not 'bello' but 'ducem.' The lines, he says, are ironical. 'Ducem' is used not of the conquering general, but of the conquered, who is brought home to grace the triumph. Cleopatra is the person meant, and compared to Jugurtha and to Hasdrubal. The words 'cui super Carthaginem,' &c., are explained of Hasdrubal's brave words (Polyb. Rell. 39. 2), καλὸν ἐντάφιον εἶναι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ ταύτης πῦρ, in spite of which he afterwards surrendered to Scipio. The fatal objection to this theory, ingenious and tempting as it is, is the necessity which it involves of taking 'Africano' by itself as = 'Punico,' as though the Jugurthine war was not also 'Africanum.'

Kiessling adopts Madvig's neat emendation 'Africani,' i.e. 'neque bello cui Africani virtus sepulcrum condidit.' This would avoid many, but not all, of the difficulties noticed.

---

# EPODE X.

'PROPEMPTICON INIMICO POETAE.' Contrast it with the beginning of Od. 1. 3. Very little is known of Maevius beyond the fact of his being the special enemy of Virgil as well as of Horace. 'Qui Bavium non odit amet tua carmina, Maevi,' Ecl. 3. 90. The few doubtful stories connected with him will be found in Smith's Dict. Biog. under the name of Bavius.

'Bad luck go with the ship that bears Maevius. May each wind play its part in wrecking it. May never a star show itself. Be the sea as rough as when Pallas sank Ajax on his way home from Troy. Methinks I see the storm—the sailors toiling and you pale and praying as the hull goes to pieces. May you be thrown on shore and feed the cormorants.'

MALA soluta navis exit alite,
  Ferens olentem Maevium:
Ut horridis utrumque verberes latus,
  Auster, memento fluctibus!
Niger rudentes Eurus inverso mari
  Fractosque remos differat;
Insurgat Aquilo, quantus altis montibus
  Frangit trementes ilices;
Nec sidus atra nocte amicum appareat,
  Qua tristis Orion cadit;
Quietiore nec feratur aequore,
  Quam Graia victorum manus,
Cum Pallas usto vertit iram ab Ilio
  In impiam Aiacis ratem!
O quantus instat navitis sudor tuis
  Tibique pallor luteus
Et illa non virilis eiulatio,
  Preces et aversum ad Iovem,

3-8. Contrast Od. 1. 3. 4, 'Obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga.'

10. **qua**, the antecedent is 'nocte'; the night of Orion's setting will be a stormy one on which the guidance of the stars would be welcome. Od. 1. 28. 21, 3. 27. 18, Epod. 15. 7.

**tristis**, as 'tristes Hyadas,' Od. 1. 3. 14.

12. **Graia victorum manus.** For the relation of the adjective we may compare Od. 1. 29. 5 'Quae virginum barbara,' and 3. 29. 1 'Tyrrhena regum progenies.'

13, 14. For the death of Ajax, the son of Oileus, see Hom. Od. 4. 502 foll., Virg. Aen. 1. 39 foll.

Ionius udo cum remugiens sinus
Noto carinam ruperit!
Opima quodsi praeda curvo litore
Porrecta mergos iuverit,
Libidinosus immolabitur caper
Et agna Tempestatibus.

19. **Ionius**, the lower part of the Adriatic. Maevius is crossing to Greece.

21. **opima**, 'apparet et pinguem eum fuisse,' Porph.

22. **iuverit.** This is the reading of all the older MSS. and of Acron and Porphyrion. Many editors have received 'iuveris' on the authority of the Comm. Cruq., who explains it by 'paveris.' If we retain the third person, 'praeda' is the direct subject.

23, 24. The sacrifices usually offered for the preservation of mariners he vows if Maevius suffers shipwreck. Virg. Aen. 5. 772 'Tempestatibus agnam Caedere deinde iubet.'

---

# EPODE XI.

'I HAVE no heart for poetry. A different passion has smitten me. I am the victim of Love in a way that no one else is. Three years ago it was Inachia. I was the talk of the town: my moody ways, my loud complaints that she preferred money to merit, my resolutions to free myself, and my repeated return to slavery. Now it is another. Neither advice nor rebuffs will cure me. The only relief that I can look for is some new passion.'

Horace, as Ritter remarks, turns the sting of his iambic verse, in profession at least, upon himself. We know no more of his friend Pettius (or Pectius as some MSS. spell it), to whom the Epode is addressed.

Metre—*Archilochium* III$^{m}$.

PETTI, nihil me sicut antea iuvat
Scribere versiculos amore percussum gravi,
Amore, qui me praeter omnes expetit
Mollibus in pueris aut in puellis urere.
Hic tertius December, ex quo destiti
Inachia furere, silvis honorem decutit.

2. **versiculos**, the diminutive gives a touch of ironical contempt, as in Sat. 1. 10. 58.

**amore percussum**, probably a reminiscence of Lucretius, 1. 922 'acri Percussit thyrso laudis spes magna meum cor, Et simul incussit suavem mi in pectus amorem Musarum,' coloured perhaps by Virgil's imitation, G. 2. 476 'ingenti percussus amore'; so that 'amore,' made emphatic by its repetition, and explained in v. 4, has the force of a 'passion, vehement and irresistible, but not for the Muses.'

3. **expetit urere**, for the prose 'quem urat.'

6. **honorem decutit**, Od. 1. 17. 16 'Ruris honorum,' Virg. G. 2. 404

Heu me, per Urbem—nam pudet tanti mali—
Fabula quanta fui! Conviviorum et poenitet,
In quis amantem languor et silentium
Arguit et latere petitus imo spiritus.
Contrane lucrum nil valere candidum
Pauperis ingenium? querebar applorans tibi,
Simul calentis inverecundus deus
Fervidiore mero arcana promorat loco.
Quodsi meis inaestuet praecordiis
Libera bilis, ut haec ingrata ventis dividat
Fomenta vulnus nil malum levantia,
Desinet imparibus certare summotus pudor.
Ubi haec severus te palam laudaveram,
Iussus abire domum ferebar incerto pede
Ad non amicos heu mihi postes et heu
Limina dura, quibus lumbos et infregi latus.
Nunc gloriantis quamlibet mulierculam
Vincere mollitie amor Lycisci me tenet,

'Frigidus et silvis Aquilo decussit honorem,' see Conington's note there. Servius says that that line is borrowed from Varro Atacinus; if so, Horace may have taken it from the same source.

7. **nam pudet**, the reason for his exclaiming 'heu me,' &c., not for the fact which he states in his exclamation.

8. **fabula**, 'a topic of talk,' Epp. 1. 13. 9.

10. **arguit**, the perfect tense.

11. **contrane . . . valere**, Madv. § 399, Virg. Aen. 1. 39 'Mene incepto desistere victam,' and so too Cicero, Rosc. Am. 14 'Tene tibi partes istas depoposcisse?' It expresses surprise and indignation.

12. **applorans**, 'wailing with some one to listen.' The word only occurs here and once in Seneca.

13. **calentis**, the genitive depends on 'arcana,' 'had stirred from their concealment my secrets as I grew warm with stronger wine.'

**inverecundus**, 'destroying bashfulness.'

15–18. This is a continuation of Horace's own speech, begun in v. 11. 'Well, if only she angers me a little more you shall hear nothing further of these complaints. I will give up a struggle with rivals who are not worthy of me.'

16. **libera bilis**, 'liberrima indignatio,' Epod. 4. 10. 'If my anger once boil up and find vent.'

17. **fomenta**, 'useless bandages which give no ease to the aching wound,' i. e. such complaints as he has been uttering. The case requires more trenchant treatment. It is a τομῶν πῆμα (Soph. Aj. 582).

18. 'My modesty will vanish; I shall rate myself at my true worth, and refuse to continue a contest with rivals who are so far below me.'

19. **severus**, 'as one who would not relent.'

**laudaveram**, 'when I had boasted of these resolutions,' told them as something I was proud of.

20. **iussus**. You bade me go home, and think no more of her, but my feet could not keep the purpose, but went back to Inachia's door. Cp. Tibull. 2. 6. 11 'Magna loquor: sed magnifice mihi magna locuto Excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores. Iuravi quotiens rediturum ad limina numquam Cum bene iuravi, pes tamen ipse redit.'

22. Compare Od. 3. 10. 2 'asperas Porrectum ante fores,' &c.

Unde expedire non amicorum queant
  Libera consilia nec contumeliae graves,
Sed alius ardor aut puellae candidae
  Aut teretis pueri longam renodantis comam.

26. **libera**, 'for all their plainness.'

---

## EPODE XII.

Metre—*Alcmanium*.

Quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?
  Munera quid mihi quidve tabellas
Mittis nec firmo iuveni neque naris obesae?
  Namque sagacius unus odoror,
Polypus an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
  Quam canis acer, ubi lateat sus.
Qui sudor vietis et quam malus undique membris
  Crescit odor, cum pene soluto
Indomitam properat rabiem sedare; neque illi
  Iam manet umida creta colorque
Stercore fucatus crocodili, iamque subando
  Tenta cubilia tectaque rumpit!
Vel mea cum saevis agitat fastidia verbis:
  Inachia langues minus ac me;
Inachiam ter nocte potes, mihi semper ad unum
  Mollis opus. Pereat male, quae te
Lesbia quaerenti taurum monstravit inertem,
  Cum mihi Cous adesset Amyntas,
Cuius in indomito constantior inguine nervus
  Quam nova collibus arbor inhaeret.
Muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae
  Cui properabantur? Tibi nempe.
Ne foret aequales inter conviva, magis quem
  Diligeret mulier sua quam te.
O ego non felix, quam tu fugis, ut pavet acres
  Agna lupos capreaeque leones!

---

# EPODE XIII.

'It is stormy weather; the occasion, if we will take it while we may, for the greater merriment within doors. Bring the old wine. Do not let us talk of any troubles. They will come straight again. Let us draw the conclusion the Centaur taught his great pupil to draw. "You are mortal. You will not come back from Troy. Enjoy life while you are there."'

Compare Od. 1. 9, and see Introd. to it. The poem is addressed to a circle of friends, but in v. 6 the address is narrowed to a single guest. The advice of Chiron to Achilles is not found either in form or substance in any extant Greek poem.

Metre—*Archilochium* II$^{m}$.

Horrida tempestas caelum contraxit et imbres
  Nivesque deducunt Iovem; nunc mare, nunc siluae
Threïcio Aquilone sonant: rapiamus, amici,
  Occasionem de die, dumque virent genua
Et decet, obducta solvatur fronte senectus.
  Tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo.
Cetera mitte loqui: deus haec fortasse benigna
  Reducet in sedem vice. Nunc et Achaemenio
Perfundi nardo iuvat et fide Cyllenea
  Levare diris pectora sollicitudinibus;

1. **contraxit**, Dill$^{r}$. quotes Cic. N. D. 2. 40. 102 'Sol modo accedens tum autem recedens quasi tristitia quadam contrahit terram, tum vicissim laetificat'; which looks as if the metaphor here were 'has made the heaven frown.' Orelli takes it to mean 'has narrowed,' sc. the clouds have hidden a great part of it.

2. **deducunt**, Virg. E. 7. 60 'Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri.'

**siluae**, see on Od. 1. 23. 4.

4. **de die.** This phrase seems to have meant 'from early in the day,' cp. the opp. 'de nocte,' Epp. 1. 2. 32, and to have been used specially of beginning in the day-time occupations, such as feasting, which belonged to the evening and night; 'partem solido demere de die,' Od. 1. 1. 20, 'Vos convivia lauta sumptuose De die facitis,' Catull. 47. 5, Liv. 23. 8 'epulari de die.' Here it is perhaps more general in meaning, 'ere the day passes,' 'ere evening comes,' the evening of life as well as of the particular day.

**virent genua**, perhaps from Theoc. 14. 70 ποιῆν τί δεῖ, ἇς γόνυ χλωρόν; 'virere,' of youthful vigour, is common; Od. 1. 9. 17 'Donec virenti canities abest Morosa,' so 'viridis senectus.' Virg. Aen. 6. 304. The knees are the seat of strength, as in Homer's γούνατα λύειν.

5. **obducta**, συννεφεῖ, 'clouded.'

**senectus**, the signs and temper of age, as Epp. 1. 18. 47 'inhumanae senium depone Camenae.'

6. **Torquato**, see on Od. 3. 21. 1 'O nata mecum consule Manlio.'

7. **cetera mitte loqui**, Od. 1. 9. 9 'Permitte Divis cetera.'

**benigna vice**, Od. 1. 4. 1 'grata vice.'

8. **Achaemenio**, Od. 3. 1. 44.

9. **Cyllenea**, i.e. Mercury's, see on Od. 3. 4. 4.

Nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno:
  Invicte, mortalis dea nate puer Thetide,
Te manet Assaraci tellus, quam frigida parvi
  Findunt Scamandri flumina lubricus et Simoïs,
Unde tibi reditum certo subtemine Parcae
  Rupere, nec mater domum caerula te revehet.
Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
  Deformis aegrimoniae dulcibus alloquiis.

12. **invicte**, to be taken by itself, as in Virg. Aen. 6. 365 and 8. 293.

13. **manet**, 'you are fated to go there.'

**Assaraci**, the grandfather of Anchises Virg. Aen. 1. 284.

**frigida**, Hom. Il. 22. 151, of one of the fountains of Scamander (the other was hot), *ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ | ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ.*

**parvi**, not the Homeric view, Il. 20. 73 *μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης, | ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοὶ ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον.* But the Romans noticed the smallness of the streams of Troy, Luc. 9. 974 '[Caesar] Inscius in sicco serpentem pulvere rivum Transierat qui Xanthus erat.' So far as it has any rhetorical purpose, and the epithets are sprinkled with a freedom which Horace's later style would have repudiated, it seems to carry a faint verbal antithesis to 'grande,' and to emphasize the 'smallness' of the lot, of which, nevertheless, Chiron bids him make the best.

14. **lubricus**, 'sliding,' Ov. Fast. 6. 238 'lubrice Tibri.'

15. **certo**, as 'post certas hiemes,' Od. 1. 15. 35; the length of the thread is unalterably fixed.

**subtemine**, of the threads of life spun by the Parcae, Catull. 64. 327 'Currite ducentes subtemina, currite, fusi.'

16. **mater caerula**, Thetis, the sea-nymph, as 'Circe vitrea,' Od. 1. 17. 20.

18. **alloquiis**, seems to be used like the Greek *παραμυθία, παρηγορίαι*, with a genitive case, 'the sweet solaces of grim sadness.' Bentley would insert 'ac' before 'dulcibus' and construct 'aegrimoniae' after 'malum.'

# EPODE XIV.

'YOU are always asking me why I am so forgetful of my promise to finish my Epodes. It is love that hinders me. I am not the first poet who has been the slave of love. You know the pain yourself. But you are a happy man compared with me.'

Metre—*Pythiambicum* I[um].

MOLLIS inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis
Oblivionem sensibus,
Pocula Lethaeos ut si ducentia somnos
Arente fauce traxerim,
Candide Maecenas, occidis saepe rogando:
Deus, deus nam me vetat
Inceptos, olim promissum carmen, iambos
Ad umbilicum adducere.
Non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
Anacreonta Teïum,
Qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem
Non elaboratum ad pedem.
Ureris ipse miser: quodsi non pulchrior ignis
Accendit obsessam Ilion,

4. **arente fauce**, and therefore greedily, a large draught.

5. **candide**, Epp. 1. 4. 1 'Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,' 'frank,' 'honest.' Horace implies that he will be equally 'frank' in his answer to the question; so the repetition 'deus, deus' corresponds to 'saepe rogando.'

6. **deus**, sc. 'Amor.'

**nam**, gives the reason of 'occidis.' 'It is wearisome to be asked, for I have only one answer to give.'

7. **olim**, better probably with 'promissum' than with 'inceptos.'

**promissum**, 'promised to the world,' as A. P. 45 'promissi carminis auctor.'

**iambos**, under this name Horace would include all his Epodes, as in Epp. 1. 19. 23 'Parios ego primus iambos Ostendi Latio.' In Epp. 2. 2. 59 he divides his poetry into 'carmina,' 'Odes'; 'iambi,' Epodes; and 'Bionei sermones,' Satires.

8. **umbilicum**, properly the knob at each end of the roller, which was fastened to the bottom of the parchment when full, and on which it was rolled. The expression, therefore, means to prepare for publication and to finish. Mart. 21. 91. 1 'Ohe iam satis est ohe libelle, Iam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos.'

9–12. This may possibly mean that Anacreon also had given his love as an excuse for not writing.

12. **non elaboratum**, of a free metre, 'numeris lege solutis,' Od. 4. 2. 11.

**pedem**, as in Od. 4. 6. 35 'Lesbium pedem.'

13. **ignis.** With the play on the double meaning of 'ignis' cp. Od. 2. 4. 7 note.

Gaude sorte tua; me libertina neque uno
Contenta Phryne macerat.

16. **macerat,** Od. 1. 13. 8.

---

# EPODE XV.

'You remember the night, Neaera, when you swore eternal love to me. It is unhappy for you that I am not as light-minded as you. Your beauty will not tempt me back to you again. And for you, sir, my successful rival, be you ever so rich and wise and beautiful, you will be deserted as I have been, and I shall laugh at you yet.'

Metre—*Pythiambicum* Im.

Nox erat et caelo fulgebat luna sereno
Inter minora sidera,
Cum tu magnorum numen laesura deorum
In verba iurabas mea,
Artius atque hedera procera adstringitur ilex,
Lentis adhaerens bracchiis:
Dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion
Turbaret hibernum mare,
Intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos
Fore hunc amorem mutuum.
O dolitura mea multum virtute Neaera!
Nam si quid in Flacco viri est,

1. Night and the moon are named partly as 'non infideles arbitrae' (Epod. 5. 50) of her vows, partly to recall to her the scene.

3. **laesura,** by her perjury.

4. **in verba,** properly to swear according to the formula dictated by the person administering the oath. Its common use was of the soldier's oath of allegiance. Horace uses it here of a lover's oath; in Epp. 1. 1. 14 of allegiance to a teacher in philosophy.

6. **lentis,** 'clinging,' as of the vine, Virg. E. 3. 38.

7. **dum pecori lupus,** sc. 'infestus esset.'

**Orion,** Od. 1. 28. 21, 3. 27. 18, Epod. 10. 20.

11. **mea virtute.** Orelli and Dillr. take this as merely = 'per me.' But there seems an intended play in 'virtute . . . viri,' cp. Epod. 16. 39, &c. 'quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum.' His special 'manly' virtue will be 'constantia.' It might have been her happiness, it shall be her punishment.

Non feret assiduas potiori te dare noctes,
  Et quaeret iratus parem,
Nec semel offensae cedet constantia formae,
  Si certus intrarit dolor.
Et tu, quicumque es felicior atque meo nunc
  Superbus incedis malo,
Sis pecore et multa dives tellure licebit
  Tibique Pactolus fluat,
Nec te Pythagorae fallant arcana renati,
  Formaque vincas Nirea,
Eheu translatos alio maerebis amores:
  Ast ego vicissim risero.

14. **et**, after a negative clause, where we expect rather an adversative conj., as in Virg. Aen. 2. 94 'Nec tacui demens et ... promisi.' See on Od. 1. 27. 16.

**parem**, 'a true match,' one faithful like myself.

15, 16. 'Nor will my resolution yield to beauty which has once become odious to me, if the pain has once entered and fixed itself in my heart.'

15. **offensae**, literally, 'which I have stumbled against': so Cicero uses it, pro Sest. 58 'cui nos offensi invisique fuerimus.'

16. **dolor**, the pain of feeling deserted.

19. **licebit**, with very little difference from 'licet,' 'although.' Sat. 2. 2. 59 'licebit Ille repotia ... celebret.'

21. **arcana**, esoteric doctrines, taught only to a few favoured disciples.

**renati**, Od. 1. 28. 10, referring to his doctrine of *μετεμψύχωσις*.

22. **Nirea**, see on Od. 3. 20. 15.

# EPODE XVI.

'A SECOND generation is passing away in civil war. Roman hands are doing what no foeman, in Italy or beyond it, has been able to do. The site of Rome will be once more desolate; barbarian conquerors will ride over it, and scatter with their horse-hoofs the bones of Romulus. Do you ask the remedy? Let us fly like the Phocaeans—leave hearth and home, and fly—anywhere; only never to come back again till stone swims and every law of nature is changed. Let us all go—all, or all that have men's hearts in them. We shall find a home beyond the Ocean. There are the Happy Islands, where the earth yields its fruit without labour, where the powers of nature never injure, where commerce has never come to taint man, nor plague to taint cattle. Jove set them apart for the good when he turned the golden age to bronze—to bronze and then to iron. It is time for those who are good to seek the offered refuge.'

See Introd. to Epod. 7. The two poems belong to the same phase of feeling. They may have been written at any time when Horace had begun to sicken of the aimless bloodshed of the civil war, and before he had seen or reconciled himself to the practical remedy which Octavianus offered for it. At present the suggestion of a mode of escape from it is not more than a poetical mode of expressing its hopelessness. He cannot see its issue, any more than in Epod. 7 he can see its causes.

The Pseudo-Acron quotes from a lost work of Sallust, to the effect that Sertorius, after his defeat, thought of sailing into the Atlantic in search of the fabled islands of the blest, 'ad insulas Fortunatas voluisse ire.' The genuineness of the quotation is confirmed by Servius, who, on Virg. Aen. 5. 735, refers to Sallust as having spoken of the μακάρων νῆσοι. Plutarch tells the same story in the life of Sertorius, ch. 9. It is very possible that Horace may have heard it, and that it may have suggested the conclusion of the Epode.

Compare the description of the Happy Islands both in thought and expression with Virgil's Golden Age in Ecl. 4.

Metre—*Pythiambicum* II^m^.

ALTERA iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,
  Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit:
Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi
  Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus,

1. **altera aetas**; the first would be the generation of Sulla and Marius.
**teritur**, 'is being wasted,' Virg. Aen. 4. 271.
2. Epod. 7. 10.
3-8. For the absence of chronological order in the list of national dangers cp. Od. 1. 12. 33-44, 2. 12. 1-4. The arrangement, such as it is, is geographical. 'No enemy however near home or far away.'
3. **Marsi**. The reference is to the Marsic or Social war, B.C. 91-88, cp. Od. 3. 14. 18.

Aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer
Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,
Nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube
Parentibusque abominatus Hannibal,
Impia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas,
Ferisque rursus occupabitur solum.
Barbarus heu cineres insistet victor et Urbem
Eques sonante verberabit ungula,
Quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini,
Nefas videre! dissipabit insolens.
Forte quid expediat communiter aut melior pars
Malis carere quaeritis laboribus:

5. **Capuae.** With special reference, no doubt, to the revolt of Capua in the second Punic war; but the popular jealousy of Capua as a possible rival of Rome lasted so late that Cicero plays upon it in his two speeches, de Leg. Agr. contr. Rullum.

**Spartacus**, cp. Od. 3. 14. 19; the Thracian freebooter who, having been taken and sold as a gladiator, escaped, and was for two years (B.C. 73–71) the terror of Rome as the leader of the Servile war.

6. **novis rebus**, prob. the abl. 'in the hour of revolution' rather than the dat. with 'infidelis.' The reference is apparently to the way in which they played fast and loose at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy, coquetting with the conspirators, betraying them to Cicero, and then within a few months invading Gallia Narbonensis. Cicero (Prov. Cons. 13. 32) speaks of their defeat on this occasion by C. Pomptinus as the escape from a serious danger, 'republica metu liberata.' The territory of the Allobroges lay between the Rhone and the Isère.

7. **caerulea**, 'blue-eyed,' Juv. 13. 164 'Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam Caesariem.' The reference is to the incursions of the Cimbri and Teutones, which were finally checked by Marius and Catulus in the battles of Aquae Sextiae (B.C. 102) and Raudii Campi (B.C. 101).

8. **parentibus abominatus.** Orelli and Dill$^{r}$. take 'parentibus' as 'our forefathers,' but the parallel, Od. 1. 1. 24 'bella matribus detestata,' seems conclusive in favour of the simpler meaning. Compare the common epithet, 'dirus Hannibal.'

9. **devoti sanguinis**, the descriptive genitive, Madv. § 287. The thought is the same as that of Epod. 7. 'There is a curse on this generation. They draw their crimes with their blood from their predecessors.'

10. **rursus**, 'as before the city was built.'

13. **ossa Quirini.** Porph. quotes Varro as saying that there was a tomb of Romulus 'post Rostra' ('pro Rostris,' Comm. Cruq.). And Orelli refers to this a corrupt and obscure fragment of Festus, 'niger lapis in Comitio locum funestum significat ut ali (?) Romuli morti destinatum.' Horace ignores the legend of his apotheosis which he adopts in Od. 3. 3. 15 foll. 'Martis equis Acheronta fugit.'

14. **nefas videre**, 'sight of shame'; Virg. Aen. 8. 688 'sequiturque, nefas, Aegyptia coniux'; the infinitive for the more usual supine 'mirabile dictu.' Grammatically, 'nefas' is an accusative characterising the action of the 'dissipabit ossa.'

15, 16. 'May be, with one voice, or, at least, the better part of you, you are asking what can help you to get quit of your sad troubles.'

15. **melior**, explained by v. 37, 'honestior ac dignitatis amantior,' Orelli.

16. **carere** = 'ad carendum.' Bentley, after Rutgers, objecting to the ambiguity of 'quid expediat carere?' which might also mean 'what is the good of getting quit?' would read 'quod expediat,' taking it as equivalent to 'quod

Nulla sit hac potior sententia, Phocaeorum
  Velut profugit execrata civitas
Agros atque Lares patrios, habitandaque fana
  Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis,
Ire pedes quocumque ferent, quocumque per undas
  Notus vocabit aut protervus Africus.
Sic placet? an melius quis habet suadere?—Secunda
  Ratem occupare quid moramur alite?
Sed iuremus in haec: Simul imis saxa renarint
  Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas;
Neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
  Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
In mare seu celsus procurrerit Appenninus,
  Novaque monstra iunxerit libidine
Mirus amor, iuvet ut tigres subsidere cervis,
  Adulteretur et columba miluo,
Credula nec ravos timeant armenta leones,
  Ametque salsa levis hircus aequora.
Haec, et quae poterunt reditus abscindere dulces,
  Eamus omnis execrata civitas,

bene vortat,' 'quod felix faustumque sit.' The reading has since been found (*pr. manu*, afterwards corrected to 'quid') in two MSS. of the tenth century σ and τ.

17. **hac**, sc. 'ire,' &c., v. 21.

**Phocaeorum**, Herod. 1. 165.

18. **execrata**, 'having sworn an oath of imprecation.' It is used with the accusative 'haec,' in v. 25. ποιησαμένη ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας, Hdt. l. c. The construction is 'profugit agros atque Lares . . . reliquitque fana habitanda apris,' &c.

21, 22. 'To fly either by land or sea.' Cp. Od. 3. 11. 49 'I, pedes quo te rapiunt et aurae.'

23. **sic placet**, 'are you so agreed?' 'Placetne' was the usual form, as Bentley remarked, of asking the assent of the senate or any public body. Horace varies the form, as is his way; see on Od. 3. 5. 42.

**secunda alite**, 'in a happy hour'; 'silentium contionis pro assensu accipit,' Ritter. He answers that the omens are favourable. 'Let us start at once while we may.'

25. 'So soon as stones shall rise from the water's bottom and float to the surface, be it no sin to come back again,' i.e. then and no sooner.

28, 29. 'Not till the geographical relation of places is altered; till the Po washes the hills of Apulia, till the Apennines, which run down the middle of Italy, push their chain out into the sea.'

28. **Matina**, see Introd. to Od. 1. 28.

30–32. Virg. E. 8. 27 'Iungentur iam gryphes equis.'

30. **monstra iunxerit**, 'make monstrous unions.' 'Monstra' is predicative; the animals will become 'monstra,' will forsake their nature, by mating with other than their species.

32. **miluo**, a trisyllable, Epp. 1. 16. 51, and so usually in the poets; cp. 'siluae,' Od. 1. 23. 4, Epod. 13. 2.

33. **ravos**, see on Od. 3. 27. 3. This is the reading of V and B. Many good MSS. have 'flavos,' while some read 'saevos' and 'fulvos.'

34. **levis**, predicative, as is 'credula' in the last verse. The goat will become smooth like a fish.

Aut pars indocili melior grege; mollis et exspes
  Inominata perprimat cubilia!
Vos, quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum,
  Etrusca praeter et volate litora.
Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus: arva, beata
  Petamus arva divites et insulas,
Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis
  Et imputata floret usque vinea,
Germinat et numquam fallentis termes olivae,
  Suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem,
Mella cava manant ex ilice, montibus altis
  Levis crepante lympha desilit pede.
Illic iniussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae,
  Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera;
Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
  Neque intumescit alta viperis humus.
Pluraque felices mirabimur: ut neque largis
  Aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,
Pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glebis,
  Utrumque rege temperante caelitum.
Non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus,
  Neque impudica Colchis intulit pedem;

38. **inominata.** The happy omens are with those that go, v. 23.

**perprimat,** 'hug to the end,' 'premere pergat.' He assumes their only possible motives, effeminacy, faint-heartedness, laziness.

39. **virtus, muliebrem,** for the antithesis cp. Epod. 15. 11.

**tollite,** Epp. 1. 12. 3 'tolle querellas.'

40. **Etrusca litora.** He describes the way in which they would start, sailing along the coast towards the west.

41. **circumvagus,** of the ocean stream, which was supposed to flow all round the world. περὶ πᾶσαν θ' εἱλισσομένου | χθόν' ἀκοιμήτῳ ῥεύματι . . . Ὠκεανοῦ, Aesch. P. V. 138.

42. **et,** epexegetic.

46. **suam arborem,** they need no grafting. Contrast Virgil's 'non sua poma,' of the grafted apple.

**pulla,** of the dark colour of the ripe fig.

50. **amicus,** 'for love'; without resistance and without being driven.

51. **vespertinus,** adjective for adverb of time; cp. Sat. 2. 4. 17 'Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes.'

52. **alta,** probably with 'intumescit,' the ground is not a heaving mass of vipers, Virg. G. 2. 153 'Nec rapit immensos orbes per humum, neque tanto Colligit in spiram tractu se squameus anguis.'

53. **mirabimur ut,** Od. 3. 4. 13–16.

56. **utrumque.** 'Either extreme,' i.e. drought and excessive rain.

57–60. Compare this with the feeling of Od. 1. 3, 3. 24. 35–41, and of Virg. Ecl. 4. 32 and 38. The Happy Islands have been spared the tainting effects of commerce. They have remained in the state of the Golden Age when commerce was needless, for all the good gifts of nature were to be had without labour everywhere. The instances taken are of the longest voyages of which myth or history told.

57. 'Hither not the sturdy rowers of the Argo brought their pine bark.'

58. **impudica.** Medea is so called because she left her home to follow a

Non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautae
  Laboriosa nec cohors Ulixei.
Nulla nocent pecori contagia, nullius astri
  Gregem aestuosa torret impotentia.
Iuppiter illa piae secrevit litora genti,
  Ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum;
Aere, dehinc ferro duravit saecula, quorum
  Piis secunda vate me datur fuga.

stranger; so Europa of herself, Od. 3. 27. 49 'Impudens liqui patrios Penates.'

59. **Sidonii**, the Phoenicians.

**cornua**, sc. 'antennarum,' Virg. Aen. 3. 549.

61, 62. Haupt condemns these verses, and others have altered their place, putting them variously after vv. 50, 52, and 56. But 'contagia,' 'secrevit,' seem to give the connexion which makes them appropriate here. Isolation protects their flocks and herds from disease, as it protects men from moral contagion.

62. **impotentia**, the 'furious dog-star's rage'; Od. 3. 30. 3 'Aquilo impotens.'

64. Compare Ov. Met. 1. 89-127. Horace has cut down the more usual four ages to three, omitting the 'silver,' Virg. G. 1. 120 foll. only recognizes two stages.

65. **aere**, for the repetition cp. above, v. 41; a few MSS. have 'aerea,' but 'dehinc' is always in Horace a dissyllable.

**quorum**, with 'fuga,' 'an escape from which.'

# EPODE XVII.

*Horace.*—I yield, Canidia. I acknowledge your power; cease your spells. Achilles took compassion on Telephus, and gave back Hector's body to Priam's prayers. Circe restored Ulysses' companions to their own form. You have punished me enough. I have lost the hue of youth; my hair is white; I cannot rest day or night. I deny the power of your spells no more, for I have felt them. Spare me! O earth and sea, I burn with the fire of Nessus' poison or of Aetna. When is it to end? I will do anything you ask; offer a hecatomb; tune my lyre to falsehood, and sing of you as chaste and good. Stesichorus recovered his sight on his palinode. You don't come of base parents; you never plundered graveyards; your heart is kind and your hands are clean; Pactumeius is your true son.

*Canidia.*—You speak to sealed ears. Are you to escape scot free after divulging the mysteries of Cotytto and witnessing the witchcraft of the Esquiline, only to make it the talk of the town? If you do I shall have wasted my labour. You wish to die, but you shall live to suffer. Tantalus, and Prometheus, and Sisyphus would like to be set free from their punishment; but they are not. There is no escape. The sword shall not pierce you, the noose shall not choke you. I will ride in triumph on your neck. I can call the moon from the sky and raise the dead from their urns. Do you think I can't deal with you?

Under the form of a recantation offered by himself and rejected by Canidia, he repeats and aggravates the attacks upon her of Epod. 5 and Sat. 1. 8. Her witchcraft is taken for granted by both speakers. New or more definite charges are made against her, though they are put in the form 'you did not,' &c. She allows every charge, and is angry only at their disclosure. The tone is more personal than before. It is no longer Varus or some unnamed victim of her spells, but Horace (see esp. v. 58), and it gives an interpretation to the other two poems. If they had stood alone we might have thought that it was a class, or a public folly, that he was assailing. But here we can hardly doubt that we have a personal enmity, involving more or less of real bitterness, and expressed under a form more or less allegorical. It is impossible to read the riddle completely. Horace doubtless dramatizes imaginary situations, but it is not in his way to sustain an imaginary character through three entire poems, besides making it the object of allusions in several others. Cp. Epod. 3. 8, Sat. 2. 1. 48, 2. 8. 95, and see Introd. to Od. 1. 16. This Epode is posterior to Epod. 5 and Sat. 1. 8, for it contains references to them; see vv. 47–52, 58.

IAM iam efficaci do manus scientiae,
Supplex et oro regna per Proserpinae,

1. **do manus**, 'yield'; Cic. ad Att. 2. 22 'Aiebat illum primo sane diu multa contra, ad extremum autem manus dedisse.'

2. **Proserpinae . . . Dianae**; Epod. 5. 51. They are the powers of night and the lower world, to whom witches might be supposed to pray.

Per et Dianae non movenda numina,
Per atque libros carminum valentium
Refixa caelo devocare sidera,
Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris
Citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.
Movit nepotem Telephus Nereïum,
In quem superbus ordinarat agmina
Mysorum et in quem tela acuta torserat.
Unxere matres Iliae addictum feris
Alitibus atque canibus homicidam Hectorem,
Postquam relictis moenibus rex procidit
Heu pervicacis ad pedes Achilleï.
Setosa duris exuere pellibus
Laboriosi remiges Ulixeï
Volente Circa membra; tunc mens et sonus
Relapsus atque notus in vultus honor.

3. **non movenda**, 'that may not be provoked'; Od. 3. 20. 1 'Non vides quanto moveas periclo, Pyrrhe, Gaetulae catulos leaenae?'

4. **carminum**, of magic formulae; Epod. 5. 72, &c., Virg. E. 8. 67-72.

5. **refixa**, pred., 'to draw the stars from the skies and bring them down'; Virg. Aen. 5. 527 'caelo ceu saepe refixa Transcurrunt . . . sidera.' Conington remarks that the stars are viewed as nails that stud the sky.

6. **vocibus sacris**, 'mystic words'; Epod. 5. 76 'Marsis vocibus.'

7. **retro solve**, 'let it loose, that it may run back.'

**turbinem**, *ῥόμβον*, the wheel, which was one of the instruments of a magician. Theocritus gives a meaning to its spinning 2. 30 *Ὡς δινεῖθ' ὅδε ῥόμβος ὁ χάλκεος ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας, | ὣς τῆνος δινοῖτο ποθ' ἁμετέρῃσι θύρῃσιν.*

8. **movit**, 'moved to pity.'

**nepotem Nereïum**, as the son of Thetis. Telephus had been wounded by Achilles, and the oracle declared that he only who had wounded him could cure him.

11. **unxere**; Virg. Aen. 6. 218, of the honours paid to the body of Misenus, 'corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.' Some good MSS. have 'luxere'; but, besides the preponderance of MS. authority, 'unxere' answers better to 'addictum alitibus': it expresses more definitely the fact which is the real point, viz. that they recovered the body, though Achilles had declared that they should not have it. 'Luxere' would at least involve an ambiguity, even if it admits, as Bentley argues, the sense of formal mourning over the body.

**addictum**; Il. 23. 182 *Ἕκτορα δ' οὔτι | δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν.*

12. **homicidam**, a translation of *ἀνδροφόνος*, Hector's epithet in Il. 1. 242 and elsewhere.

13. Hom. Il. 24. 510, of Priam before Achilles, *κλαῖ' ἁδινὰ προπάροιθε ποδῶν Ἀχιλῆος ἐλυσθείς.*

14. **heu pervicacis**; Od. 1. 6. 6 'cedere nescii.' The exclamation emphasizes the epithet: 'We reprobate obstinacy even in him, yet he yielded.' Orelli takes it rather as referring to the whole sentence 'ad indignitatem facti,' to the thought of Priam 'holding the knees and kissing the hands,' *δεινὰς ἀνδροφόνους αἵ οἱ πολέας κτάνον υἷας.*

15-18. Ritter points out that the last place is reserved for Circe, as coming nearer home to the witch Canidia.

15. The construction is 'membra setosa pellibus,' i.e. the shapes of swine, 'with bristles on their hard hides.'

16. **laboriosi**, genitive case; Epod. 16. 60. It is a translation of *πολύτλας, πολυτλήμων.*

17. **Circa**. Some good MSS. read

Dedi satis superque poenarum tibi,
Amata nautis multum et institoribus.
Fugit iuventas et verecundus color
Reliquit ossa pelle amicta lurida;
Tuis capillus albus est odoribus;
Nullum ab labore me reclinat otium;
Urget diem nox et dies noctem, neque est
Levare tenta spiritu praecordia.
Ergo negatum vincor ut credam miser,
Sabella pectus increpare carmina
Caputque Marsa dissilire nenia.
Quid amplius vis? O mare, o terra, ardeo,
Quantum neque atro delibutus Hercules
Nessi cruore, nec Sicana fervida
Virens in Aetna flamma; tu, donec cinis
Iniuriosis aridus ventis ferar,

'Circe'; but the other form is sufficiently established by the express statement of Val. Probus, 2. 1. 16 (a grammarian of uncertain date, but considerably earlier than any existing MS. of Horace), who, speaking of substantives from the Greek in *e*, says, that as there is no ablative in Greek, they take in the ablative the Latin *a*, 'unde est illud Horati Volente Circa.'

17.] **sonus**, the power of speech.

18.] **honor**; Virg. Aen. 1. 591, 'beauty,' 'dignity.'

20. **multum**, with adjective, Od. 1. 25. 5 'multum facilis.'

**institoribus**; cp. Od. 3. 6. 30.

21. **verecundus color**, the blush of health.

22. **ossa**. Bentley, followed by Haupt and Meineke, would alter the unanimous reading of the MSS. to 'ora,' objecting to the expression 'ossa reliquit color.' But 'ossa atque pellis' were as habitual a conjunction as our 'skin and bones.' Plaut. Aul. 3. 6. 28 'ossa atque pellis totus est, ita cura macet,' and 'ossa pelle amicta' is equivalent to 'pellem ossa amicientem.'

**pelle**, not used of the human skin in life and health; see Forc., s.v. 'cutis,' and cp. Juv. 10. 192 'deformem pro cute pellem.'

23. This line has been taken to show that the Epode was written when Horace was already 'praecanus'; Epp. 1. 20. 24, cp. Od 3. 14. 25 'Lenit albescens animos capillus.' But it is no more real than the other symptoms described. They are all the effects of love in Theoc. 2. 88 foll. *Καί μευ χρὼς μὲν ὁμοῖος ἐγίνετο πολλάκι θάψῳ· | ἔρρευν δ' ἐκ κεφαλᾶς πᾶσαι τρίχες· αὐτὰ δὲ λοιπὰ | ὀστέ' ἔτ' ἦς καὶ δέρμα.*

**odoribus** = 'unguentis magicis'; Epod. 5. 59 and 69.

25. Cp. Od. 2. 18. 15 'Truditur dies die.'

**neque est**, *οὐδ' ἔστι, οὐδ' ἔξεστι.*

26. An amplification of the common 'respirare,' *ἀναπνεῖν* (sustaining the metaphor by which he has called his mental distress 'labor'), 'to draw the breath that would ease my strained lungs.'

27. 'I am constrained to believe, to my sorrow, what once I denied.'

28. **Sabella**; Sat. 1. 9. 29. The Sabini, Marsi, and Peligni (v. 60), are all spoken of as given to magical arts.

**increpare**, 'ring through.' It is used of a trumpet blast Virg. Aen. 9. 503, of a rattling peal of thunder Ov. Met. 12. 51 'Iuppiter atras Increpuit nubes.'

31. Epod. 3. 17.

32. Join **Sicana flamma . . . fervida Aetna.**

33. **virens**, 'ever fresh'; 'perpetua, acris, non languescens,' Lambinus. Cp. *μανίας δεινὸν ἀνθηρόν τε μένος*, Soph.

Cales venenis officina Colchicis.
Quae finis aut quod me manet stipendium?
Effare; iussas cum fide poenas luam,
Paratus expiare, seu poposceris
Centum iuvencos, sive mendaci lyra
Voles sonari: Tu pudica, tu proba
Perambulabis astra sidus aureum.
Infamis Helenae Castor offensus vice
Fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,
Adempta vati reddidere lumina.
Et tu, potes nam, solve me dementia,
O nec paternis obsoleta sordibus,
Neque in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus
Novendiales dissipare pulveres.

Ant. 960, possibly, as Bentley suggested, with a reminiscence of Lucretius' 'flammai flore,' 1. 898. Orelli takes it of the green, sulphurous flame of a volcano; but it does not appear that the fire of Aetna has any colour which would justify such an epithet, or that the ancients attributed any such colour to it. There is a variety of reading among the later MSS., the *i* in 'virens' being scratched by a later hand in three, 'urens' being found in several, 'furens,' which Bentley preferred, in a few.

35. **cales.** The boldness of the metaphor attracted the notice of Porph.: 'ipsam mulierem officinam venenorum diserte dixit.' Canidia is a laboratory of magic drugs, in which the fires will not slacken till Horace is burnt to ashes, which the wind can carry about and make sport of.

36. **stipendium**, 'composition,' 'payment in lieu of punishment.' 'When will the end come, or how can I buy myself off?' Cp. Catull. 64. 173, of the human tribute exacted by the Minotaur, 'dira ferens stipendia tauro.' It is not uncommonly used of a tribute imposed on a conquered country; 'stipendio multare,' Cic. pro Balb. 18.

39. **mendaci lyra**, parallel to v. 20. He must lie to praise her, but he will lie if she pleases. Orelli thinks that it is an equivoque, and that *she* might have taken 'mendaci' to mean 'which lied before in reviling you'; but the other meaning of the words would have been the more obvious of the two. The humour consists, not in any by-play which Canidia is supposed to miss, but in the offering as a palinode a lampoon more bitter than that which it professes to retract.

42. **infamis** = 'infamatae,' sc. 'a Stesichoro.' For the story see Introd. to Od. 1. 16.

**vice**, 'on behalf of.' Orelli and Dill[r]. follow Bentley in preferring 'vicem,' the reading which is found in two MSS. of no great age; the construction, then, as in Plaut. Rud. 3. 5. 34 'Vos respondetote istinc istarum vicem.'

46. **obsoleta**; cp. (with Orelli) 'Virtus . . . neque alienis sordibus obsolescit,' Cic. pro Sest. 28; 'of tattered reputation from the meanness of your parentage.' Horace uses it elsewhere of a tumble-down house; Od. 2. 10. 6.

47. **prudens**, 'well skilled.' It is perhaps with special reference to the emphatic 'pauperum,' as the Scholiast suggests; she shows her wisdom in choosing graves that were not guarded.

48. **novendiales**, 'ninth-day ashes' seem to mean 'fresh buried.' These were held fitter for a wizard's purpose; cp. Ov. Her. 6. 90 'certaque de tepidis colligit ossa rogis,' &c. The adjective 'novendialis' properly means 'continuing for nine days'; and this is the common meaning of 'novendiale sacrum,' 'novendiales feriae,' &c. But it seems also to have been used of the special ceremonies which, at Rome as well as in Greece, took place *on the ninth day*

Tibi hospitale pectus et purae manus,
Tuusque venter Pactumeius, et tuo
Cruore rubros obstetrix pannos lavit,
Utcumque fortis exilis puerpera.
Quid obseratis auribus fundis preces?
Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis
Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo.
Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia
Vulgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis,
Et Esquilini pontifex venefici
Impune ut Urbem nomine impleris meo?
Quid proderat ditasse Pelignas anus,
Velociusve miscuisse toxicum?
Sed tardiora fata te votis manent:

after death, τὰ ἔνατα. We are dependent for our information chiefly on the Scholiasts upon this place, upon Virg. Aen. 5. 64, and Terent. Phorm. 1. 1. 16, and they differ in their accounts of the employment of the intervening days. But all agree that the ninth day was the one on which the dead was finally put out of sight.

50. **venter**=' partus.' The allusion is to the taunt in Epod. 5. 5.

**Pactumeius** Orelli shows to have been a Roman name. It occurs in the consular lists of the two first Christian centuries.

52. **fortis exilis**, of her speedy recovery. Intended to retract the retractation.

56, 59. **ut . . . ut**; Madv. § 353 obs. Of something not to be thought of, whether as improbable or as offensive; Cic. Cat. 1. 9 'Quamquam quid loquor? Te ut ulla res frangat. Tu ut unquam te corrigas.' It more often has an interrogative particle added; Hor. Sat. 2. 5. 18 'Ut ne tegam spurco Damae latus?'

56. **riseris vulgata**, i.e. 'vulgaveris et riseris.'

**Cotyttia**, licentious mysteries celebrated in Thrace, and later in Athens and Corinth, in the name of a goddess Cotys or Cotytto. Canidia gives this name to the dark rites described in Epod. 5, with their lustful purpose.

58. **pontifex**. A 'pontifex' had the right and duty of being present at all sacred rites, and of seeing that they were duly performed. Horace has acknowledged in Sat. 1. 8 his cognisance of Canidia's doings on the Esquiline. She turns the tables on him. He was there as a very master in the art, and yet has held her up to public scorn. Orelli quotes the title which Cicero gives Clodius on account of his unlawful presence at the rites of Bona Dea, pro Sest. 17 'stuprorum sacerdotem.'

60-62. 'What profit, then, were it to me [i.e. if you could do this with impunity] to have made the fortune of Pelignian hags [i.e. to have paid for learning every secret of magic], and to have mixed the speediest poison? But [though I do not mean to let you off, and though I call my poison speedy] the fate that awaits you is all too slow for your desire.' The text is that of the Berne MS., and is defended by Bentley, Orelli, Ritter, and Dill^r., and it gives the best connexion of thought. There is, however, good MS. authority for 'proderit' in v. 60, and for 'si' against 'sed' in v. 62. The question must then be removed to the end of v. 62, and the sentence will refer to Horace, not to Canidia, 'What will it profit you richly to have paid Pelignian hags (i.e. to find spells that might free you from me), or to have mixed the quickest poison (i.e. in order to kill yourself), if a fate awaits you too slow for your desires.'

61. **velocius**, sc. 'solito.'

62. **tardiora** answers verbally to 'velocius.'

Ingrata misero vita ducenda est in hoc,
Novis ut usque suppetas laboribus.
Optat quietem Pelopis infidi pater,
Egens benignae Tantalus semper dapis,
Optat Prometheus obligatus aliti,
Optat supremo collocare Sisyphus
In monte saxum; sed vetant leges Iovis.
Voles modo altis desilire turribus,
Modo ense pectus Norico recludere,
Frustraque vincla gutturi nectes tuo,
Fastidiosa tristis aegrimonia.
Vectabor umeris tunc ego inimicis eques,
Meaeque terra cedet insolentiae.
An quae movere cereas imagines,
Ut ipse nosti curiosus, et polo
Deripere lunam vocibus possim meis,
Possim crematos excitare mortuos
Desiderique temperare pocula,
Plorem artis in te nil agentis exitus?

63. **in hoc**, 'for this purpose.'

65. **infidi**, in his treatment of Myrtilus. Tantalus' character is to be gathered from that of his son.

67. **obligatus**, 'bound in the way of,' 'bound so as to be exposed to.'

**aliti**, the vulture that eat his liver.

71. **Norico**; Od. 1. 16. 9.

74. 'I will ride on my enemy's neck, and the world shall bow to my insolent triumph,' i.e. my triumph over you will make me as proud and as insolent as if the world were at my feet, as though I were 'terrarum domina'; Od. 1. 1. 6.

76. **movere cereas imagines**, 'to make waxen images feel'; Sat. 1. 8. 30 'Lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea: maior Lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem; Cerea suppliciter stabat, servilibus ut quae Iam peritura modis.' The waxen image represented the person who was the object of the enchantments, and was supposed to communicate to him its pains; Theoc. 2. 28 'Ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω,| ὣς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις, Virg. E. 8. 80.

77. **curiosus**, 'through your prying.'

80. **desideri**, as Epod. 5. 38 'amoris poculum,' 'a potion to excite desire.'

# APPENDIX I.

## ON THE UNKNOWN NAMES IN THE ODES.

A DISCUSSION of the unknown names in Horace's Odes has no such scope or purpose as it would have had in the last century. No one would now dream of renewing the attempts, the futility of which Buttmann and Estré exposed, to construct out of the Pyrrhas, Lalages, and Lydias a history of the poet's loves and disappointments. Such attempts involved misconceptions both of the nature of his lyrical genius and of the chronological relation of the Odes to his life. They are not, like the lyrics of Catullus, the outpouring of the stress and passion of youth, but the conscious and elaborate work of one 'cuius octavum trepidavit aetas claudere lustrum.' Even with a lyrical poet of this type it may be true that each poem had an occasion, that it may touch real life at some point, but the occasion is often the slightest. The poet versifies not his own experience only, but that of others; a remark at a supper-party, an incident related to him, a casual image in conversation, are enough to set his fancy working, and the result is a dramatic sketch of the situation or feeling suggested. In any case the Odes are treated by their author as artistic studies—he arranges them not in any order of time, but where they will be most useful to relieve more serious poems or to stand as companion pictures.

In spite of this it may be worth while to point out some obvious facts about the names that figure in the Odes. It will illustrate a feature in Horace's art, and may throw some light by analogy on the employment of names in his other poems. Of the practice recognized in Latin poetry of concealing the names of real persons under Greek names of equivalent metrical value (as Virgil's Lycoris for Cytheris, Catullus' Lesbia for Clodia, &c.) there is little trace to be discovered in the Odes. The Scholiasts, usually so quick-sighted for such points, are silent except in the case of Licymnia in Od. 2. 12,

which does not concern Horace himself. On the other hand, many of the names are manifestly adapted by their etymological meaning to the ideal personages depicted, as Pyrrha in 1. 5, Chloë in 1. 23, Lyce in 3. 10, Phidyle in 3. 23: cp. Sybaris in 1. 8; the list may possibly be extended by the names of Lalage in 1. 22, Leuconoe in 1. 11, and of Telephus 1. 13, &c. (Horace is fond of playing on the meaning of names, 'Glycerae immitis,' 1. 33. 2, 'Bibuli consulis amphoram,' 3. 28, 8.) Some more are adapted to the metre of the special poem; as Leuconoe in 1. 11, 'Asterie' in 3. 7, and 'Neobule' (cp. the name of her lover, 'Liparaeus Hebrus') in the Ionic a minore metre of 3. 12. With one or two exceptions the unknown male names in the Odes (the names of Horace's rivals, as in 1. 13, on any theory of a real Lydia) are Greek names, Telephus, Gyges, Calais; mythological names; sometimes the names of Greek rivers, Hebrus 3. 12, Enipeus 3. 7. We may add perhaps that where the designation is most full and precise we seem to see most definitely the purpose of giving momentary substance to an acknowledged shadow; see on 'Thurini Calais filius Ornyti' 3. 9. 14, and cp. Introd. to 2. 4. In a few cases we seem to see the appropriation of the name to a special character, as 'Cyrus,' 1. 17. 25, 1. 33. 6; 'Pholoe,' 1. 33. 7, 9, 2. 5. 17, 3. 15. 7; 'Telephus,' 1. 13. 1, 3. 19. 26, 4. 11. 21. On the other hand, the same name is at times given to people of such different characters or ages, that those who gave them real existence were obliged to recognize more than one owner of the name; cp. the Phyllis of 2. 4 and 4. 11, the Chloris of 2. 5 and 3. 15, the Lalage of 1. 22 and 2. 5. There are cases where a reality seems to be given to unknown names by their being brought into close relation with real persons and events, such as 'Mystes,' the lost friend of Valgius, in 2. 9; 'Glycera,' to whom Tibullus is supposed to write piteous elegies, 1. 33. In this last case, however, we note that Glycera is not a name that occurs in Tibullus' extant elegies. How much truth of fact underlies the very few love-Odes in which Horace's own personality is introduced otherwise than by the mere use of the first person, such as 1. 33, 'Ipsum me, melior cum peteret Venus, Grata detinuit compede Myrtale[1],' or 4. 11 in which, after inviting Phyllis to help him keep Maecenas' birthday, he addresses her as 'meorum finis amorum,' it is more difficult to say.

There is one name, that of Cinara (Od. 4. 1. 4, 4. 13. 21, 22, Epp. 1. 7. 28, 1. 14. 33), which seems redeemed from a mere shadowy

[1] See Dr. Verrall's chapter entitled 'Myrtale' in his 'Studies.'

existence, both by the personal feelings that seem to accompany its mention and by its recurrence among the reminiscences of the poet's own life in the Epistles. That a mere literary reminiscence, an echo of his amatory poems rather than of his feelings, is intended seems unlikely in the absence of the name from all his early poems.

What has been said will obviously not apply with equal force to the Epodes, where, in idea at least, personality is the essence of the poem. The introduction of Horace's own name, as in Epod. 15, and the pursuance of his attack upon Canidia through three Epodes and three Satires seem to indicate real and definite objects. But the use of poetical names for characters who have no existence save at the moment begins doubtless in the Epodes, as do other features of the Odes.

# APPENDIX II.

## HORACE'S USE OF THE COMPLEMENTARY INFINITIVE WITH VERBS AND ADJECTIVES.

### 1. *With Verbs.*

A COMPLEMENTARY, or, as Dr. Kennedy prefers to call it, 'prolative,' infinitive seems properly to have been allowed only to verbs whose idea was not complete without such a definition of their scope; whether the simple verbs that express power, duty, inclination, purpose, effort, beginning, &c., and the negation of any of these ('possum,' 'debeo,' 'volo,' 'conor,' 'incipio,' 'nequeo,' 'nolo'); or again the simple verbs which express the allowing another, or influencing him, to do or abstain from doing something ('sino,' 'patior,' 'iubeo,' 'doceo,' 'cogo,' 'veto,' 'prohibeo,' &c.). There is a tendency, however, even in the most classical prose writers to extend the first at least of these two classes by including verbs which do not properly require any such complement, and which therefore, if any further definition of their scope or purpose were needed, would in strictness have found it rather by means either of some subordinate clause or of one of those substantival forms of the verb which could indicate its special relation more exactly than is possible with the caseless infinitive. Thus we find with the infinitive, 'studeo,' Cic.; 'nitor,' Nep.; 'quaero,' Cic.; 'tendo,' Liv.; 'pergo,' Cic.; 'persevero,' Cic. Many verbs hesitate between the two constructions, 'statuo facere' or 'ut faciam,' 'prohibeo facere' or 'quominus facias.' The poets go beyond the prose writers in this extension, greatly because their diction substitutes more highly-coloured and metaphorical verbs for the simpler ones of prose, 'gaudeo,' 'gestio,' 'amo,' 'ardeo,' for 'volo,' &c.; but Livy and Sallust anticipate some of the boldest poetical applications of this liberty.

It seems useless to seek a full explanation of each case in the doctrine that the infinitive was truly a substantive, which involves the further difficulty that we must explain in what relation (or 'case') it stands to the leading verb (see Conington's note on Virg. G. 1. 213). A Roman poet felt at once the influence of Greek usage, in which the infinitive never lost its substantival character, and of Latin prece-

dents, which, if they may be traced ultimately to a similar source, had yet ceased to be coloured by any consciousness of it. That the infinitive is treated at times by Horace as a substantive is clear from such sentences as 'dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,' and from its conjunction with a substantive in the instances quoted below from Od. 2. 16. 39, Epp. 1. 19. 9.

The leading instances in Horace are, besides such common verbs as 'valeo,' 'mitto,' 'parco,' 'fugio,' –

'certat tollere,' Od. 1. 1. 6 (cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 64 'certant illudere').

'furit reperire,' Od. 1. 15. 27.

'trepidavit claudere,' Od. 2. 4. 23.

'laborat trepidare,' Od. 2. 3. 11 (cp. S. 1. 1. 112, 2. 3. 269, 2. 8. 19, E. 1. 3. 2, 1. 20. 16, 2. 2. 196, A. P. 25, 168, 192, 435).

'occupat rapere,' Od. 2. 12. 28 (so 'occupat in agrum Sabinum transire,' Liv. 1. 30).

'urges summovere,' Od. 2. 18. 21.

'coniurata rumpere,' Od. 1. 15. 7 (cp. Sall. Cat. 52 'coniuravere cives patriam incendere').

'dolens vinci,' Od. 4. 4. 62.

'invidens deduci,' Od. 1. 37. 30.

'dedit spernere,' Od. 2. 16. 39 (cp. Epp. 1. 16. 61, &c.).

'adimam cantare,' Epp. 1. 19. 9.

'fingit equum ire,' Epp. 1. 2. 64.

'vocatus levare,' Od. 2. 18. 40.

'imperor procurare,' Epp. 1. 5. 21.

'interpellet durare,' S. 1. 6. 128.

In the following instances the leading verb seems to be still more complete in itself, and the sense of 'purpose' (which in prose would have been expressed by means of a gerundive or supine or final clause) to be thrown more entirely upon the infinitive :—

'te persequor frangere,' Od. 1. 23. 10.

'pecus egit visere montes,' Od. 1. 2. 8.

'quem virum sumis celebrare,' Od. 1. 123 (cp. 'res gestas sumis scribere,' Epp. 1. 3. 7).

'tradam ventis portare,' Od. 1. 26. 3 (cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 319 'dederatque comam diffundere ventis').

'me expetit urere,' Epod. 11. 5.

### 2. *With Adjectives.*

It is this use which, though by no means confined to Horace among the poets (cp. Virg. E. 5. 1 'boni inflare,' Aen. 6. 164 'prae-

stantior ciere,' &c.), and not without precedent even in the best Latin prose (for Cicero uses 'paratus' (cp. Hor. Epod. 1. 3) with an infinitive), is yet sufficiently frequent with him to form a noticeable feature of his style. The easiest cases are those of a participle (which passes into a verbal adjective) from a simple verb which would require or readily admit a complementary infinitive. Such are

'sciens flectere,' Od. 3. 7. 25, compared with 'nescius cedere,' Od. 1. 6. 6.

'metuente solvi,' Od. 2. 2. 7, with 'timidus perire,' Od. 4. 9. 52; cp. 'audax perpeti,' Od. 1. 3. 25.

'doctus,' as a participle, Od. 3. 6. 27 ('institutus,' Od. 3. 8. 11); as an adj. in 'docta psallere,' Od. 4. 13. 7, 'ludere doctior,' Od. 3. 24. 56. Then we have 'indoctus ferre,' Od. 2. 6. 2, 'indocilis pati,' Od. 1. 1. 18.

'dignus' (='qui meret'), with an active infinitive, Epp. 1. 10. 48, with a passive, Od. 3. 21. 6, Sat. 1. 3. 24, 1. 4. 3, 25, 1. 10. 72, A. P. 183, 283; 'indigna,' A. P. 231.

'idoneus dare,' Epp. 1. 16. 12. 'Fruges consumere nati' (Epp. 1. 2. 27) is a step beyond this. 'Leviora tolli,' Od. 2. 4. 11, and 'cereus flecti,' A. P. 163, also belong here, the adjectives being only more or less coloured forms of 'facilis,' and the construction arising from the conversion of the impersonal 'facile est hunc flectere' into a personal 'hic facilis est flecti.' We may add, perhaps, 'vultus nimium lubricus aspici,' Od. 1. 19. 8, ='quem lubricum est aspicere.'

The following are the chief remaining instances:—

'callidus condere,' Od. 1. 10. 7; 'resonare,' 3. 11. 4.

'cautus dignos assumere,' Sat. 1. 6. 51.

'catus iaculari,' Od. 3. 12. 10.

'prudens dissipare,' Epod. 17. 47.

'sollers ponere,' Od. 4. 8. 8.

'pertinax ludere,' Od. 3. 29. 53.

'efficax eluere,' Od. 4. 12. 20.

'praesens tollere,' Od. 1. 35. 2.

'celer sequi,' Od. 1. 18. 18; 'volvere,' Od. 4. 6. 59; 'irasci,' Epp. 1. 20. 25.

'fortis tractare,' Od. 1. 37. 27; 'fortior spernere,' Od. 3. 3. 50.

'firmus pascere,' Epp. 1. 17. 47.

'piger ferre,' Sat. 1. 4. 12 ('impiger vexare,' Od. 4. 14. 23).

'segnis solvere,' Od. 3. 21. 22.

'dolosus ferre,' Od. 1. 35. 28.

'durus componere,' Sat. 1. 4. 8.
'veraces cecinisse,' Carm. Sec. 25.
'blandus ducere,' Od. 1. 12. 10.
'largus donare,' Od. 4. 12. 19.
'lenis recludere,' Od. 1. 24. 17; 'aperire,' Carm. Sec. 13.
'saevus fingere,' Epp. 1. 15. 30.
'impotens quidlibet sperare,' Od. 1. 37. 10.
'nobilis superare,' Od. 1. 12. 26.
'ridiculus absorbere,' Sat. 2. 8. 24.
'utilis aspirare,' A. P. 204.

The broad resemblance holds between all these that the infinitive names the action in relation to which the adjective is applicable. There is room, however, for considerable difference in the *closeness of the relation* between them, and even in *its character.*

On the first point we may compare 'celer irasci' or 'praesens tollere' with 'blandum quercus ducere.' In either of the first two cases the adjective and the infinitive are essential to one another—it is a mere accident of language that the 'irascibility' or the 'power of lifting' is not expressed in a single word—but in the third case the idea of each is complete: the infinitive adds an illustration, almost a result, of the quality named by the adjective, it is almost = 'tam blandus ut ducat.'

On the second point we may notice the change in the relation of the infinitive (*a*) when the adjective to which it is appended is negative in sense. This is clear in such cases as 'indoctus ferre,' 'timidus perire,' 'piger ferre': it may cause some ambiguity when the negative character of the adjective is less clear, or where it would have been equally open to the poet to regard it from its positive side, and to make the infinitive the complement of the whole, not merely of the positive part, viz. the attribute denied or disparaged. Contrast, e.g. 'ferre iugum pariter dolosi' with 'cautum dignos assumere,' 'callidum condere,' &c.; (*b*) in such cases as the last three given above, where the adjective and the infinitive seem to have changed places, where it is no longer an internal quality of the subject leading to some action, but an action which is the cause or ground of the attribute, no longer 'brave so as to conquer,' but 'famous because he conquers.'

'Niveus videri,' Od. 4. 2. 59 (like 'nefas videre,' Epod. 16. 14), seems to be more purely an imitation of a Greek idiom (λεῦκος ὁρᾶσθαι, ἀθέμιτον ἰδεῖν).

# APPENDIX III.

## INDEX OF METRES USED IN THE ODES AND EPODES.

§ 1. *Asclepiads.*

Under this name are included five systems, composed of the following verses singly or in various combinations :—

*a*. The lesser Asclepiad—

– – – ⏑⏑ – – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏓

Maecenas atavis edite regibus.

*β*. The greater Asclepiad—

– – – ⏑⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏓

Tu ne quaesieris scire nefas quem mihi quem tibi.

In these two verses the caesura is carefully kept, in *a* after the first, in *β* after the second choriambus. The only exception in Horace's writings is Od. 4. 8. 17 'Non incendia Carthaginis impiae.' In 1. 18. 16 and 2. 12. 25, the preposition gives a quasi-caesura.

*γ*. The Glyconic—

– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓

Nil mortalibus ardui est.

In two instances, in Od. 1. 15. 24 and 36, Horace returns to the use of Catullus, and has a trochee as the 'basis,' 'Teucer et Sthenelus sciens,' 'Ignis Iliacas domos.'

*δ*. The Pherecratic—

– – – ⏑ ⏑ – –

Grato Pyrrha sub antro.

Asclepiad I. employs *a* alone, Od. 1. 1, 3. 30, 4. 8.

„ II. employs *β* alone, Od. 1. 11, 18, 4. 10.

„ III. consists of couplets of *a* and *γ*, Od. 1. 3, 13, 19, 36, 3. 9, 15, 19, 24, 25, 28, 4. 1. 3.

„ IV. consists of four-line stanzas, 3 *a*+*γ*, Od. 1. 6, 15, 24, 33, 2. 12, 3. 10, 16, 4. 5. 12.

„ V. consists of four-line stanzas, 2 *a*+*δ*+*γ*, Od. 1. 5, 14, 21, 23, 3. 7, 13, 4. 13.

§ 2. The *Alcaic* stanza is found in 37 Odes :—

1. 9, 16, 17, 26, 27, 29, 31, 34, 35, 37.
2. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20.
3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 21, 23, 26, 29.
4. 4, 9, 14, 15.

It employs three kinds of verses :—

α. ⏒ – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏒
β. ⏒ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – ⏒
γ. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏒

α being repeated twice.

It is obvious that we have here variations of two movements; verse β repeats and amplifies the movement of the first half of α, verse γ repeats the dactylic movement of the second half, putting the trochees after instead of before it. This consideration proves that although to the ear the movement of β and of the first half of α is iambic, it was in idea a sequence of trochees preceded by an unemphatic syllable or 'anacrusis.' The anacrusis is as often short as long in the fragments of Alcaeus and Sappho. In Horace it is occasionally short, but more rarely in β than in α, and never in either in Book iv.

Alcaeus had admitted a spondee in the place of the second trochee. Horace made the spondee imperative, see on Od. 3. 5. 17, 3. 23. 18.

The division of the two halves of the line is marked by a caesura, which is only violated twice, in Od. 1. 37. 14 'Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico,' and 4. 14. 17 'Spectandus in certamine Martio.' There are two other instances where a preposition at the beginning of a composite word gives a quasi-caesura, 1. 16. 21 'Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens,' 1. 37. 5 'Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum.' Horace seems to have paid great attention to the rhythm of verse β, excluding, and more carefully in his later poems, all conjunctions of words which did not by their accent counteract that natural sameness of movement which we find undisguised in Alcaeus, λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἤδη, &c. No quadrisyllabic ending or beginning is found in Book iv except of the forms of 'Nomen beati qui Deorum' and 'Consulque non unius anni.' Verses of the form of 'Gaudes, apricos necte flores' (1. 26. 7) are found only in 1. 16, 26, 29, 35, and 2. 1, 3, 13, 14, 19. 'Hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro' in 1. 26. 11 is unique. It was the occurrence of these two verses in 1. 26, and of the verse 'Alcaee plectro dura navis' in 2. 13, that called Lachmann's attention to the wrong date assigned by Franke, on Justinus' authority, to the

quarrel of Phraates and Tiridates, and consequently to these Odes, which thus became specimens of Horace's later instead of his earlier handiwork, see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 8.

There is no synaphea between the verses of the stanza, but Horace twice allows an elision of a hypermetric syllable at the end of the third verse, 2. 3. 27 and 3. 29. 35. There is an analogous licence taken in the Asclepiad metre in 4. 1. 35, and Virgil allows it in the hexameter, Georg. 1. 295, &c.

§ 3. The *Sapphic* stanza is found in twenty-five Odes:—

1. 2, 10, 12, 20, 22, 25, 30, 32, 38;
2. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 16;
3. 8, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 27;
4. 2, 6, 11;

and in the Carm. Saec.

It employs two kinds of verse, the lesser Sapphic, which is repeated three times—

– ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓,

and the Adonic—

– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓.

The materials of the rhythm in this are the same as in the Alcaic. It is a sequence of trochees and dactyls. This is obscured in Horace, (1) by his excluding the trochee absolutely from the second place, where it is often found in Sappho, and in her first Latin imitator, Catullus, *αἱ δὲ μὴ φιλεῖ ταχέως φιλάσει*, 'Pauca nuntiate meae puellae'; (2) by his eschewing the break before the dactyl, *φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν*, 'Ille mi par esse deo videtur.' The lengthening of the short syllable in 2. 6. 14, 'Angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto,' is perhaps a trace of the feeling that, as the first syllable of the dactyl, it had the metrical accent upon it.

The caesura falls commonly, in the first three Books, after the fifth syllable, 'Iam satis terris,' though it is found, from time to time, after the sixth, 'Quem virum aut heroa.' In the Carm. Saec. and the Fourth Book, Horace returns in this point to the use of Catullus and the Greek, and employs the second caesura frequently. In either the three Sapphic Odes of Book Four together, or in the Carm. Saec. alone, there are twice as many instances of it as in the twenty-one Odes of the earlier Books.

There is no synaphea, but hypermetric syllables are occasionally elided at the end of all the first three verses of the stanza (2. 2. 18, 2. 16. 34, 4. 2. 22, 23, C. S. 47). By Sappho the Adonic was treated as if it scanned continuously with the verse before, and this use is

preserved in Horace to some extent, a word being at times divided between them (1. 2. 19, 1. 25. 11, 2. 16. 7). On the other hand, we find a hiatus at times, as in 1. 2. 47 'Neve te nostris vitiis iniquum Ocior aura.'

§ 4. *Iambic* metres.

Of these two occur in Horace:—

(1) The common Senarius or Iambic Trimeter (for the name see Ars Poet. 252) in Epod. 17.

(2) Couplets of the Senarius and an Iambic Dimeter in Epod. 1–10.

Horace does not observe the law of the Greek Tragic Senarius in respect of a short syllable before a final cretic; see e.g. Epod. 1. 27 and 29.

Three instances occur of an apparent anapaest in the fifth place: Epod. 2. 35 'laqueo,' 5. 79 'inferius,' 11. 23 'mulierculam'; but Meineke rightly explained them as instances of synizesis, or using *e* and *i* as semivowels, after the analogy of 'aurea' in Virg. Aen. 1. 698, and of 'consilium' and 'principium' in Od. 3. 4. 41 and 3. 6. 6.

§ 5. These metres account for 97 out of the 104 Odes (including the Carm. Saec.), and 11 out of 17 Epodes.

Of the remaining metres, one or at the most two or three specimens exist, which are to be viewed rather, as Mr. Munro remarks, as experiments.

5. *Alcmanium*, Od. 1. 7 and 28, and Epod. 12.

It is in couplets consisting of the common Dactylic Hexameter and a Dactylic Tetrameter.

6. The couplets named from *Archilochus*.

Archilochium 1mum, Od. 4. 7.

The common Dactylic Hexameter, followed by a Dactylic Trimeter Catalectic (half of an Elegiac Pentameter):—

– ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ ⏓.

Archilochium IIum, Epod. 13.

The Dactylic Hexameter, followed by an asynartete[1] verse called Iambelegus, being composed of a Dimeter Iambic + half the Elegiac Pentameter:—

◡ – ◡ – ⏓ – ◡ ⏓ | – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ ⏓.

[1] ἀσυνάρτητος, the term used for a verse of which the two parts are imperfectly joined together, where the last syllable of the first half is independent in scansion of the first syllable of the second half, e.g. Epod. 13. 8, 10, and 11. 6, 14. In this last case there is an actual hiatus.

Archilochium IIIium, Epod. 11.

A common Iambic Trimeter, followed by a verse, also asynartete, called Elegiambus, composed of the same elements as the Iambelegus combined in a different order.

Archilochium IVtum, Od. 1. 4.

(*a*) A verse called Archilochius Major, consisting of a Dactylic Tetrameter + three trochees. It is not in Horace asynartete, for the fourth dactyl is always perfect, and no hiatus is found; but there is a strict caesura between the two parts of the verse.

(*β*) An Iambic Trimeter Catalectic.

7. Two couplets called *Pythiambic*, from the name Πύθιος, given to the Hexameter as the metre of the Delphic oracles.

(1) The Dactylic Hexameter, followed by an Iambic Dimeter, Epod. 14, 15.

(2) The Dactylic Hexameter, followed by an Iambic Trimeter, Epod. 16.

The Iambic verse in this metre consists entirely of pure Iambics.

8. A couplet known as the Greater *Sapphic*, from the likeness of the rhythm of both verses to the Common Sapphic verse. The first line (which goes by the name of Aristophanes) is a Sapphic without the initial trochees. The second is a Sapphic, with a choriambus inserted before the dactyl:—

– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓,
– ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓.

It occurs in Od. 1. 8.

9. *Hipponacteum*, Od. 2. 18.

A couplet consisting of a Trochaic Dimeter Catalectic, followed by an Iambic Trimeter Catalectic:—

– ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓,
⏓ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓.

10. *Ionicus a minore*, Od. 3. 12.

This is composed entirely of the foot called 'Ionicus a minore':—

⏑ ⏑ – –.

The metre is described by Hephaestion, who takes as his type an Ode of Alcaeus, of which the first line, which he quotes, seems as if it may have been the original of Horace's Ode (see Introd. to Od. 3. 12). It is not, he says, as it may easily be taken to be, an unbroken succession of similar feet, but broken into periods of ten feet each. Bentley pointed out that Horace's Ode consists of forty feet, i.e. four such

periods, and held that the arrangement in lines, which many editors debate, was merely a necessity of the writer or printer, and not to be elevated into a law of the metre.

---

§ 6. A few words may be added on what is called by some editors 'Meineke's canon.' He noticed that, with two exceptions, all the Odes[1] of Horace contain a number of lines which is a multiple of four. Of these, 3. 12 has just been discussed. It has been arranged by some persons in stanzas of four lines (see Excurs. on it in Orelli's edition); but it might fairly be contended, either that the nature of the metre consisting not of verses, but of feet, exempted it from the common category, or that, inasmuch as it consists of four periods of ten feet each, it complies with the same conditions as other Odes. The other exception is Od. 4. 8, which contains thirty-four verses. It so happens that this Ode already lay under some suspicion, on account of the historical difficulty of v. 17[2]. On these facts Meineke laid down the general law that all the Odes conformed to the type of the Alcaic, Sapphic, and third, fourth, and fifth Asclepiad metres, and were to be broken into four-line stanzas. Od. 4. 8 was to be rectified by the necessary amount of excision, or by the supposition of some lines having fallen out. It will be seen, on examination, that the difficulties of 4. 8. 17 have been exaggerated; and, at any rate, in the absence of any indication of such a quaternary division, either in the pauses of the Odes themselves, or in the grammatical and metrical writers (who are usually keen-eyed for 'laws' in the greater poets), the chief recent editors have not thought it necessary to alter the Ode in obedience to the canon. Steiner pointed out that, whatever may have been the case with the Odes which are composed in couplets, there are but five other Odes besides 4. 8 (omitting, again, 3. 12) which are *μονόστιχα*, or of uniform metre, and that this is too small an area for such an important induction.

[1] The law is not applied to the Epodes, the very name of which (see p. 351) probably implied an arrangement in couplets rather than four-line stanzas.

[2] Bentley had complained of the same line, on account of the metrical irregularity of the caesura; see above, § 1.

# APPENDIX IV.

## ODES, CARMEN SAECULARE, AND EPODES.

### COLLATION OF MS. IN LIBRARY OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

(MADE BY MR. A. O. PRICKARD. THE COMPARISON IS WITH ORELLI'S EDITION.)

'Seculo decimo conscriptum ut videtur.'

(*Note on fly-leaf.*)

---

CCII. Codex membranaceus, in 4to, ff. 161, sec. forsan X ineuntis, bene exaratus et servatus; ex dono Joannis Luidi, 12 Nov. 1595. Quinti Horatii Flacci opera, glossulis marginalibus interlinearibusque instructa; scilicet,

1. Carminum libri iv, argumentis illustrati, fol. 4. Tit. 'Horatii Flacci Caminum [sic] liber i incipit.' Incip. gloss. 'In hâc ὠδὲ Mecenatem alloquitur indicans alium alio.'
2. De Arte Poetica, fol. 65 b. Incip. gloss. 'Artem poeticam tractaturus Oratius ordine congruo.' In calce, 'Horatii Flacci de arte poetica explicit.'
3. Epodon liber, cum argumentis rubricatis, ubi notatur de Metris, &c. fol. 75. Tit. 'Incipit Epodon ad Mecenate.' Incip. Schol. 'Epodon, id est, epi.'
4. Carmen Saeculare, fol. 88 b. Incip. Schol. 'Hoc carmen saeculare dicitur.'
5. Sermonum libri duo, fol. 90. Tit. 'Incipit sermonum liber i ad Mecenatem.' Incip. Schol. 'Hic liber de sermonibus intitulatur, "quia praesentibus loquitur."'
6. Epistolarum libri duo, fol. 132 b. Incip. Schol. *man. sec.* 'Flacci epistolarum.' In calce, 'Explicit liber. Incipit pastus.'

(Rev. H. O. Coxe's 'Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur,' 1852.)

The MS. is now numbered P 2.

---

## [ODES.

## BOOK I.]

### [I.]

Line 1. Mcenas[1]. 2. O et presidium dulce decus meum. 3. olimpicum. 6. addeos. 7. sinobilium turba quiritium (l. mobilium on margin). 9. siproprio . . . orreo. 10. delibicis. 12. atalicis

[1] *u* is written throughout for *v*, as 'atauis,' but this variation is not shown in the Collation. *e* is written in almost all cases for *ae*, but a distinctive mark is usually added when the diphthong is intended, perhaps by a later hand. The variation is shown in the Collation only when this mark is absent.

conditionibus. 13. Numquam . . . uttrabe cipria. 14. Mirtoum. 15. icareis . . . affricum. 16. opidi. 20. dedie. 26. inmemor. 29. premia. 32. sineque. 35. sime liricis. inseris (altered to inseres).

[II.] PROSEUTICE TETRACOLOS AD AUGUSTUM.

Line 5. nerediret. 6. pyrre. 7. protheus. 12. dammae. 14. Littore. 15. monimenta (altered to monumenta?). 17. dumse. 19. . . . non probante. 20. Uxorius amnis. 26. Imperii. 33. ericina. 34. circumuolat. 38. uiuat. 40. inhostem. 42. interris. 45. incelum. 48. otior.

[III.] PROPHONETICE BYCOLOS VIRGILII.

Line 1. Sicte. 2. sydera. 4. preter ia pyga. 6. Finibus atticis debes Virgilium. 9. tripplex. 12. affricum. 14. yadas . . . Nothi. 15. adriae. 18. occulis. 19. turbidum (om. et). 33. Loeti. 35. nonhomini. 36. Perrumpit (ũ). 37. ardui (altered to arduum in same hand?). 38. Celum.

[IV.] PROPHONETICE DICOLOS AD SESTIUM QUIRINUM DE VERNO TEMPORE.

Line 1. iemps . . . fauonii. 8. Vulcanus. 9. mirto. 11. inumbrosis. 12. hedo. 18. talis . . . uini.

[V.] PROPHONETICE TETRACOLOS AD PYRAM.

Line 1. inrosa. 2. urguet. 3. phyrra. 5. quotiens. 8. etmirabitur. 13. intemptata. 14. humida.

[VI.] HYPOTETICE TETRACOLOS AD AGRIPPAM.

Line 2. meonii. 3. cumque. 7. duplices . . . permare. 8. sevam. 10. inbellisque. 12. ingenii. 15. moerionem. 16. Titidem (*i* added by later hand). 17. conuiua.

[VII.] ——— CE (i.e. [PARAENETI]CE) DYCOLOS PLANCO.

Line 1. Rodon . . . mitilenem. 2. Ephesum . . . corinti. 5. arces (for urbem). 8. iniunonis. 9. dicit aequis . . . micenas. 10. Lacedemon. 14. pomeria. 15. Here begins a new Ode.

AD PLANCUM HORTATIO BENE VIVENDI.

Line 16. nothus. 19. molle (*i* written over). 22. lyeo. 26. osocii. 27. auspice tecro (*u* written over).

[VIII.]

Line 1. Lidia. 2. sibarim. 5. militares (perhaps altered from militaris?). 7. temperet. 8. Tyberim. 9. uiperino (letter erased between *i* and *n*). 12. transfinem . . . nobilis ille expedito. 14. tetidis. 15. ne (seems formed from *nec* by erasion of *c*).

[IX.] PARANETICE TETRACOLOS AD THALIARCUM PUERUM SPECIOSUM.

Line 7. Sabina (seems to have been originally Sabini?). 8. taliarce. 11. Depreliantes. 13. querere. 14. dierumcumque. 17. canicies. 23. direptum.

[X.] HYMNUS MERCURIO TETRACOLOS.

Line 6. quicquid. 11. faretra. 15. Tessalos. 17. laetis. 18. coherces.

[XI.] PRAGMATICE MONOCOLOS AD LEUCONOEM MERETRICEM GENESIN PER MATHEMATICAM REQUIRENTEM.

Line 1. Tunequesieris . . . michi. 2. dii dederint (has been dederunt) babilonios. 3. Temptaris . . . quicquid. 4. ihemes. 6. Tirrhenum.

[XII.] ——CE TETRACOLOS YMNUS DE LAUDIBUS DEORUM ATQUE HOMINUM.

Line 2. sumis has been altered to sumes. 3. recinit. 5. inumbrosis eliconis horis. 6. inhemo. 13. parentum. 14. quires. ac has been altered to atque. 15. Qui mare qui terras uariis mundum. 18. quicquam. 21. Praeliis. 22. Et sevis, &c. 31. Et minax quae sic (there has been an erasure on *ae*). 36. laetum. 37. Prodigum poeno superante paulum. 45. uel ut. 47. interignes. 55. Orientis horae. 58. curru (the second *r* has been tampered with) olimpum. 59. parem.

[XIII.] CHEROTICE DICOLOS AD LYDIM.

Line 1. lidia. 2. there has been an erasure between cerea and telephi. 3. ue. 5. Tunc . . . michi. 6. ingenas. 10. immodice. 12. inpressit. 13. sime. 15. Ledentem. 18. inrupta . . . malus.

[XIV.] PARANITICE TETRACOLOS AD BRUTUM MARCUM.

Line 3. Portum nonne uides (om. ut). 7, 8. Vix durare carinae possunt imperiosius. 9. Aequor non sunt tibi integra lintea.

10. dii. 11, 12. (as one line). 17. tedium. 19, 20. (as one line) cyclades.

### [XV.] Ypotetice tetracolos ad Alexandrum.

Line 2. Ydeis helenem. 3. celeres altered from celeris (?). 7. conjurata rumpere tuas nuptias. 9. E heu (erasion between the words). 11. etegida. 13. nequiquam. 15. Inbelli. 16. Nequiquam. 17. gnosii. 21. laertiaden excidium. 22. nonpilium nestorare spicis. 23. inpauidite Salaminius (the *u* not original). 24. Stenelus. 27. repperire. 28. Titides. 29. inaltera. 32. non (*id* added above) pollicitus tuae. 34. phrigum.

### [XVI.] Palinodia Gratidiae.

Line 2. cumque. 4. adriano. 5. dindimene . . . aditis. 6. incolapithius. 8. coribantes. 11. saeuus (altered from seruus). 17. thiesten. 23. indulci. 24. inceleres. 25. mitibus (two letters erased between *i* and *t*: has been militibus?). 26. michi. 28. Obprobriis.

### [XVII.] Paranetice Agri Sabini laus et Montis Lucretilis.

Line 1. amoenum sepe. 2. liceo. 3. estatem capillis. 5. pernemus. 6. thima. 9. aediliae. 10. dulcitindari. 13. Dimetuentur dispietas. 14. hinc. 15. adplenum. 17. inreducta. 18. Vitabas (*a* altered above to *i*) estus Teia (a *l*? introduced between *e* and *i*). 19. Dices (*s* introduced between *i* and *c*) inuno. 22. subumbra. 23. thioneus. 24. Praelia. 25. cyrum (*p* introduced between *y* and *r*). 26. iniciat. 27. herentem. 28. inmeritam.

### [XVIII.] Paranetice monodos ad Varum.

Line 1. sacra (altered from sacro). 2. catilli. 5. pauperiem crepat (*in* added above). 6. bache. 7. nequis. 9. letus euhyus (leuis above). 12. invitam (*u* above). 13. Seua tenecubericinthio. 14. timpana. 15. nimio (last letter has been altered). 16. archanique.

### [XIX.] (Erotice) Erytice dicolos Glicerae repetere se amore(m) consilio Veneris ac liden in Gliceram meretricem.

Line 1. seua. 3. lasciua (erasure in last two letters). 5. glicere. 8. uultus . . . aspici. 9. Inme. 10. Scithas. 11. Etuersis. 12. nichil. 14. michi cespitem (om. hic after cespitem). 15. Hic at beginning of line. turaque. 16. lenius.

[XX.] Prosphonetice ad Mecenatem.

Line 1. modice (altered above to *is*). 3. intheatro. 5. Mecenas. 6. Fluminis ripae et jocosa simul. 9. proelo. 10. Tubibes . . . falerne (erasion between *r* and *n*).

[XXI.] Ymnos ad Chorum in Dianam et Apollinem.

Line 2. Cinthium. 3. Lato namque supremo. 7. Crimanthi. 8. Grai (*t* introduced between *a* and *i*). 12. lira. 14. cesare (om. *in*). 15. In persas atque brittannos.

[XXII.] Ad Aristium Fuscum laus innocentiae.

Line 2. mauri (but letter erased after *i*). 6. inhospitalitatem (altered to *lem* above). 7. Causa sum (*c* written above the *s*). 8. hyda spes. 9. om. me. insabina. 10. Dummeam 11. canto (erasure after *n*). 12. inhermem. 20. uget (*r* inserted by new hand). 21. subcurru. 22. interra.

[XXIII.] Lerche ad Cloen meretricem fugientem.

Line 1. Vitat . . . cloe. 2. Querenti. 7. Dimo-uere. 10. om. leo (leone above).

[XXIV.] Threnus in Quintilium Virgilium amantem.

Line 2. lugubris (*e* above). 3. Mel-pomene. 5. quintilium. 9. flebilior (letter erased between *b* and *i*). 12. quintilium. 13. Quid (*o* above) sithreicio. 15. erasure before imagini. 17. prcibus (*e* added above). 18. a word erased after nigro (compulerit inserted by later hand). 20. Quicquid.

[XXV.] Exprobratio in meretricem Lydiam.

Line 5. om. multum (which is added above). faciles (has been facilis). 6. minusiam. 7. Metu (erasure after the *u*). pereunte (erasure: perhaps praetereunte?). 8. Lidia. 10. insolo . . . angiportu (letter erased between *p* and *o*). 11. bachante. 13. uento (may have been uentu). 15. Seuiet. 17. uirenti. 18. puella . . . mirto.

[XXVI.] Ad Musas de Lamia Caelio.

Line 2. inmare. 3. arcto (second letter altered: *r* above). 4. horae. 5. tyridaten. 9. Piplea. sine (seems to have been si me) temei.

[XXVII.] AD CONVIVAS SODALES SUOS DE HILARITATE.

Line 1. inusum . . . sciphis. 2. tracum (om. *est*). 3. moremuerecundumque bachum. 5. acinacis. 6. discrepet. 9. Uultis. 10. Opunciae. 13. uoluptas. 14. cumque. 16. ingenueque. 17. A more . . . quicquid. 19. Quanta laboras caribdi. 21. thesalis. 23. tetriformi. 24. chimera.

[XXVIII.] AD ARCHITAM PHILOSOPHUM GENERE TARENTINUM ARTE GEOMETREM EXPULSUM DE NAUFRAGIIS.

Line 1. nomero (*u* above). 2. archita. 3. propelitus 4. quicquam: om. tibi (which is added above between nec and quicquam). 5. temptasse. 8. Titonusque . . . inauras. 12. nil. 14. Judicete nonsordidus atri tor (erasure of about three letters between *i* and *t* [auctor added above by same hand as notes]). 16. loeti. 22. Illiricis Nothus. 23. nec parce. 25. quod cunque. 27. tesospite. 29. custo detarenti. 30. neglegis. 31. tenatis . . . forsan. 33. Temaneant. 34. om. que. 35. nonest.

[XXIX.] AD ICCIUM LOQUITUR.

Line 3. sabeae. 7. exaula. 8. Adcyatum. 13. om. tu. 14. paneti.

[XXX.] EUTICE AD VE(NE)REM PRO GLICERA.

Line 1. Chnidi. 2. Cypronet. 3. Turete. 4. inaedem.

[XXXI.] EUTICE AD APOLLINEM.

Line 5. est uosae (erasure after *est*). 11. culillis. 13. Diiscarus. 16. Mecicorea. 17. michi. 20. cythara.

[XXXII.] PROPHONETICE AD LIRAM DE CARMINIBUS SUIS.

Line 1. Poscimus siquid. 2. inannum. 8. nauem. 10. herentem. 15. michi cumque.

[XXXIII.] PARANETICE AD ALBIUM BULLUM CONSOLATUR DOLENTEM QUOD NEGLEGATUR A SCORTO.

Line 1. Albine. 2. Glicerae. 4. Lesa preniteat. 5. licorida. 11. enea. 12. seuo. 15. adriae.

[XXXIV.] AD SE PHILOSOPHANTEM.

Line 10. horridus tenari (*a* above in old hand). 11. sede (*s* added in different ink). 12. concutitur; et valet, &c. 13. mu-

tare insignem et attenuat deus (*decus* written over *deus*). 14. in apicem (small *c* added after *in*).

[XXXV.] Proseutice Fortunam invocat quae colitur.

Line 2. Presens *ut* imo tollere (*de* added above) gradu. 6. equoris. 7. bithina. 8. Carpatium. 9. Scithae (Celthae above). 12. tiranni. 17. seua. 18. Clauos trabales et cuneos manu Gestans aenea neque seuerus. Clauos trabales et cuneos manu Uncus abest liquidumque plumbum. (The space of a whole line is lost between the line 'Clauos trabales' and its repetition. 'Gestans aenea' is in a smaller hand, and in the corner. The vellum is much torn, and has been sewn up.) 23. utcumque. 25. uulgus. 26. edit or aedit (*c* added above small). 27. Cum fece sicatis. 29. Cesarem inultimos. 30. Brittannos. 31. timendum partibus. 32. om. partibus. 33. Heu eu. 35. Etas. 36. Linquimus. 38. Outinam. 39. defi-gas (erasure between *i* and *g*).

[XXXVI.] Eucharistice ad Numibam amicum Lamiae.

Line 1. ture. 4. Quinunc . . . abultima. 8. pueritiae. 11. anphorae. 12. insalium sit requi es pedum. 13. dam malis. 14. treicia. uint amistide. 16. uiuax (*x* by a later hand: there has been erasure). 17. indamalim. 18. damalus (erasure between *l* and *i*?).

[XXXVII.] Prosponetice ad Sodales Augusti.

Line 5. ante hac. 9. cum grege tur turpium (pen drawn through *tur*). 10. quodlibet. 14. limphatam. 15. inueros. 19. Uenetor (*a* above). 22. querens. 26. Uultu. 28. combiberet. 30. seuis.

[XXXVIII.] Prosphonetice ad Puerum pro simplici apparatu convivii.

Line 2. philira. 5. nichil adlabores. 7. neque sub arta (om. *me*).

Q. Horatii Flacci Carminum Lib. I fin. incipit II.

## [BOOK II.]

### [I.] AD ASINIUM POLLIONEM.

Line 1. exmetello. 9. Paulum. 12. Cicropio . . . coturno' 13. mestis. 18. lituistrepunt. 20. uultus. 26. Afris cesserat impotens inulta. 28. Retulit. 29. nonlatino. 31. audum (above auditumque). 32. Haesperiae. 33. Quigurges (*s* has been inserted after *i*). 35. Non decolera uere cedes. 39. dioneo. 40. Quere.

### [II.] DYCANE AD SALLUSTIUM CRISPUM.

Line 2. lammae. 6. infratres. 7. agit. 10. quamsilibiam. 17. prahaten. 18. plebis . . . beatum.

### [III.] PARANETICE IMMO SYMBOLEUTICE DELLIO.

Line 2. nonsecus inbonis. 5. mestus. 6. inremoto. 11. quo. 12. Limpha. 13. breuis. 16. Filatrium. 17. fauus (*l* added above). 21. abinacho. 22. nichil inter est. 24. nichil. 28. Exilium impositura est cymbae.

### [IV.] AD XANTIAM SODALEM GENERE PHOCEUM PROSPHONETICE.

Line 2. Xantia foceu. 4. Mouit (letter erased between *o* and *u*). 6. tegmessae. 7, 8. written as one line. 9. turme. 11, 12. written as one line. 13. ante. 15. Regum (*i* above). 15, 16. written as one line. meret. 17. om. de. 19, 20. written as one line. 21. Brachia euoltum (*t* above). 23, 24. written as one line. etas.

### [V.] EUTICE AD SOBALEM (SODALEM) PER ALLEGORIAM VERO DICIT OMNIA AD AD LALAGEN VIRGINEM.

Line 1. sub acta. 4. Inuenerem. 5. uirentis (altered to *es*: letter erased after *s*). 7. estum . . . inudo. 8. uictis (uitulis above). 12. three letters erased between uarius and colore. 13. sequetur (has been *i*) curret. 14. Aetas (beginning of the word much erased and altered). 16. proterua (letter erased at end of word). 19. renitet. 20. Luna marignidiusve gies (*g* inserted). 24. uultu.

### [VI.] PROSPHONETICE SEPTIMIO.

Lines 3, 4. written as one line. 7, 8. written as one line. 9. parte (*c* above). 10. galesi. 11, 12. written as one line. 13. michi . . . omnes (altered from omnis). 14. hymeto. 15, 16. written as one line. 17. prebet. 19. bacho nimium

(but the old word has been erased). 19, 20. written as one line. 22. ubi tu. 23, 24. written as one line.

### [VII.] Pragmatice ad Oratium Pompium commilitonem.

Line 1. sepe . . . inultimum. 5. Pompi. 7. Fregi comptus nitentis (*e* above). 12. Turbe solum (letter between *l* and *m* erased: *u* above). 13. hostis. 14. sustulit (two letters erased, the latter a *b*) eret aere. 15. inbellum. 22. Ciboria exple; effunde, &c. 23. quisudo. 27. Bachabor. 28. michi.

### [VIII.] Prosagoreutice Juliae Barinae.

Line 1. sijuris. 3. sinigro. 3, 4. written as one line. 7, 8. written as one line. 9. cineres (has been cineris). 11. celo. 11, 12. written as one line. 13. nymphae (*y* erased). 15, 16. written as one line. 19, 20. written as one line. 22. misereque.

### [IX.] Ad Algium consolatio.

Line 4. inoris. 5. Amice val gistat. 6. omnis (*e* above). 8. folus (?). 10. Misten. 11. Surgente cedunt amores. 13. nonter. 14. omnis. 15. impubem. 16. phrigiae. 18. querellarum. 19. trophea.

### [X.] Ad Licinium Murenam.

Lines 3, 4. written as one line. 5. quiquis. 7, 8. written as one line. 11. tres (mark of abbreviation added above). 14. preparatum. 15, 16. written as one line. 17. summouiter (*uel* above) nonsimale. 19, 20. written as one line. 23. Contra hesuento. 23, 24. written as one line.

### [XI.] Ad Quintium Hyrnum.

Line (1). belicosus (*l* added above) . . . scites. 2. cogitat adria. 4. inusum. 13. palatano (*l* added above before first *a*). 17. eu hius (letter erased before *h*, probably *c*: *uh* is written above). 18. otius. 20. limpha. 22. lira. 23. incomptum lacenae.

### [XII.]

Line 2. durum. 4. cytharae. 5. seuos. 6. Hyleum. 11. peruias. 12. minatium. 13. dulcis (altered to *e*: corrected back to *i* above) . . . liciniae. 21. Achemonis. 22. phyiae (*r* and *g* added above) migdonias. 23. licinie. 26. seuitia. 27. gaudet. 28. occupat.

[XIII.]

Line 3. Prodixit (*u* above) . . . inne potum. 4. obprobriumque. 8. . . . ille et uenena Colchia. 9. quicquid . . . concipit (mark of abbreviation added). 14. inhoras. bosphorum. 17. Miles-sagittas (first *s* is an addition) etcelerem. 18. catenas (*s* is an addition) . . . italum. 19. inprovisa loeti. 21. pene . . . prosepine (*r* added by later hand). 22. judi cantem . . . ea cum. 23. discretas. 26. Sapho (another *p* added above) . . . depopularibus. 27. Ette. Alceae. 30. miranter. 32. uulgus. 34. Demittit atras et centiceps (belua above et). 38. laborum. somno (for sono). 40. timidas.

[XIV.]

'Met. Alchaic' (note in old hand).

Line 4. auferet (*ſ* written over *u*: letter erased between *u* and *ſ*). 5. tricenis. 6. inlacrimabilem. 7. quiter. 8. Gerionem titionque. 13. Marte (may have been Marce). 15. autumnos. 18. Cocitos (*v* above the *o*). 19. damp natus (letter erased between *p* and *n*). 20. Sisiphus eolidos (*e* above). 21. Liquenda (*n* above). 24. Uita (Vita written above, as if the word was not plainly legible). 25. Cecuba. 27. Tinguet. 28. caenis.

[XV.]

Line 2. relinquuunt. 4. celebs. 10. ictus (marked by modern hand, and estus above). 12. forma (norma written above). 16. expiebat (*ci* above between *x* and *p*). 17. cernere (sper above) cespitem.

[XVI.]

Line 2. Pressus (erasure after first *s*: the second is later, probably has been *in*) egeo. 3. long gap between neque and certa: there has been an erasure, and part of *neq* is an addition. 4. (as a line by itself). 5. trace. 6. medifaretra. 7. Crosphe. 7, 8. written as one line. 10. Submovet. 11, 12. written as one line. 14. inmensa tenuisalinum. 15, 16. written as one line. 17. jaculamu (*r* added). 19. patrie. 19, 20. written as one line. 23. otior. 24. otior. 23, 24. as one line. 25. inpresens. 27, 28. as one line. 30. thitonum. 31. michi. 31, 32. as one line. 32. ora. 35. aequa. 37. lane michi. 40. uulgus.

[XVII.]

Line 2. diis . . . nec m te prius (*m* for mihi?). 3. Mecenas. 4. columenque (letter erased between *n* and *q*). 5. A te sipartem. 7. super stes. 11. suppremum. 13. chimerae. 14. gigas. 15. umquam. 17. scorpius aspicit. 28. ictum (the *t* erased and added above).

[XVIII.] PARANETICE ALII YPOTETICE.

Line 3. hymetiae. 7. michi. 8. clientes. 9. ingenii. 11. nichil. 20. urgues. 21. Summo uere littora. 25. Limitem. 27. Insinu. 28. Etuxor. 29, 30. written as one line. 31. Erum . . . aequa tellus. 38. cohercet. 40. nonuocatus.

[XIX.] ENTVSIASTICE LIBERO.

Line 1. inremotis. 3. Nimphas. 5. Euhoe. 7. Euhoe. 8. tyrso. 9. tyadas. 14. pente . . (last letter or letters erased). 15. non leui (marks of erasure). 17. tumare.

Q. HORATII FLACCI CARMINUM EXPLICIT II, III LIB. INCIPIT.

---

## [BOOK III.]

[I.] PRAGMACTICE AD INDOCTOS.

Line 1. uulgus. 9. Estutuiro. 17. cui semper impia. 20. cytharae. 24. Zephiris. 27. seuus. 28. hedi. 39. triremi (om. et). 41. phrygius (letter erased between *h* and *r*). 43. Delinet. 44. Uites Achemeniumque (*a* added above the *e*). 48. operotiores (*s* written above *t*).

[II.] DE INSTRUCTIONE AD AMICOS LOQUITUR.

Line 1. amice (*o* written above the *m*). 6. menibus. 10. lacesset (*a* written above the *e*). 13. deorum (*c* added above). 15. inbellis. 23. temptat. 23. uulgares. 27. archanae. 28. fragilemque.

[III.] AD MUSAS DE ANGUSTO (*sic*).

Line 5. adriae. 8. inpauidum. 10. Innisus. 13. bache. 22. michi. 23. dampnatum. 31. nepotem (seems to have been nepotum). 34. discere. 49. inrepertum. 55. debachentur. 57. fata (letter erased between *a* and *t*). 67. argis (some letters erased at the end of the word).

[IV.] AD CALLIOPEM MUSAM.

Line 4. cytharaue. 10. Altricis. 14. Acheruntiae. 19. conlataque. 20. diis. 22. michi. 26. me omitted: supplied above

by later hand. 27. arbor. 29. Utcumque. 30. bosforum. 31. Temptabo. 32. assirii. 34. conchanum. 35. pharetratas. 36. scithicum. 37. Cesarem. 38. redditas opidis. 39. querentem. 47. turmas. 48. equo. 52. Olimpo. 53. tipheus . . . minas. 54. porphirion. 55. roethus. 57. aegyda. 59. omit et. 60. Et numquam. 62. litiae. 65. molyrit sua. 66. dii. 69. gigas. 71. Temptator. 74. meret partus fulminae luridum (om. que). 76. ethnam. 77. ticii. 80. Perithoum.

### [V.] Ad divum Augustum.

Line 3. brittannis. 12. Incolomi. 17. imiserabilis (erasure before this word). 19. affixa. 20. cede. 21. Direpta uidi ego ciuium (om. second vidi). 27. Dampnum. 31. sic pugnat. 37. sumeret aptius. 39. Chartago. 47. merentes. 48. exul. 53. clientium. 54. Disjudicata. 56. lacedemonium.

### [VI.] Ad populum Romanum.

Line 1. inmeritus. 4. simulachra. 5. Diis. 9. monesis. 13. Pene occupatum. 14. dachus et ethiops. 22. artubus. 27. inpermissa. 29. Sed uisa coram (marks of erasion). 31. hispane. 32. praetiosus. 33. Non his orta juuentus orta parentibus. 35. Pirrhumque ingentem (om. et). 36. om. que. 45. Dampnosa.

### [VII.] Ad Mecenatem.

Line 3. Thina. 4. fidei. 5. Gigen. ille nothis actus ad odricum. 9. sollitae (*ci* added above). 12. Temptat. 13. pretum or praetum. 15. bellero fonti. 17. pene. 18. hipoliten: om. abstinens. 19. Abstinensque et peccare docentes. 20. monet.

### [VIII.] Ad Mecenatem.

Line 1. celebs. 2. turis. 3, 4. written as one line. 5. sermonis. 6. Uomeram . . . aepulas. 10. astrictum. 11, 12. as one line. consule Talbo. 13. catos (*i* written above). 15, 16. as one line. 19, 20. as one line. 21. horae. 23. scithe. 23, 24. as one line. 27. letus.

### [IX.] Antapodotice.

Line 5. aliam. 6. Cloen. 12. Dulcis . . . cytharae. 13. Quidsi prisca (barred) me torret, &c. 14. Turini . . . Orniti. 15. patiar (letter erased between *a* and *t*). 16. pascent. 19. Cloe. 21. Quam sidere, &c. (corrected to quamuis above).

[X.] Ad Licen superbam in amantes.

Line 2. seuo. 3. obicere. 6. situm . . . remugit. 7. claciet. 14. pelice.

[XI.] Prospho(netice) Mercurio lyraeque.

Lines 3, 4. as one. 7, 8. as one. 11, 12. as one. 15, 16. as one. 19, 20. as one. 21. Tytius. 22. paulum. 27, 28. as one. 45. seuis. 47, 48. as one. 50. om. *i*.

[XII.] Paranetice ad Neobulem[1].

Miserarum est. neque amori dare ludum
Neque (dulci above) mala uino lauere aut.
Exanimari. metuentes patruae
Verbera linguae;
Tibi qualum cytherea puer ales.
Tibi telas operosaeque minervae
Studium aufert. Neobule liparei nitor hebri;
Simul unctos tiberinis humeros
Lavit in undis. eques ipso melior
Bellerofonti. neque pugno neque segni Pede uictus.
Catus idem per apertum fugientes
Agitato grege ceruos iaculari· et
Celer alto latitantem fruticeto
Excipere aprum

[XIII.] Proseutice in fontem Bandusinum qui est Sabinis.

Line 3. hedo. 7. riuos (letter (*t*?) erased before the *r*). 9. ora. 11. erasure between fessis and uomere. 16. Limphee.

[XIV.]

Lines 3, 4. as one. hora. 7, 8. as one. uota. 11, 12. as one. 13. michi. 15. mo (*ri* added above). 15, 16. as one. 19, 20. as one. 22. Mirreum. 23, 24. as one. 27, 28. as one.

[XV.] Mentice ad Chloridem.

Line 1. Ybici. 8. Et te decet Clore. 10. thias. 15, 16. are transposed. 16. faecenus (*te* inserted above).

[XVI.] Hypotetice ad Maecenatim (*sic*).

Line 5. Acrisien (altered to *u* above). 11. occidit. 13. Dimersa excidio. 14. emulos. 16. illa queant. 21. om. sibi.

[1] The punctuation of the MS. is here shown.

26. quicquid. 31. Affricae. 35. michi. 36. uellara. 41. Migdoniis . . . alyathici.

[XVII.]

Line 13. potes (originally was potis). 15. bimenstri.

[XVIII.]

Line 1. nimpharum fugentium. 3, 4. as one. 4. nequus. 5. hedus. 7, 8. as one. 10. decembris. 11, 12. as one. 12. pardus (but erasure). 15. populisse. 15, 16. as one.

[XIX.]

Line 2. Codrus non timidus pro patria mori. 3. eaci. 11. Muraenae. 12. chatis. 14. Ter noster attonitus cyatos petet. 18. berechintiae. 23. Licus. 24. Lico. 26. Thelephe. 27. rode. 28. glicere . . . amae (erasure).

[XX.] Ad Pyrrum tentando quin Nearcus sollicitet.

Line 2. Pyrre Getulae . . . leenae. 3. paulo . . . fugie sinaudax. 3, 4. as one. 7, 8. as one. preda. 10. hec. 11, 12. as one. 14. oderatis. 15. Nereus.

[XXI.] Paranetice ad Amphoram.

Line 1. Mallio. 5. Quo cumque. 13. ingenio renoues. 15. archanum. · 16. liaeo.

[XXII.] Ymnus in Dianam.

Line 3. loeto. 3, 4. as one. 6. Quam per actos (*ex* added above).

[XXIII.] Proseutice monocolos Phillidae.

Line 2. phillide. 3. ture . . . orna. 5. affricum. 7. Rubiginem dulces alumpni (*aut* added above). 12. securim. 13. tinguet . . . nichil. 14. Temptare . . . cede. 17. tetigerit. 19. mollibit.

[XXIV.]

Line 4. Tyrrenum . . . mare ponticum. 7. nonanimumumotu (*o* altered to *e* above). 9. Scitae. 23. federe. 33. quaerimoniae. 38. boraee. 41. nautae. 42. obprobrium. 43. second *et* omitted, and added above. 50. penitet. 52. aelementa. 62. improbe.

[XXV.] LIBERUM PATREM INVOCAT LAUDES CAESARIS DICTURUS.

Line 1. bache. 4. Cesaris. 9. exomnis (*s* added above) . . . euhias. 11. Thracem. 12. michi. 14. naidum (*a* above). 15. Bacharum. 17. nichil . . . humile. 18. nichil. 19. lenee.

[XXVI.] AD VENEREM LOQUITUR QUOD NEQUE AMARE NEQUE SCRIBERE POSSIT.

Line 9. regis Cyprum et.

[XXVII.] PROSPHENAE AD GALATHEAM SUI NON ESSE MEMOREM.

Lines 3, 4. as one. 7. quid timebo. 7, 8. as one. 10. imminentium. 11, 12. as one. 15. Te neque leuus. 15, 16. as one. 19, 20. as one. iapix. 23, 24. as one. 27, 28. as one. 30. nimphis. 31. nichil. 31, 32. as one. 35, 36. as one. 39. anuectus. 39, 40. as one. 45. michi. 47, 48. as one. 51, 52. as one. 55, 56. as one. 57. europae. 58. abono. 59, 60. as one. 60. Ledere. 61. laeto. 63. cerile. 63, 64. as one. 66. pelex. 67, 68. as one. 71. inuisus omitted, and written above. 71, 72. as one. 75, 76. as one.

[XXVIII.]

Line 6. sentis et. 10. uiridum. 12. cinthiae. 13. gnidon. 14. paphum. 16. nenia.

[XXIX.] PROPHONETICE MECENATI.

Line 1. Tyrrena. 2. uersum. 3. mecenas (om. *et*). 4. Et pressa. 5. aput . . . eripe morae te. 6. esulae. 7. Declinum. 18. prochyon. 20. die (*s* added above). 34. medio alueo. 37. domos. 41. annes. 42. Letus. 48. Quo fugiens hora semel uixit. 49. leta (om. *et*). 50. Et ludum, &c. 51. incestos. 52. michi. 56. quero.

[XXX.] VICTURUM DICIT APOTELESTICE SCRIPTIS SEMPER.

Line 1. per hennius. 2. piramidum. 12. Regnator (but erasion). 15. michi. 16. Melpomone.

CARMINUM LIB. III EXPLICIT, INCIPIT IV.

## [BOOK IV.]

### [I.] AD FABIUM MAXIMUM.

Line 2. om. second precor. 5. seua. 10. oloribus (has been odoribus). 11. Comitabere. 22. tura . . . berechintiae. 28. quatiunt. 37. Nocturnis te somniis. 40. uolubilis.

### [II.]

Line 2. dedalea. 10. dytyrambos. 11, 12. as one line (om. fertur. 13. regesque. 21. sponse. 23. educet. 25. dirceum . . . cignum. 29. tyma. 36. Sicambros. 37. nichil. 43. Fortes. 45. si quod. 49. procedis . . . triumphae. 50. omitted: written below in later hand. 52. Tura.

### [III.]

Line 1. Melphomene. 4. inpiger. 8. contuderit (probably has been contunderit). 12. eolio. 17. aureae (erasure between *r* and *e*). 20. cigni.

### [IV.]

Line 4. ganimede. 7. Uernique (erasure between *i* and *q*). 13. letis. 17. reti. 27. Agusti (*u* added above). 36. Dedecorant. 37. astrubal. 43. thedas. 50. rapatium (altered to *c* above). 53. Gensque. 54. equoribus. 55. maturosque penates. 57. tunsa. 59. cedes. 65. mersus . . . euenit. 67. Cum clade. 69. Cartagini. 73. nichil . . . perficient.

### [V.]

Line 1. Romuleae. 7. gratior et dies. 9. nothus. 12. destitit (?). 13. omnibusque . . . aduocat. 25. parcum . . . scithen. 26. horrida (two letters erased between *i* and *d*). 27. incolomi. 31. ad uina uenit. 35. Grecia. 37. rex bone. 38. Prestes.

### [VI.]

Line 2. Titiosque. 4. Pithius. 10. Pinus ut impulsa. 11. om. in. 12. In puluere. 14. sacramento. 19. latentes. 22. diuum. 23. eneae. 23, 24. as one: Alte (*i* written above). 25. Taliae. 26. Phoebe. 28. Letus (the rest of the line wanting: levis agilen added in another hand). 29. phebus michi phebus. 34. Choibentis. 35. Lespium. 38. noctemlucem. 39. fugam. 41. diis. 44. orati.

[VII.]

Line 5. nimphis. 7. Inmortalia. 9. Zephiris. 12. inhers. 15. Anchus. 17. crastina uitae. 18. dii. 21. Mynos. 26. hyppolitum. 27. laethea. 28. perithoo.

[VIII.]

Line 1. commodis. 6. parasius. 9. michi. 12. muneris. 17. Cartaginis. 21. cartae. 25. Stigiis . . . eacum. 31. tindaridae. 34. bonas.

[IX.]

Line 4. cordis. 5. Meonius. 8. Tersi corine. 17. regalisque. 16. lacenae. 17. cydoneo. 19. Uexata est non, &c. 20. Stenelus. 22. dei phebus. 25. agamennona. 26. inlacrimabiles. 29. saepultae. 30. caelata. 40. quotiens. 50. laeto.

[X.]

Line 3. in humeris. 4. colonem (?). 5. mutatus ligurinum uertit in faciem hispidam. 6. te in speculo.

[XI.]

Line 1. michi. 3. Philli. 17. sollempnis michi. 18. Poene. 19. Mecaenas . . . affluentes. 25. phaeton. 28. Bellorophontem. 29. Semper uitae digna.

[XII.]

Line 2. thratiae. 5. hytin. 7. obpbrium. 12. Archadiae. 23. tingure (*e* added above). 26. meror.

[XIII.]

Line 1. Audiuere dii lice dũea uota dii. 2. . . . fis anus; esse tam̃. 7. thiae. 13. Choae. 14. nec cari (*l* added above). 20. michi. 22. om. breues. 23. Breues annos, &c.

[XIV.]

Line 5. om. O. 7. after quem two letters have been erased. 8. Vindelia. 10. inplacidum. 15. retos. 18. pectara (corrected to *o* above). 21. pliadum. 26. praeterfluit. 27. seuit. 28. minitatur. 33. ettues. 37. tertia (corrected to *o* above). 42. Scites. 46. hyster. 48. brittannis. 51. cede . . . Sicambri.

[XV.]

Line 5. retulit. 7. Direpta. 10. Rectum et uaganti. 13. italiae. 14. imperii. 18. eximet. 23. om. ue, which is supplied above. 26. Inter jocos (here a letter has been erased). 28. adprecati. 29. furetos.

[Here follows, without separate heading, the 'Ars Poetica,' complete to 'hirudo.']

Horatii Flacci de Arte Poetica explicit. Incipit Epodon ad Mecenatem. Metrum iambicum dicolon, primus versus est exameter sive dimeter qui et Epodos dicitur id est uno pede minor.

---

## [EPODES.]

[I.]

Line 4. Mecenas. 5. om. si. 6. Jocunda. 12. erasure before et. 13. om. usque, which is supplied above. 15. laborem. 21. assit auxilii. 22. presentibus. 30. Circea. 31. om. me. 34. ut supplied above before nepos.

[II.] Vitam Agricolarum summa tranquillitate rerum exornatam persequitur.

Line 3. bubus. 5. excitatur (erasure between *ex* and *c*). 18. autumnus. 22. here follows a rubric (like the headings): 'Metrum id ipsum quod supra.'
27. limphis. 28. somnos, &c. (omitted: supplied by another hand). 31. acris. 42. pernicis, &c. (omitted: supplied by another hand). 45. Lassi, &c. (omitted: supplied by another hand in margin). 47. orna. 49. conchilia. 52. Hiemps. 54. atagen. 55. Jocundior. 59. edus. 62. properantis. 63. inũsum.

[III.] Execratur quod apud Mecenatem allium ederat et aestu torquebat. Metrum quod supra.

Line 13. pelicen. 15. umquam syderum.

[IV.]

Line 2. michi. 7. mentiente.

[V.] (*Erasure*).

Line 1. quicquid . . . celo regis. 3. quod. 8. improbeaturum. 14. tracum. 15. illigata. 17. sepulchris. 18. cupressos funebris. 20. Plumamque strigis nocturnae. 21. Colcos aut. 24. Cholchicis. 33. dapes. 37. Execta (*s* above) jecor. 40. populae. 42. Arimenensem. 45. sydera. 46. diripit. 47. inresectum. 52. Archana. 55. cum. 60. laborarunt. 63. superba. 70. pelicem (altered to *u* above). 71. om. ah ah! 76. ridebit. 79. celum . . . mare (altered to *i* above). 86. thiesteas. 93. uultus. 95. Et quietis (*in* added above). 97. uiacŭm (?). 98. contundat obscenas. 100. Aesquilinae.

[VI.]

Line 2. aduersus. 3. uerte. 4. pete. 5. molosus. 10. cybum. 13. licambae. 14. babulo.

[VII.]

Line 5. Cartaginis. 7. brittannus. 11. neque fuit. 12. umquam. 14. In culpam.

[VIII.] PROSTITUTAM PUTIDAM ANUM SECTATUR VITIA CORPORIS EJUS PROSCRIBENS. METRUM QUOD SUPRA.

Line 12. Ducantur. 17. om. rigent (which is added above before *nervi*).

[IX.] TERNARIUS I. B. C. AD C. MECEN. B. N. R. S. I. B. EPODICOS.

Line 1. repositum cecubum. 3. Mecenas. 16. aspicit conopeum. 21. om. moraris (but erasure, and the word is added above). 23. Jugurtino. 25. Cartaginem. 31. sirtes notho. 33. sciphos. 35. coherceat. 36. Cecubum.

[X.] INVISUM SIBI MEVIUM DEVOVET UT HORRENDIS PREMATUR TEMPESTATIBUS. METRUM UT SUPRA.

Line 2. olentum Meuium. 7. quantus montibus altis. 13. ira. 20. Notho.

[XI.] PETIO AMICO SUO INVISAM SIBI POETICEN ESSE IN CONCUBITUS SUOS IRRUMPENTEM. METRUM PRIMO VERSV IAMBICUM TERNARIUS SECUNDUS E LONGA IAMBICUS SCANDIT ITA SCRIBERE VERSICULOS AMORE PERCULSUM.

Line 1. Pecti nichil . . . ante. 4. om. aut in puellis. 5. destite. 8. penitet. 13. simul calentis, &c. (this verse is wanting: it is supplied in margin). 14. archana. 17. om. nil.

21. michi portis. 24. licis. 27. om. ardor, which is supplied above.

[XII.] Summae libidinis mulierem repellit. Dignam ait esse elefantis. Primus versus heroicus secundus tetrapodia heroica.

Line 1. sima barris (seems to be by a later hand). 5. Polipus. 11. crocodilli. 18. michi chous . . . amintas.

[XIII.] Ad Amicos comicos. Senarius epicus quadratus A. I. B. O. in dact.

Line 1. celum. 9. cilleneia. 18. egrimoniae.

[XIV.] Metro primo versv heroicum, secundo iambicum dimetrum.

Line 3. letheos. 3. om. si (but erasure). 9. batillo. 15. nec. 16. phrine.

[XV.]

Line 6. adherens. 8. hybernum. 17. fecilior. 21. pytagorae . . . archana. 22. Nerea.

[XVI.] Alterna vice eroo alterna iambico scripta est verum Oratius deflet reipublicae fortunam primo versu heroicum secundo iambicum trimetrum.

Line 4. porsennae. 8. abominandus. 10. rursum. 18. execrata. 22. Nothus. 31. tygres. 34. hyrcus. 30. omnes execrata. 40. preter. 48. limpha. 51. ouili. 56. celitum. 58. nec inpudica Cholcis.

[XVII.] Metrum ternarum iambicum.

Line 6. Canidie. 10. Misorum. 22. amictus. 24. nullum a labore. 25. Urguet. 27. ergo gatum (*ne* added above). 30. O mare et terra. 33. ethna. 35. Cholchicis. 40. sonare. 46. O paternis nec. 50. partum eius. after v. 52 (rubric): 'Metrum quod superius.' 56. Cocytia. 57. sacra. 58. ueneficii. 64. cruciatibus. 68. Sysiphus. 72. om. que . . . gutturi innectis tuo. 73. egrimonia. 75. om. que. 79. curiosus nosti. 80. Desideriique. 81. nichil.

Vettivs Agorivs Basilivs Mavortivs v. c. et inl (?) ex com̃ Q. Horatii Flacci dom̃ ex consordiñ legi et vt potvi ẽmdavi conferens Epodon explic̃ incip̃ Carm̃ Seculare [1].

[1] See Bentley's Preface to his Edition. The Rev. H. O. Coxe, who has kindly examined the MS., informs me that this note is not by the same hand as

## [CARMEN SAECULARE.]

Line 1. Phebe. 4. sacri . . . tempore (erasure after sacri). 5. Quae. 10. coelas. 11. nichil. 14. Ylithia. 29. feratque. 23. totidemque. 24. frequentis (*e* above). 46. senectutis. 49. bubus. 57. honor. 68. prorogat euum. 71. curet. 72. applicet. 75. phebi.

INCIPIT SERMONUM LIB. I AD MECENATEM.

**the Titles of the Odes, but by that of a scribe copying the characters of the Titles. He is further of opinion that the Titles of the Odes are probably as old as the book; that the earlier Scholia, which run through the book, are by two or three different hands, but all within a century of the writing of the book itself; and that the later Scholia, which are more copious, but confined to the Satires and Epistles, are by a later hand, probably of the sixteenth century.**

# Clarendon Press, Oxford.

## SELECT LIST OF STANDARD WORKS.



## 1. STANDARD LATIN WORKS.

**Avianus.** *The Fables.* Edited, with Prolegomena, Critical Apparatus, Commentary, &c., by Robinson Ellis, M.A., LL.D. 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

**Catulli Veronensis** *Liber.* Iterum recognovit, Apparatum Criticum Prolegomena Appendices addidit, R. Ellis, A.M. 8vo. 16*s.*

**Catullus,** *a Commentary on.* By Robinson Ellis, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 18*s.*

**Cicero.** *De Oratore Libri Tres.* With Introduction and Notes. By A. S. Wilkins, Litt.D. 8vo. 18*s.*

*Also, separately,*

Book I. 7*s.* 6*d.* Book II. 5*s.* Book III. 6*s.*

—— *Philippic Orations.* With Notes. By J. R. King, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

—— *Pro Milone.* Edited by A. C. Clark, M.A. 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

**Cicero.** *Select Letters.* With English Introductions, Notes, and Appendices. By Albert Watson, M.A. *Fourth Edition.* 8vo. 18*s.*

**Horace.** With a Commentary. By E. C. Wickham, D.D. *Two Vols.*

Vol. I. The Odes, Carmen Seculare, and Epodes. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 12*s.*

Vol. II. The Satires, Epistles, and De Arte Poetica. 8vo. 12*s.*

**Juvenal.** *Thirteen Satires.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by C. H. Pearson, M.A., and Herbert A. Strong, M.A., LL.D. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo. 9*s.*

**Manilius.** *Noctes Manilianae; sive Dissertationes in Astronomica Manilii. Accedunt Coniecturae in Germanici Aratea.* Scripsit R. Ellis. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

**Merry.** *Selected Fragments of Roman Poetry.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. W. Merry, D.D. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

**Ovid.** *P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibis.* Ex Novis Codicibus edidit, Scholia Vetera Commentarium cum Prolegomenis Appendice Indice addidit, R. Ellis, A.M. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

—— *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri V.* Recensuit S. G. Owen, A.M. 8vo. 16s.

**Persius.** *The Satires.* With a Translation and Commentary. By John Conington, M.A. Edited by Henry Nettleship, M.A. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 8s. 6d.

**Plautus.** *Rudens.* Edited, with Critical and Explanatory Notes, by E. A. Sonnenschein, M.A. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

**Quintilian.** *Institutionis Oratoriae Liber Decimus.* A Revised Text, with Introductory Essays, Critical Notes, &c. By W. Peterson, M.A., LL.D. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**Rushforth.** *Latin Historical Inscriptions, illustrating the History of the Early Empire.* By G. McN. Rushforth, M.A. 8vo. 10s. *net.*

**Tacitus.** *The Annals.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by H. Furneaux, M.A. 2 Vols. 8vo.

Vol. I, Books I–VI. 18s.

Vol. II, Books XI–XVI. 20s.

—— *De Germania.* By the same Editor. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

—— *Dialogus de Oratoribus.* A Revised Text, with Introductory Essays, and Critical and Explanatory Notes. By W. Peterson, M.A., LL.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Virgil.** *With an Introduction and Notes.* By T. L. Papillon, M.A., and A. E. Haigh, M.A. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 12s.

---

**King and Cookson.** *The Principles of Sound and Inflexion, as illustrated in the Greek and Latin Languages.* By J. E. King, M.A., and Christopher Cookson, M.A. 8vo. 18s.

—— *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin.* Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

**Lindsay.** *The Latin Language.* An Historical Account of Latin Sounds, Stems and Flexions. By W. M. Lindsay, M.A. Demy 8vo. 21s.

**Nettleship.** *Lectures and Essays on Subjects connected with Latin Scholarship and Literature.* By Henry Nettleship, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

—— *Second Series,* edited by F. J. Haverfield, with Memoir by Mrs. Nettleship. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Nettleship.** *Ancient Lives of Vergil.* 8vo, sewed, 2s.

—— *Contributions to Latin Lexicography.* 8vo. 21s.

**Sellar.** *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age.* By W. Y. Sellar, M.A.; viz.

I. VIRGIL. *New Edition.* Crown 8vo. 9s.

II. HORACE and the ELEGIAC POETS. With a Memoir of the Author by Andrew Lang, M.A., and a Portrait. 8vo. 14s.

—— *Roman Poets of the Republic. Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 10s.

**Wordsworth.** *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin.* With Introductions and Notes. By J. Wordsworth, D.D. 8vo. 18s.

## 2. STANDARD GREEK WORKS.

**Chandler.** *A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation*, by H. W. Chandler, M.A. *Second Edition.* 10s. 6d.

**Haigh.** *The Attic Theatre.* A Description of the Stage and Theatre of the Athenians, and of the Dramatic Performances at Athens. By A. E. Haigh, M.A. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**Head.** *Historia Numorum:* A Manual of Greek Numismatics. By Barclay V. Head. Royal 8vo, half-bound, 2l. 2s.

**Hicks.** *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions.* By E. L. Hicks, M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**King and Cookson.** *The Principles of Sound and Inflexion, as illustrated in the Greek and Latin Languages.* By J. E. King, M.A., and Christopher Cookson, M.A. 8vo. 18s.

**Liddell and Scott.** *A Greek-English Lexicon*, by H. G. Liddell, D.D., and Robert Scott, D.D. *Seventh Edition, Revised and Augmented throughout.* 4to. 1l. 16s.

**Monro.** *Modes of Ancient Greek Music.* By D. B. Monro, M.A. 8vo. 8s. 6d. *net.*

**Paton and Hicks.** *The Inscriptions of Cos.* By W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks. Royal 8vo, linen, with Map, 28s.

**Smyth.** *The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects* (Ionic). By H. Weir Smyth, Ph.D. 8vo. 24s.

**Thompson.** *A Glossary of Greek Birds.* By D'Arcy W. Thompson. 8vo, buckram, 10s. *net.*

**Veitch.** *Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective.* By W. Veitch, LL.D. *Fourth Edition.* Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Wright.** *Golden Treasury of Ancient Greek Poetry.* By R. S. Wright, M.A. *Second Edition.* Revised by Evelyn Abbott, M.A., LL.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

---

**Aeschinem et Isocratem,** *Scholia Graeca in.* Edidit G. Dindorfius. 8vo. 4s.

**Aeschylus.** *In Single Plays.* With Introduction and Notes, by Arthur Sidgwick, M.A. *Third Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. each.

- I. Agamemnon.
- II. Choephoroi.
- III. Eumenides.
- IV. Prometheus Bound. With Introduction and Notes, by A. O. Prickard, M.A. *Third Edition.* 2s.

**Aeschyli** *quae supersunt in Codice Laurentiano quoad effici potuit et ad cognitionem necesse est visum typis descripta edidit* R. Merkel. Small folio. 1l. 1s.

**Aeschylus:** *Tragoediae et Fragmenta*, ex recensione Guil. Dindorfii. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 5s. 6d.

—— *Annotationes* Guil. Dindorfii. Partes II. 8vo. 10s.

**Apsinis et Longini** *Rhetorica.* E Codicibus mss. recensuit Joh. Bakius. 8vo. 3s.

**Archimedis** *quae supersunt omnia cum Eutocii commentariis* ex recensione J. Torelli, cum nova versione Latina. Fol. 1l. 5s.

**Aristophanes.** *A Complete Concordance to the Comedies and Fragments.* By H. Dunbar, M.D. 4to. 1*l.* 1*s.*

—— *Comoediae et Fragmenta,* ex recensione Guil. Dindorfii. Tomi II. 8vo. 11*s.*

—— *Annotationes* Guil. Dindorfii. Partes II. 8vo. 11*s.*

—— *Scholia Graeca* ex Codicibus aucta et emendata a Guil. Dindorfio. Partes III. 8vo. 1*l.*

—— *In Single Plays.* Edited, with English Notes, Introductions, &c., by W. W. Merry, D.D. Extra fcap. 8vo.

The Acharnians. *Third Edition,* 3*s.*
The Birds. 3*s.* 6*d.*
The Clouds. *Third Edition,* 3*s.*
The Frogs. *Second Edition,* 3*s.*
The Knights. *Second Edition,* 3*s.*
The Wasps. 3*s.* 6*d.*

**Aristotle.** Ex recensione Im. Bekkeri. Accedunt Indices Sylburgiani. Tomi XI. 8vo. 2*l.* 10*s.*

The volumes (except Vols. I and IX) may be had separately, price 5*s.* 6*d.* each.

—— *Ethica Nicomachea,* recognovit brevique Adnotatione critica instruxit I. Bywater. 8vo. 6*s.*

*Also in crown 8vo, paper cover,* 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Nicomachean Ethics. By I. Bywater. 2*s.* 6*d.*

—— Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics. By J. A. Stewart, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 32*s.*

—— *The Politics,* with Introductions, Notes, &c., by W. L. Newman, M.A. Vols. I and II. Medium 8vo. 28*s.*

—— *The Politics,* translated into English, with Introduction, Marginal Analysis, Notes, and Indices, by B. Jowett, M.A. Medium 8vo. 2 vols. 21*s.*

**Aristotle.** *Aristotelian Studies.* I. On the Structure of the Seventh Book of the Nicomachean Ethics. By J. C. Wilson, M.A. 8vo, stiff covers, 5*s.*

—— *The English Manuscripts of the Nicomachean Ethics, described in relation to Bekker's Manuscripts and other Sources.* By J. A. Stewart, M.A. (Anecdota Oxon.) Small 4to. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— *On the History of the process by which the Aristotelian Writings arrived at their present form.* By R. Shute, M.A. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

—— *Physics.* Book VII. Collation of various MSS.; with Introduction by R. Shute, M.A. (Anecdota Oxon.) Small 4to. 2*s.*

**Choerobosci** *Dictata in Theodosii Canones, necnon Epimerismi in Psalmos.* E Codicibus mss. edidit Thomas Gaisford, S.T.P. Tomi III. 8vo. 15*s.*

**Demosthenes.** Ex recensione G. Dindorfii. Tomi IX. 8vo. 2*l.* 6*s.*

*Separately:—*
Text, 1*l.* 1*s.* Annotations, 15*s.*
Scholia, 10*s.*

**Demosthenes and Aeschines.** The Orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown. With Introductory Essays and Notes. By G. A. Simcox, M.A., and W. H. Simcox, M.A. 8vo. 12*s.*

**Demosthenes.** *Orations against Philip.* With Introduction and Notes, by Evelyn Abbott, M.A., and P. E. Matheson, M.A.

Vol. I. Philippic I. Olynthiacs I–III. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3*s.*
Vol. II. De Pace, Philippic II. De Chersoneso, Philippic III. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

**Euripides.** *Tragoediae et Fragmenta,* ex recensione Guil. Dindorfii. Tomi II. 8vo. 10*s.*

**Euripides.** *Annotationes* Guil. Dindorfii. Partes II. 8vo. 10*s.*

—— *Scholia Graeca*, ex Codicibus aucta et emendata a Guil. Dindorfio. Tomi IV. 8vo. 1*l.* 16*s.*

**Hephaestionis** *Enchiridion, Terentianus Maurus, Proclus, &c.* Edidit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. Tomi II. 10*s.*

**Heracliti** *Ephesii Reliquiae.* Recensuit I. Bywater, M.A. Appendicis loco additae sunt Diogenis Laertii Vita Heracliti, Particulae Hippocratei De Diaeta Lib. I., Epistolae Heracliteae. 8vo. 6*s.*

**Herodotus.** *Books V and VI,* Terpsichore and Erato. Edited, with Notes and Appendices, by Evelyn Abbott, M.A., LL.D. 8vo, with two Maps, 10*s.* 6*d.*

**Homer.** *A Complete Concordance to the Odyssey and Hymns of Homer;* to which is added a Concordance to the Parallel Passages in the Iliad, Odyssey, and Hymns. By Henry Dunbar, M.D. 4to. 1*l.* 1*s.*

—— *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect.* By D. B. Monro, M.A. 8vo. *Second Edition.* 14*s.*

—— *Ilias*, ex rec. Guil. Dindorfii. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

—— *Scholia Graeca in Iliadem.* Edited by W. Dindorf, after a new collation of the Venetian mss. by D. B. Monro, M.A. 4 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 10*s.*

—— *Scholia Graeca in Iliadem Townleyana.* Recensuit Ernestus Maass. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 16*s.*

**Homer.** *Odyssea*, ex rec. G. Dindorfii. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

—— *Scholia Graeca in Odysseam.* Edidit Guil. Dindorfius. Tomi II. 8vo. 15*s.* 6*d.*

—— *Odyssey.* Books I–XII. Edited with English Notes, Appendices, &c. By W. W. Merry, D.D., and James Riddell, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 16*s.*

—— *Hymni Homerici.* Codicibus denuo collatis recensuit Alfredus Goodwin. Small folio. With four Plates. 21*s. net.*

**Oratores Attici**, ex recensione Bekkeri:

I. Antiphon, Andocides, et Lysias. 8vo. 7*s.*

II. Isocrates. 8vo. 7*s.*

III. Isaeus, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, &c. 8vo. 7*s.*

**Paroemiographi Graeci**, *quorum pars nunc primum ex Codd. mss. vulgatur.* Edidit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. 1836. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

**Plato.** *Apology*, with a revised Text and English Notes, and a Digest of Platonic Idioms, by James Riddell, M.A. 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

—— *Philebus*, with a revised Text and English Notes, by Edward Poste, M.A. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

—— *Republic.* The Greek Text. Edited, with Notes and Essays, by the late B. Jowett, M.A. and Lewis Campbell, M.A. In three vols. Medium 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.*

—— *Sophistes* and *Politicus*, with a revised Text and English Notes, by L. Campbell, M.A. 8vo. 18*s.*

**Plato.** *Theaetetus*, with a revised Text and English Notes, by L. Campbell, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.

—— *The Dialogues*, translated into English, with Analyses and Introductions, by B. Jowett, M.A. *Third Edition.* 5 vols. medium 8vo. Cloth, 4l. 4s.; half-morocco, 5l.

—— *The Republic*, translated into English, with Analysis and Introduction, by B. Jowett, M.A. Medium 8vo. 12s. 6d.; half-roan, 14s.

—— *With Introduction and Notes.* By St. George Stock, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo.

I. The Apology, 2s. 6d.
II. Crito, 2s. III. Meno, 2s. 6d.

—— *Selections. With Introductions and Notes.* By John Purves, M.A., and Preface by B. Jowett, M.A. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

—— *A Selection of Passages from Plato for English Readers;* from the Translation by B. Jowett, M.A. Edited, with Introductions, by M. J. Knight. 2 vols. Crown 8vo, gilt top. 12s.

**Plotinus.** Edidit F. Creuzer. Tomi III. 4to. 1l. 8s.

**Polybius.** *Selections.* Edited by J. L. Strachan-Davidson, M.A. With Maps. Medium 8vo. 21s.

**Plutarchi Moralia,** *id est, Opera, exceptis Vitis, reliqua.* Edidit Daniel Wyttenbach. Accedit Index Graecitatis. Tomi VIII. Partes XV. 1795–1830. 8vo, cloth, 3l. 10s.

**Sophocles.** *The Plays and Fragments.* With English Notes and Introductions, by Lewis Campbell, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo, 16s. *each.*

Vol. I. Oedipus Tyrannus. Oedipus Coloneus. Antigone.
Vol. II. Ajax. Electra. Trachiniae. Philoctetes. Fragments.

**Sophocles.** *Tragoediae et Fragmenta*, ex recensione et cum commentariis Guil. Dindorfii. *Third Edition.* 2 vols. Fcap. 8vo. 1l. 1s. Each Play separately, limp, 2s. 6d.

—— *Tragoediae et Fragmenta* cum Annotationibus Guil. Dindorfii. Tomi II. 8vo. 10s.
The Text, Vol. I. 5s. 6d.
The Notes, Vol. II. 4s. 6d.

**Stobaei** *Florilegium.* Ad mss. fidem emendavit et supplevit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. Tomi IV. 8vo. 1l.

—— *Eclogarum Physicarum et Ethicarum libri duo.* Accedit Hieroclis Commentarius in aurea carmina Pythagoreorum. Ad mss. Codd. recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. Tomi II. 8vo. 11s.

**Strabo.** *Selections*, with an Introduction on Strabo's Life and Works. By H. F. Tozer, M.A., F.R.G.S. 8vo. With Maps and Plans. 12s.

**Theodoreti** *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio.* Ad Codices mss. recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Thucydides.** Translated into English, with Introduction, Marginal Analysis, Notes, and Indices. By B. Jowett, M.A. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 1l. 12s.

**Xenophon.** Ex recensione et cum annotationibus L. Dindorfii.
*Historia Graeca. Second Edition.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.
*Expeditio Cyri. Second Edition.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.
*Institutio Cyri.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.
*Memorabilia Socratis.* 8vo. 7s. 6d.
*Opuscula Politica Equestria et Venatica cum Arriani Libello de Venatione.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.

## 3. MISCELLANEOUS STANDARD WORKS.

**Arbuthnot.** *The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot.* By George A. Aitken. 8vo, cloth extra, with Portrait, 16*s.*

**Bacon.** *The Essays.* Edited with Introduction and Illustrative Notes, by S. H. Reynolds, M.A. 8vo, half-bound, 12*s.* 6*d.*

**Casaubon (Isaac),** 1559–1614. By Mark Pattison, late Rector of Lincoln College. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 16*s.*

**Finlay.** *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the present time,* B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864. By George Finlay, LL.D. A new Edition, revised throughout, and in part re-written, with considerable additions, by the Author, and edited by H. F. Tozer, M.A. 7 vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 10*s.*

**Gaii** *Institutionum Juris Civilis Commentarii Quattuor;* or, Elements of Roman Law by Gaius. With a Translation and Commentary by Edward Poste, M.A. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 18*s.*

**Fragmenta Herculanensia.** A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oxford copies of the Herculanean Rolls, together with the texts of several papyri, accompanied by facsimiles. Edited by Walter Scott, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Royal 8vo. 21*s.*

**Hodgkin.** *Italy and her Invaders.* With Plates and Maps. By Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L. A.D. 376–744. 8vo. Vols. I and II, 2*l.* 2*s.* Vols. III and IV, *Reprinting.* Vols. V and VI, 1*l.* 16*s.*

**Justinian.** *Imperatoris Iustiniani Institutionum Libri Quattuor;* with Introductions, Commentary, Excursus and Translation. By J. B. Moyle, D.C.L. *Second Edition.* 2 vols. 8vo. 22*s.*

**Machiavelli.** *Il Principe.* Edited by L. Arthur Burd. With an Introduction by Lord Acton. 8vo. 14*s.*

**Pattison.** *Essays by the late Mark Pattison,* sometime Rector of Lincoln College. Collected and Arranged by Henry Nettleship, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 24*s.*

**Ralegh.** *Sir Walter Ralegh.* A Biography. By W. Stebbing, M.A. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

**Ramsay.** *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia;* being an Essay of the Local History of Phrygia, from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest. By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D. Vol. I. *The Lycos Valley and South-Western Phrygia.* Royal 8vo, linen, 18*s.* *net.*

**Selden.** *The Table Talk of John Selden.* Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Samuel Harvey Reynolds, M.A. 8vo, half-roan, 8*s.* 6*d.*

**Stokes.** *The Anglo-Indian Codes.* By Whitley Stokes, LL.D. Vol. I. Substantive Law. 8vo. 30*s.* Vol. II. Adjective Law. 8vo. 35*s.*

**Strachey.** *Hastings and The Rohilla War.* By Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I. 8vo, cloth, 10*s.* 6*d.*

**Thomson.** *Notes on Recent Researches in Electricity and Magnetism,* intended as a sequel to Professor Clerk Maxwell's 'Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism.' By J. J. Thomson, M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Experimental Physics in the University of Cambridge. 8vo. 18*s.* 6*d.*

**Oxford**

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.